

The  
Collected Works  
of  
Edward Sapir

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of  
Edward Sapir

IV

Reyna Charnoff  
Judith S. S. S.

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# The Collected Works of Edward Sapir

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Ethnology

*Volume Editors*

Regna Darnell  
Judith Irvine

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*Edward Sapir, about 1934,*  
with Hortense Powdermaker, Places Pond, New Hampshire  
(*Courtesy of Sapir family*)

Edward Sapir (1884-1939) has been referred to as "one of the most brilliant scholars in linguistics and anthropology in our country" (Franz Boas) and as "one of the greatest figures in American humanistic scholarship" (Franklin Edgerton). His classic book, *Language* (1921), is still in use, and many of his papers in general linguistics, such as "Sound Patterns in Language" and "The Psychological Reality of Phonemes," stand also as classics. The development of the American descriptive school of structural linguistics, including the adoption of phonemic principles in the study of non-literary languages, was primarily due to him.

The large body of work he carried out on Native American languages has been called "ground-breaking" and "monumental" and includes descriptive, historical, and comparative studies. They are of continuing importance and relevance to today's scholars.

Not to be ignored are his studies in Indo-European, Semitic, and African languages, which have been characterized as "masterpieces of brilliant association" (Zellig Harris). Further, he is recognized as a forefather of ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic studies.

In anthropology Sapir contributed the classic statement on the theory and methodology of the American school of Franz Boas in his monograph, "Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture" (1916). His major contribution, however, was as a pioneer and proponent for studies on the interrelation of culture and personality, of society and the individual, providing the theoretical basis for what is known today as humanistic anthropology.

He was, in addition, a poet, and contributed papers on aesthetics, literature, music, and social criticism.



## Note to the Reader

Throughout *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir*, those publications whose typographic complexity would have made new typesetting and proofreading difficult have been photographically reproduced. All other material has been newly typeset. When possible, the editors have worked from Sapir's personal copies of his published work, incorporating his corrections and additions into the reset text. Such emendations are acknowledged in the endnotes. Where the editors themselves have corrected an obvious typographical error, this is noted by brackets around the corrected form.

The page numbers of the original publication are retained in the photographically reproduced material; in reset material, the original publication's pagination appears as bracketed numbers within the text at the point where the original page break occurred. To avoid confusion and to conform to the existing literature, the page numbers cited in introductions and editorial notes are those of the original publications.

Footnotes which appeared in the original publications appear here as footnotes. Editorial notes appear as endnotes. Endnote numbers are placed in the margins of photographically reproduced material; in reset material they are inserted in the text as superscript numbers in brackets. The first, unnumbered endnote for each work contains the citation of the original publication and, where appropriate, an acknowledgment of permission to reprint the work here.

All citations of Sapir's works in the editorial matter throughout these volumes conform to the master bibliography that appears in Volume XVI; since not all works will be cited in any given volume, the letters following the dates are discontinuous within a single volume's references. In volumes where unpublished materials by Sapir have been cited, a list of the items cited and the archives holding them is appended to the References.

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## Preface

Volume IV of *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir* contains Sapir's classic monograph on anthropological methodology, *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture*; all his ethnographic articles of less than monographic length; and his reviews of ethnographic works by other authors. Some of these were published in scholarly journals, but many appeared in a variety of popular or literary periodicals, reference works, and compilations; thus much of the present material is less well known than his contributions to linguistics and culture theory.

*Time Perspective* begins the volume. Section Two, Ethnology and Cultural Comparison, includes reviews and articles not based on Sapir's own work in specific cultural communities. In Section Three, articles on particular cultures are arranged by culture area, and chronologically within each area. Sapir's few ethnographic articles on cultures outside the New World appear in Section Four. Section Five presents two articles and a series of annual reports which Sapir wrote in his capacity of Chief of the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey (later the Victoria Memorial Museum) within the Canadian Department of Mines.

We are particularly pleased to be able to include in this volume Edward Sapir's previously unpublished Southern Paiute song texts, newly edited by Robert Franklin and Pamela Bunte. We also wish to acknowledge the contribution of Thomas Vennum, Jr., for his assistance in evaluating the accuracy of the musical transcriptions by Jacob Sapir of Sapir's Southern Paiute song recordings.

Sapir also published a number of anthropological monographs and collections of Native American texts; these appear in volumes VII through XV of *The Collected Works*. They include the following (the roman numeral in brackets indicates the volume): *Wishram Texts* and *Wishram Ethnography* (with Leslie Spier) [VII]; *Tukelma Texts* [VIII]; *Yana Texts* and *Notes on the Culture of the Yana* (with Leslie Spier) [IX]; *Texts of the Kaibab Paiutes and Uintah Utes* (Part II of *The Southern Paiute Language*) [X]; *Nootka Texts: Tales and Ethnological Narratives with Grammatical Notes and Lexical Materials* (with Morris

Swadesh), with a group of previously unpublished family origin legends, edited by Susan Golla and Suzanne Rose [XI]; and *Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography* (with Swadesh) with an additional group of unpublished Nootka texts [XII]. Additional previously unpublished materials with ethnographic content will appear as follows: a selection of Yahi texts [IX]; Kutchin and Sarcee texts [XIII]; and Hupa and Yurok texts [XIV]. Ethnographic Field Notes on the Kaibab Paiute and Northern Ute, edited by Catherine S. Fowler and Robert C. Euler, have appeared in Volume X (1992).

The disciplines of linguistics and anthropology are inextricably entwined throughout Sapir's work. The reader with a special interest in anthropology should refer to Volumes I and II for general studies touching on anthropological linguistics, and to Volumes V and VI for those especially concerned with American languages. Works on culture theory in general — many drawing examples from cultures Sapir studied — are found in Volume III.

Preparation of this volume was supported in part by a grant from the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The editors wish to thank the Sapir family for permission to quote from unpublished materials by Edward Sapir in their possession. The discussion of Sapir's publications on music which appears in the Introduction to Section Two was written by Judith Vander, to whom we are grateful for her thoughtful contributions in this specialized area. The musical transcriptions which accompany the Southern Paiute songs were prepared by Jacob Savin from a manuscript now in the Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University, which kindly provided copies for this use. We thank William Sturtevant and William Cowan for providing original copies of articles needed for photoreproduction in this volume and previous volumes of *The Collected Works*; and Philip Sapir for his editing of the annual reports of Museum activities in the last section of this volume. Jane McGary prepared and indexed the volume for publication.

Regna Darnell  
Judith Irvine

## Introduction

The reputation of Edward Sapir, as these *Collected Works* are issued half a century after his death, rests most strongly on his work in theoretical and descriptive linguistics and on his attempts to define the relationship of culture and individual. Nonetheless, Sapir also contributed substantially to the amassing of ethnographic information about American Indians. The present volume contains his shorter contributions to ethnography.

Sapir's early teacher, Franz Boas, stated in his obituary of Sapir (1939, reprinted in Koerner 1984: 3–4) that he was "one of the most brilliant scholars in linguistics and anthropology"; his ethnological publications were less numerous than linguistic ones but were important in the context of anthropology during his time. Sapir's contemporary Robert Lowie commented (1965: 12):

His distinction as an ethnographer is beyond cavil and has perhaps not been adequately appreciated. I do not mean that his knowledge of aboriginal cultures, though certainly adequate, was exceptional. It would have been superhuman to have added such familiarity to his amazing grasp of linguistic data. But as a collector of facts he ranks with our very best observers—with Boas, Kroeber, Radin, Spier—showing the same capacity for immersing himself in the phenomena under scrutiny and plumbing them to their depths.

While Sapir's ethnological publications were recognized as significant, his fieldwork far exceeded what actually appeared in print during his lifetime. The commitment Sapir acquired from Boas to recording the rapidly disappearing languages of native North America included ethnography as a matter of course, but relatively little of this ethnographic work was published by Sapir himself. Some was completed by Leslie Spier after Sapir's untimely death (Sapir 1939e, edited by Spier, this volume; Sapir and Spier 1943, Volume IX; Sapir and Swadesh 1955, Volume XI); a great deal has remained in manuscript, a considerable portion of which has been newly edited for inclusion in *The Collected Works*. (The great majority of Sapir's unpublished material, both linguistic and ethnographic, is deposited in the archives of the American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia.)

In addition to his ethnographic work, Sapir contributed substantially to what Lowie (1965, reprinted in Koerner 1984: 127) called "the logic



of ethnological research." Sapir's "Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method" (1916h) is perhaps the most coherent statement of the logic by which Boasian anthropology, through the early 1920s, approached the historical and comparative questions then dominating its program of study. But even "Time Perspective" — in a sense both the summary and the final theoretical treatment of the kind of historical ethnology typical at the time of its writing — contains frequent suggestions of a new direction for ethnology, one that would move toward the study of particular cultural patterns, with historical inference becoming of secondary concern.

In the following year, with "Do We Need a 'Superorganic'?" (1917a), a reply to Kroeber (1917b; see Volume III), Sapir began to enlarge on the issues that were to occupy much of his attention in the late 1920s and 1930s: the place of the individual in society and culture, anthropological epistemology, and the concept of culture itself. This 1917 paper can now be seen as the first in the set of theoretical papers on culture, society, and the individual that made Sapir a major figure in the new ethnology — "cultural anthropology," as it increasingly came to be called. Sapir's later theoretical and programmatic works are to be found in Volume III. The present volume represents the earlier focus of Sapir's anthropological undertakings: the ethnography and ethnology whose concerns "Time Perspective" so well represents.

There is of course no precise demarcation between these sets of papers. Sapir's earliest writings contain foreshadowings of his later interests; and although his ethnographic work was carried out primarily during his years in Ottawa (1910–1925), he continued to publish ethnographic reports to the end of his life. Most of the later articles, however, derive from the fieldwork and interests of his Ottawa period. Further, the theoretical papers on culture pattern and psychology of his last fifteen years make relatively little reference to specific ethnographic data — his own or anyone else's. Indeed, the examples he cites in these theoretical papers are as often taken from contemporary American society.

The majority of Sapir's ethnological publications date from his years in Ottawa, when he was the head of a research team mapping the languages and cultures of the Indian and Eskimo peoples of the Dominion of Canada. His own fieldwork was an important part of the program of the Anthropological Division (under the Geological Survey of Canada), and he balanced his personal theoretical concerns with the needs of the program. In addition to his major work in the Pacific Northwest, Sapir familiarized himself with the range of Canadian native

peoples, visiting Algonquian and Iroquoian groups briefly and writing a number of regional surveys. Sapir's ethnological work at this time, when he was responsible for overseeing an integrated national effort, was necessarily more intensive and more concerned with the specifics of cultural comparison, area characteristics, and the like, than was the work of his later days in academic life in the United States, at Chicago and Yale, from 1925 to 1939.

If it is arbitrary to separate, as we have done in Volumes III and IV, Sapir's culturally and areally specific ethnology from his work in cultural anthropology, it is even more difficult to separate his ethnology from his linguistics. In truth, one would not wish to separate them: the hallmark of Sapir's approach was that he saw language and culture as inextricably linked and chose research problems that spanned the disciplines. His linguistic descriptions sometimes incorporated topics now labeled "sociolinguistic" (e.g., "Male and Female Forms of Speech in Yana," 1929d); his linguistic classifications raised areal and culture-historical questions, pursued in such papers as "Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho" (1936f); and his approach to ethnography emphasized lexical and narrative data. Sapir's studies of the lexical labeling of cultural categories, such as kinship terms, and his extensive quoting of informants' statements illustrate this conception of the interrelatedness of ethnography and linguistics. In practice, most of his ethnographic work is a byproduct of primarily linguistic fieldwork.

Sapir's contemporaries recognized that his ethnography was distinguished by its linguistic orientation. For example, Leslie Spier, who reworked two of Sapir's manuscripts for publication, implicitly stressed the contrast between Sapir's ethnography and his own (Spier 1939, reprinted in Koerner 1984: 13): "His ethnographic studies were, for the most part, incidental products of his linguistic work. But this gave them a distinctive quality, namely a constant illumination from linguistic insights." A. L. Kroeber acknowledged the special quality of Sapir's ethnographic works with their linguistic detail in a letter to Sapir (8 July 1922; Golla 1984: 397): he considered Sapir's "fragmentary Takelma notes" more useful ethnography than more formal treatments because "statements in the latter were generic and yours were intensive."

Although Kroeber lacked Sapir's skill in using linguistic texts to extract the world view of particular informants, the two men agreed that conventional ethnography relied too much on generalized formulas and failed to present the concrete detail which made a culture come



alive. Sapir himself frequently expressed dismay at otherwise adequate ethnography which lacked validation from linguistic texts, writing to Frank Speck (11 June 1912: American Philosophical Society) that "songs, rituals and modes of myth-telling" particularly required such treatment. He concluded ruefully, "Oh well, I suppose I'm a crank on linguistics." He encouraged his Ottawa research team to use linguistic methods as a supplement to conventional ethnography, writing to Wilson D. Wallis (10 June 1913: National Museum of Civilization, formerly the National Museum of Man, Ottawa):

what we are after in studying primitive peoples is, to a large extent, to get their scheme of classification. This scheme must be more or less reflected in their own language. I think that one can do a great deal with linguistic material even if one is not out for a special linguistic study as such, though one generally finds, on getting into the work, that it is hard to avoid getting into grammatical analysis if one wishes to control the text material adequately.

Sapir's most cogent statement of the use of linguistic texts for cultural description came late in his life. He wrote to Fay-Cooper Cole (25 April 1938: University of California, Berkeley) in defense of his collaborator Father Berard Haile's extensive Navajo texts:

personally, I'm not particularly interested in 'smoothed over' versions of native culture. I like the stuff in the raw, as felt and dictated by the natives...the genuine, difficult, confusing, primary sources. These must be presented whatever else is done...if anthropologists are to retain the respect of colleagues in history, classics, and Oriental studies. I admire the beautiful synthesis that you have made, but where is the raw evidence? I can't tell whether a given statement is common native knowledge or is merely your interpretation of one man's say-so.

These concerns for the point of view of the native speaker, for recognizing informants' differences of opinion, and for higher standards of evidence in ethnography, have been recurrent issues in anthropology in the decades since Sapir's death. In his case the argument for higher standards grew, in large part, out of his efforts to provide texts for both ethnographic and linguistic purposes.

The influence of Sapir's linguistic interests on his ethnographic reporting is undeniable, and is particularly apparent in his insistence on the ethnographic importance of native-language texts. At the same time, his ethnographic interests influenced his linguistic analysis. Throughout his career, he maintained that grammars ought to be based on extensive texts which reflected natural speech patterns rather than on the mere elicitation of isolated forms. Moreover, he often chose texts for linguistic analysis whose topics bore upon cultural patterning or culture history. Language, culture pattern, and individual world view were considered

and presented as integrated elements, whether the starting point of the analysis was linguistic or ethnographic.

Nonetheless, Sapir often found it difficult to concentrate on ethnography *per se*. He often lamented in correspondence with colleagues that working up his ethnographic data bored him. For example, he wrote to Lowie (29 September 1916: University of California, Berkeley, and Lowie 1965: 20–21):

I feel I can do not only eminently satisfactory linguistic work but also satisfactory ethnological work, as I proved to myself in my two Nootka trips. I now have an enormous amount of linguistic and ethnological data on my hands from various tribes, certainly enough to keep me busy for at least five years of concentrated work. But (and here's the rub and the disappointment) I don't somehow seem to feel as much positive impulse toward disgorging as I should. A certain necessary enthusiasm, particularly towards ethnological data and problems, seems lacking – lacking beyond a mild degree, anyway. I somehow feel in much of my work that I am not true to my inner self, that I have let myself be put off with useful but relatively unimportant trifles at the expense of a development of finer needs and impulses, whatever they are.

To Ruth Benedict, he wrote (9 November 1925: family of Edward Sapir): “I do wish, Ruth, someone would explain to me once for all why one studies primitive customs. It bothers me not to have discovered it yet. I think I shall die without knowing – at least my bones won't.”

Without question, Sapir was intensely interested in the historical, and ultimately psychological, questions that dominated Boasian anthropology through the early 1920s. Fascinated with permutations of linguistic form, he responded aesthetically to the unique typological properties of each language on which he worked. Insofar as ethnological data departed from a linguistic basis, he had more difficulty deciding on organization and on what was reportable. Although he often waxed enthusiastic over particular ethnographic problems, such as Northwest Coast conceptions of rank and privilege, or shamanism and native American religion, he seems to have found abstract ethnological generalization less satisfying.

## Contents and Arrangement of Volume IV

This volume contains Sapir's early statement on ethnological method, his cross-cultural comparisons and regional surveys, his administrative reports as head of the Anthropological Division, and all his shorter ethnographic writings. His monographic text collections, however, appear in the later volumes of the series, grouped with their linguistic

analyses. Similarly, the Wishram ethnography (Spier and Sapir 1930), "Notes on the Culture of the Yana" (Sapir and Spier 1943), and the Southern Paiute ethnographic notes (Volume X, not previously published) are assigned to the volumes on those languages. A précis of the Nootka ethnographic field notes is to be included in Volumes XI and XII. Some of Sapir's linguistic papers have important ethnographic components; although they cannot be included in the present volume, the reader will be referred to them in the section introductions and endnotes.

In this volume, the arrangement of articles begins with general ethnology — that is, Sapir's proposals for a framework for ethnographic reporting on particular cultures. "Time Perspective" stands apart as an introduction to Sapir's ethnological concerns and ethnographic projects. It is his most general and coherent treatment of the early Boasian program, with its emphasis on culture history reconstructed in culture-area terms with the help of linguistic evidence.

The majority of the papers on ethnological method and comparison were written during Sapir's years in Ottawa. Most of them are not major theoretical statements, but they clarify the way Sapir defined ethnology and evaluated its practice. Some of Sapir's discussions of social organization and religion appear in this section because they include comparisons between several Amerindian groups. Often, however, his contributions to cultural comparison came as reviews of the books of his contemporaries. In reviewing the writings of fellow Boasians, Sapir emphasized their relationship to the research program as he understood it. His occasional comments on non-Boasian anthropology are explicit critiques of earlier, less detailed and careful ethnographic methods.

The bulk of this volume, in Section Three, consists of ethnographic field reports on particular peoples; the articles in the section are arranged chronologically within culture areas. Sapir's fieldwork and resulting publications in ethnology and linguistics are discussed in the introduction to Section Three.

The concept of culture area, codified by Clark Wissler in *The American Indian* (1917) and the accepted organizing principle for ethnographic data in this period, is implicit in Sapir's ethnological writings. The culture area was understood as a product of particular historical circumstances and the interaction of various groups over a long period of time. Because Boas and his students rejected an overall evolutionary framework for ethnological comparison, this particularism was neces-



sary if any generalization was to be possible. The culture area concept permitted reconstruction of culture history.<sup>1</sup> Most of Boas's students accepted his emphasis on borrowing and diffusion, rather than historical diversification, although most dealt at times with both processes. Sapir, however, was more interested in the latter process, and this concern distinguished his ethnography from that of his contemporaries. He was more sanguine than many about the potential of historical reconstruction, perhaps because of his familiarity with the success of the reconstructive method in comparative linguistics. Questions of genetic (historical) relationship and language classification often determined his choice of research problem and fieldwork sites, as with the choice of Navajo along with northern Athabaskan languages. But if Sapir did not rely on the conventional culture area classification in his linguistic work, in ethnography he tacitly accepted it and was considered by his contemporaries as a specialist on the cultures of the Pacific Northwest. His obligations during the Ottawa years to map the languages and cultures of Canada also encouraged reliance on the culture area as a classificatory device.

A few items on North American tribes of other regions, mostly commentary on the work of other scholars, are included with Sapir's principal ethnographic contributions.

Though Sapir's fieldwork all took place within North America, he did make a few intellectual forays into other parts of the world. (He had planned a sabbatical trip to China in 1937–38, but it had to be canceled because of political conditions there and his deteriorating health.) Ethnological works on these areas are represented here by book reviews and articles written in collaboration with a Chinese friend from the Ottawa years and with an African student at the University of Chicago. Despite his Americanist orientation, Sapir encouraged theses and dissertations on linguistic and ethnographic topics outside North America and sponsored ethnographic research such as George Herzog and Charles Blooah's trip to Liberia in the thirties.

The volume concludes with the administrative reports Sapir published during his tenure as head of the anthropology program sponsored by the Canadian government, of which he was the first chief. Though most of this material is now of only historical interest, it does give a sense of how Sapir imagined the scope of anthropology and how he believed

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1. For Sapir's comments on the culture area concept, in addition to writings in this volume, see his lectures on "The Psychology of Culture" in Volume III.

research efforts should be coordinated at the national level. It further provides a year-by-year account of how he and his colleagues progressed in the development of a national program of research in Canadian anthropology, comparable to the program of the Bureau of American Ethnology in the United States, initiated much earlier, in 1879.



Section One:  
Time Perspective



## Introduction

Sapir is best remembered as an ethnologist for his monograph *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method* (1916h). *Time Perspective* is generally viewed as the paradigmatic statement of the Boasian method for cultural reconstruction on the basis of trait distribution, with Sapir's particular contribution of using linguistic analysis to distinguish genetic relationship from borrowing or diffusion. Citing more than fifty tribes or geographical areas of native America, with especially frequent reference to the Northwest Coast and Eastern Woodlands areas he already knew well, Sapir displays broad ethnographic knowledge, his ability to synthesize it, and the potentials for further research which he envisioned in his unelaborated examples of methods and problems. Even more importantly, the essay contains the germs of ideas to which Sapir would return throughout his career; many of these ideas, in their theoretical implications, went far beyond the accepted American anthropological tradition of 1916.

It was not Sapir's own idea to write a synthetic essay on the historical methods of Boasian anthropology. Alfred L. Kroeber urged him to do so because of Sapir's linguistically conditioned focus on genetic diversification and culture change. Kroeber (to Sapir, 7 December 1914; Golla 1984: 161–164) lamented the “accumulating but unorganized evidence on the time element” in North America which cried out for historical interpretation, a task that had not yet been seriously attempted by ethnologists.<sup>1</sup> Sapir (to Kroeber, 14 December 1914; Golla 1984: 164–167) acknowledged “our timidity in grappling with the time element in the history of culture.” He blamed this “timidity” on anthropological training that stressed descriptive ethnology or psychological interpretation rather than historical methods. Sapir's first thoughts about the essay were to show that historical inference was easier in linguistics, using comparative philological models unfamiliar to most American anthropologists, as well as to focus on abstract methods, since concrete data for historical reconstruction were scarce.

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1. There is still no consensus among Americanists on the timing of various migrations from Asia; for discussion, see Greenberg 1987 and Gruhn 1988.

Sapir's introduction to *Time Perspective* assumes that there is more general interest in "psychological laws of human development" than in historical reconstruction of geographic movements and cultural differentiation of peoples (p. 1). He marveled at the time depth of Native American culture, likening it to a "long-exposure star chart, in which the immensities of space are indeed reduced to a flat, but in which the extent and direction of movement of the nearer bodies, the planets, are betrayed by short lines" (p. 8). Moreover, Sapir argued that the current paleontological estimate of ten thousand years for the development of American cultural diversity was "hopelessly inadequate," at least in the realm of linguistic differentiation (p. 78).<sup>2</sup> He foreshadowed his own later unification of linguistic stocks with a speculative overview (p. 79):

This would make it practically imperative to assume that the peopling of America was not a single historical process but a series of movements of linguistically unrelated peoples, possibly from different directions and certainly at very different times. This view strikes me as intrinsically highly probable.

In a footnote to this discussion, Sapir noted the corollary that a potential Asiatic connection would probably involve only a few of the American linguistic stocks, most likely Eskimo-Aleut and Na-dene because they were the most recent immigrants and would therefore retain more Asian traits. He added, "I need hardly insist that these remarks have a merely theoretical validity." At this time, he felt it likely that the number of isolated linguistic stocks in North America would remain "quite considerable" (p. 78 fn.). There is no hint that he would soon venture upon this immense field in a vigorous effort to reduce the recognized isolates to an insignificant few.

In a period considerably before American anthropologists studied patterning within a single culture rather than trait distributions, Sapir insisted "it is perfectly evident that the various elements and complexes that go to make up the whole of a culture are never isolated phenomena but that they enter into all sorts of relations. Some are necessary or demonstrated consequences of others, some are only different forms of a single underlying idea, still others are only externally connected" (p. 15). In other words, each element had to be examined in context and evaluated separately for its historical implications. It is a thoroughly modern notion of processes of culture change. Sapir used the term

<sup>2</sup> It is now clear that the estimate of ten thousand years indeed is insufficient, but there is no consensus, with estimates as high as 25,000, 35,000, or even 50,000 years. For a recent discussion, in many particulars close to the spirit of Sapir, see Nichols 1990.



"conceptual detachability" in quotation marks for this capacity of cultural elements to reflect history in different ways regardless of their present associations (p. 31). He even noted (p. 45 *fn.*) that modern American culture was involved in a massive "reassortment" (again in quotation marks) of its culture areas and historical traditions.

Perhaps most importantly, Sapir argued that language had a special status among the elements of culture, providing a "stratified matrix" for "unraveling culture sequences" (p. 52). Sapir acknowledged that his own linguistic specialization predetermined his interest in such reconstruction, but coupled an apology for his linguistic point of view with insistence that Americanists did not know enough about methods of linguistic inference (pp. 86–87). Although linguistic methods only applied directly to linguistic data, associated cultural elements could be studied indirectly on the basis of such evidence (p. 53). For example, languages differed in how explicitly they lexicalized cultural categories: Sapir's statement on this point reminds us of the so-called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis developed much later: "We find on an analysis of the terminologies of the different complexes that go to make up a culture that they differ considerably in the completeness and precision with which the single elements constituting them are symbolized by words" (p. 62).

The reason for proposing a linguistic stock was its reconstructive value: "...while based on descriptive data, it is strictly historical in character" (p. 76). Thus linguistics is crucial for the ethnologist: indeed, "probably the most valuable service that linguistics can render ethnology is the setting up of groups of languages into linguistic stocks" (p. 75). During the next few years, Sapir would devote much of his effort to discovering linguistic relationships, culminating in the 1921 and 1929 versions of the six-unit classification (see Volume V, Section One). Sapir was adamant that the historical implications of linguistic evidence should be trusted: "If, as may sometimes happen, the linguistic evidence seems to run counter to other evidence or to a prevailing theory, it should not be lightly discarded as irrelevant to historical problems" (p. 82).

Sapir stressed the detail necessary for historical inference, the need for "historically evaluating or weighting a cultural element or linguistic datum before it is employed for comparative purposes." The "counting of noses" which characterized both Frazerian evolutionary theory and Graebnerian diffusion theory was simplistic and counter-productive (p. 87). Sapir further insisted that the "accident" of which elements were retained over time depended on "psychological factors" that could not



be explained in detail, though the general tendency of culture change could be understood historically (p. 64). (Nonetheless, he did cite shared "linguistic psychology" as a reason for similar cultural influences in a particular case (p. 85 fn.).

Real understanding of processes of culture change had to depend on the importance of the actions of particular individuals in a culture, an argument Sapir would later develop extensively: "Any cultural element is practically certain to be diffused over a single community, indeed its currency in a single community is already an instance of diffusion that has radiated out, at last analysis, from a single individual" (p. 43). The further development of Sapir's views on the theoretical issues suggested in the ethnological section of *Time Perspective* is to be found in Volume III, *Culture*.

Note: Page references are to the original (photoduplicated) pages.

# Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method

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## INTRODUCTION: ETHNOLOGY AS AN HISTORICAL SCIENCE.

Cultural anthropology is more and more rapidly getting to realize itself as a strictly historical science. Its data can not be understood, either in themselves or in their relation to one another, except as the end-points of specific sequences of events reaching back into the remote past. Some of us may be more interested in the psychological laws of human development than we believe ourselves capable of extracting from the raw material of ethnology and archæology, than in the establishment of definite historical facts and relationships that would tend to make this material intelligible, but it is not at all clear that the formulation of such laws is any more the business of the anthropologist than of the historian in the customarily narrow sense of the word. If the anthropologist, more often than the historian, has argued from descriptive data to folk psychology, we must hold responsible for this two factors. First, we must take account of the frequent, indeed typical, lack of direct chronological guides in the study of the culture of primitive peoples, whereby he is led to neglect or undervalue the importance of chronological insight and to seek, as a substitute, the unravelling of general laws operating regardless of specific time. In the second place, the cultures dealt with by the anthropologist exhibit, on the whole, less complexity than those made known to us by documentary evidence, whereby he is led to think of the former as less encumbered by secondary or untypical developments and better fit to serve as matter for psychological generalization. Something may also be credited to the fact that the data of the anthropologist give him a view of a greater diversity of cultures than the historian is accustomed to take in at one glance, whereby the former is provided with a truer perspective, or thinks he is.

for the evaluation of the typical in the development of culture in general. These and possibly other factors render intelligible the emphasis on the general and schematic that has to so great a degree characterized the study of cultural anthropology. It cannot be held, however, that the actual data of our science are with more appropriateness to be turned over as a *corpus vile* to the folk-psychologist than the data of the most advanced cultures of to-day. Granting that the labours of the folk-psychologist are justifiable in themselves, the main point remains that so-called primitive culture consists throughout of phenomena that, so far as the ethnologist is concerned, must be worked out historically, that is, in terms of actual happenings, however inferred, that are conceived to have a specific sequence, a specific localization, and specific relations among themselves. Few would be so bold as to maintain that the vast and ever growing mass of ethnological material will ever completely yield to such an historical interpretation, but it is highly important that an historical understanding of the facts be held up as the properly ethnological goal of the student.

Assuming, then, that we are desirous of adopting as thoroughly historical a method of interpretation of aboriginal American culture as circumstances permit, the question immediately suggests itself: how inject a chronology into this confusing mass of purely descriptive fact? All that, in the greatest number of cases, we know about a tribe, aside from scattered information on its external history, covering a relatively short span of time, is that such and such implements and processes were in use, customs practised, and beliefs entertained at a point of time but little antedating the present. Where, as in the case of the Aztec, Maya, and Peruvian cultures, our knowledge is based on the recorded testimony of earlier writers, we are still dealing, in the main, with facts pertaining to a single point of time or, at best, to a brief span of time, too brief to throw much light on the development of the whole culture. Our problem may be metaphorically defined as the translation of a two-dimensional photographic picture of reality into the three-dimensional picture which lies back of it. Is it possible to read time perspective into the flat surface of American culture as we read space perspective into the flat surface of a photograph?



Before being in a position to answer this question, we must be clear as to just what we expect of our time perspective. It is evident at the outset that the nature of our material imposes limitations not felt, or not felt so keenly, by the historian. First of all, we shall to only a very limited extent expect to construct an absolute chronology, that is, assign anything like definite dates. In some cases we shall be satisfied with an approximate date, a margin of error being allowed that may vary from a few years to several centuries, or, in the remoter past, even millennia. In still other, perhaps the majority, of cases, we shall be content to dispense with the assignment of dates altogether and shall aim merely to establish a definite sequence of events. A second limitation is no less clear. One of the characteristic traits of history is its emphasis on the individual and personal. While the importance of individual events and personalities for the progress of human affairs is not to be underestimated, the historical reconstructions of the cultural anthropologist can only deal, with comparatively few exceptions, with generalized events and individualities. Instead of speaking, for instance, of the specific influence exerted by a particular shaman of a tribe at an inaccessible period in the past, cultural anthropology will have to lump together a number of such phenomena and generalize as to the influence exerted by the class of shamans at a more or less well defined time and place. Or, if it is a question of the social relations between two tribes, say the Haida and Tsimshian, it may in a number of cases have to content itself with a broad definition of such relations, taking, for instance, the Haida and Tsimshian as such as the units directly involved, though perfectly aware that the actual mechanism of the relation is in every case borne by individuals, house-groups, or clans, that is, by subdivisions of the historical units ostensibly concerned. A great deal of such substitution of the whole for the part is unavoidable in ethnology. These two limitations must be frankly recognized, but they need not in the slightest obscure the application of historical methods to the field of cultural anthropology. They introduce a purely quantitative, not qualitative, correction into our initial ideal of historical treatment. Often enough, in dealing with an historical process not far

removed from the present, the student will be enabled to follow out the precise course of events and the absolute time (within reasonable limits) of each; he will also be enabled to define clearly the nature of the social units, whether individual or collective, concerned in each stage of the process. Such opportunities to study the dynamics of primitive culture should never be missed; they are not only of specific value in the study of recent phases of the cultural development of a tribe, but afford valuable aid towards the formation of a technique in the historical interpretation of data far removed in time. In the main, however, the gaining of an historical perspective will mean the arrangement in as orderly temporal sequence as possible, within as definitely circumscribed absolute time limits as circumstances will allow, of the processes studied by our science, the carriers of these processes being generally defined more inclusively than in documentary history.

To turn to concrete illustrations. We may wish to ascertain, if possible, whether the movement of certain Siouan tribes (say the Omaha and Ponca) to the western plains was prior or subsequent to the development among them of a particular ritual (say the calumet adoption ritual). Neither the personalities or social units that took the lead in the western movement nor the agencies most immediately concerned in the development of the ritual need ever be successfully worked out; nor may we succeed in assigning a plausible date or range of time to either process. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that if we discover which of the two was first consummated, we shall have acquired a valuable clue (perhaps only a caution) towards the historical understanding of the ritual both in its relations to other cultural complexes within the tribes concerned and to the same or allied rituals in neighbouring tribes (say the Pawnee Hako ceremony). If the ritual can be shown to have developed after the arrival of the Siouan tribes on the plains, we at once begin to suspect the influence of the neighbouring tribes in the origination of the ritual among the former. Or, to take another example, we may wish to work out the relative chronology of origin of such a group of associated phenomena among the Nootka as the thunderbird type of origin myth, the use of the thunderbird in house paint-

ings, the thunderbird dance, the references to the thunderbird in personal names, and the metaphorical use of the term "thundering" to apply to wealth. According to the relative ages determined for these cultural elements, we shall have to construct markedly different theories of their historical relations to one another, to similar phenomena among the Kwakiutl and other neighbouring tribes, and to still other cultural elements of a distinct but allied nature in the same and neighbouring tribes. The importance of setting the data of American ethnology into chronologic relations will no doubt be readily conceded. It is the aim of this paper to call attention to some of the methods that have been or may be employed to determine them.

The evidence at our disposal may be broadly classified into two main heads, direct and inferential evidence. By the former is meant such evidence as directly suggests temporal relations, by the latter such evidence as is inferred from data that do not in themselves present the form of a time sequence. The direct evidence available in American ethnology is, in the nature of the case, well understood and has been employed to a considerable extent. The inferential evidence, on the other hand, is apt to be rather felt than clearly understood and, while it has been not infrequently, sometimes only tacitly, utilized, it is undoubtedly capable of much greater service than generally recognized.

## DIRECT EVIDENCE FOR TIME PERSPECTIVE.

### *DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.*

The first type of direct evidence is that yielded by historical documents, such as the Jesuit Relations, Cook's Voyages, and a host of other works that will readily occur to every one. During the more than four hundred years that have elapsed since the discovery of America, the native cultures have naturally not been static. Considerable movements of population in certain areas have also occurred. Comparison of statements made at different periods frequently enable us to give maximal and minimal dates to the appearance of a cultural element or to assign the time limits to a movement of population. Evidence of this sort, for

instance, has enabled Wissler to put the important cultural fact of the spread of the horse among the North American Indians on a chronological basis. Similar evidence, again, has enabled Mooney to follow the gradual movement of the Cheyenne from southern Minnesota to eastern Colorado and Wyoming. On the other hand, the mention of kayaks in one of the earliest Norse references to the Eskimo gives us a minimal date for the age of this type of boat. Similarly, a minimal date for the presence of age societies among several Plains tribes (*e.g.* the Mandan) is afforded by such writers as Maximilian and Catlin. The existence in museums of dated ethnological or archaeological specimens belongs naturally to the same general type of evidence. Thus, a minimal age for the large split bird-shaped type of Nootka rattle is afforded by the existence in the British Museum of a Nootka specimen of this sort collected by Capt. Cook, one that in no way differs from specimens still in use among these Indians.

Use may also be made of negative documentary evidence, though great caution is, of course, required here. For example, the failure of the earlier writers to refer to the floral designs in beadwork, moose hair, or porcupine quills now thoroughly at home among certain eastern tribes (*e.g.* the Huron, Ojibwa, and Cree) leads to the suspicion that these are of relatively recent origin and due to European influence. The same suspicion in regard to the use of the sail among the West Coast Indians seems justified by its failure to appear in the illustrations of canoes found in the older writers.<sup>1</sup> In neither of these latter cases, however, does the negative evidence alone constitute a demonstration. Scores of other American examples of the significance for culture chronology of both positive and negative documentary evidence will occur to all.

#### NATIVE TESTIMONY.

A second type of direct evidence is formed by statements, whether as formal legends or personal information, regarding the age or relative sequence of events in tribal history made by the natives themselves. Statements of this sort have been often

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. C. F. Newcombe for this observation.



recorded for earlier tribal movements, but are also forthcoming in considerable quantity for the origin and spread of cultural features. When they refer to the distant past, they must be handled with a good deal of reserve, for experience shows that the historical and mythical merge inextricably beyond a certain point. Nevertheless, I believe that there has been in certain quarters decidedly too much of a tendency to make light of all Indian accounts of migration and tribal or clan movements. The village to village movements of clans or septs recorded in various West Coast mythologies, for instance, certainly all have the ring of history or, better said, of legend based on historical events, for the motives and attendant circumstances of such movements are frequently enough fanciful in character. Similarly, if we are told in Hopi clan legends that a particular pueblo received accessions from certain quarters, we need a more powerful argument than a general lofty scepticism to convince us of the total lack of historical value of such statements. The fact that the Tewa pueblo of Hano, situated in the Hopi country of Tusayan, demonstrably traces its origin to the Rio Grande valley should, among other facts of like nature, make us more receptive to the truth of similar movements in the past recorded in native legend. Again, there seems to be no good reason to doubt the substantial correctness of the northern provenience of the Nahuatl-speaking Aztec recorded for us in their legends. The fact that all the remoter linguistic relatives of Nahuatl (Cora-Huichol, Piman, Shoshonean) lie to the north of the historical home of the Aztecs is the best kind of confirmation of these legends.

Native testimony in regard to the provenience or origin of types of implements, social features, rituals, and other cultural elements is frequently of the greatest value in their historical interpretation, apart, of course, from the purely mythical narratives often introduced in connexion with such testimony. When, for instance, the Tsimshian claim to have derived their secret societies from the Northern Kwakiutl, this testimony, fully corroborated by other evidence, throws a flood of light on the relative chronology of the spread of the secret societies among the West Coast Indians. When, further, the Nootka Indians,

while fully acknowledging the Kwakiutl origin of specific dances or songs secondarily woven into their Wolf Ritual, show no disposition whatever to credit the Wolf Ritual as such to the Kwakiutl, this fact does not, of course, disprove such origin, but it leads us to infer that the earliest Kwakiutl influence, if otherwise demonstrated, must reach back to a period considerably antedating the time at which the Tsimshian borrowed the whole complex from the Northern Kwakiutl, again a fact of great chronological value in the study of West Coast ceremonialism. To take another example, there seems to be little or no reason to doubt the accuracy of the Southern Paiute claim that the mourning ceremony, with its peculiar sets of songs, was due to the influence of Yuman tribes to the west, while the Bear dance was much more recently borrowed from the Utes to the north. Thus, native culture, directly studied from the point of view of its own data, does not, after all, present as completely static an aspect as we at first maintained. Certain trends in development are always discernible on closer study. To return to our metaphor, we may say that American culture is comparable not so much to the ordinary photograph as to the long-exposure star chart, in which the immensities of space are indeed reduced to a flat, but in which the extent and direction of movement of the nearer bodies, the planets, are betrayed by short lines.

Brief reference should be made to a special type of native testimony bearing on chronology, the dating of native monuments according to an aboriginal system of chronology. Evidence of this sort is at hand for the Aztec and Maya cultures. These monuments afford almost the only direct references to fixed dates in the remote past that are to be found in aboriginal America. The oldest of these dates, reaching back, for the Maya, to late classical times according to our reckoning, falls far short of the total span of time that we must allow for the development of aboriginal culture on this continent and gives us no appreciable help for the ultimate problem of the earliest occupation by man of America and of the origin of his culture. Nevertheless, the oldest Maya dates are invaluable as affording us some measure of the vast time perspectives lying back of American culture generally, for at the earliest datable period

reached by direct evidence we already are confronted by a highly complex culture, far in advance of and further removed from what we must conceive the earliest American culture to have been than that of many northern tribes of to-day or yesterday. The certainty of a vast lapse of time in which American Indian culture developed on this continent or elsewhere is not impaired by the rejection of all the reputed finds of Tertiary man in America.

#### *STRATIFIED ARCHÆOLOGICAL TESTIMONY.*

The third type of direct chronological testimony is afforded by the stratified monuments studied by archaeology. Properly speaking, such evidence, the rationale of which is based on the translation of successive deposition of artifacts and skeletal remains into a chronological cultural and racial sequence, is to be classed as inferential evidence, but the justifiability of the inferences as to time sequences is here so clear that it seems proper to consider it as direct. The method has yielded brilliant results in the study of prehistoric Europe and western Asia and is doubtless destined to teach us vastly more than has yet been disclosed to us about the earlier culture history of the rest of the world. For America, however, the results, while of distinct value as far as they go, have so far been rather more meagre than might have been expected. Whether this is primarily due to the nature of the culture history of America itself or to certain defects in the field methods of investigators, I would not venture to decide. Perhaps something is to be charged to both. In support of the former explanation we may point out that America is so vast a stretch of land in proportion to the relatively meagre aboriginal population and, as compared with the old world, of such recent occupancy that the chances of superimposition of cultures and races at a single spot are fairly slim. However, the stratigraphic type of reasoning is not necessarily restricted to cases where we have clearly distinct layers of archaeological finds, but may with advantage also be applied to the study of developments within the same culture by noting the relative depth of occurrence of various artifacts. The fruitfulness of this type of research has

been demonstrated by Nelson's discussion of the history of pottery in the Galisteo basin on the basis of the relative frequency of sherds of different types of ware at various levels. I am convinced that the stratigraphic method will in the future enable archaeology to throw far more light on the history of American culture than it has done in the past. The results already obtained in this way by Dall's researches in the Aleutian shell-heaps, by Boas' recent study of the various strata of pottery finds in the valley of Mexico, and by Uhle's researches in the Peruvian site of Pachacamac, to mention only a few examples of the use of the method, argue well for its increased usefulness in the future. The correlation of the time sequences thus determined by archaeology with those reconstructed from the data of ethnology presents a difficult theoretical problem, but in practice the difficulties are frequently less than might be supposed. That, in general, ethnologic and archaeologic data form a cultural continuum, few would now venture to deny.

#### INFERENCEAL EVIDENCE FOR TIME PERSPECTIVE.

So much for the direct evidence at our disposal for the establishment of time sequences in American culture. The inferenceal evidence for the same purpose may be yielded by physical anthropology, by the descriptive data of culture (ethnology and archaeology, which will henceforth be considered as two aspects of the same science), and by linguistics. It is customary to insist on the mutual independence of racial, cultural, and linguistic factors. This caution of method must, however, not be understood to mean that conclusions of direct value for the history of culture can not be derived from the data of physical anthropology and linguistics. In actual practice the units of distribution of these three sciences, while never coinciding throughout, do nevertheless show significant lines of accord. Thus, while the Plains physical type may not quite correspond in distribution to the Plains culture area, it is obvious that the typical Plains tribes, culturally speaking, are at the same time typical members of the Plains physical type. As we get away from both the culture and type, we simultaneously, though not



necessarily in like degree, experience a shading off into other cultures and types. The dividing line between the Pueblo and Plains Indians is about the same culturally and racially. These homologies certainly represent a significant historical fact. Nor, again, is it without historical significance that the Eskimo linguistic stock, Eskimo culture, and Eskimo race coincide rather closely in distribution. To take still another example, the linguistic break between the Algonkian and neighbouring Iroquois tribes was undoubtedly accompanied by a considerable cleavage in culture also, though the cultural break was not as profound, to be sure, as the linguistic one. That differences in culture ever neatly corresponded to differences of race and language can not be maintained, but I wish to point out that the numerous homologies are of at least as great historical importance as the discordances.

#### *EVIDENCE OF PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.*

We shall first take up the inferential evidence yielded by physical anthropology. A racial peculiarity as such is, of course, of no cultural significance (bodily mutilations, *e.g.*, West Coast or Southeastern head deformations, are, properly speaking, cultural evidence that happens to be associated with racial material), but the simple fact that the bearers of a distinctive culture are often marked off from the bearers of other cultures by a distinctive physical type enables us not infrequently to employ the racial evidence for cultural purposes. The finding of Eskimo skeletal remains in regions no longer inhabited by the Eskimo is, if one prefers common sense to methodological tyranny, enough to establish the former spread of Eskimo culture in that region. Again, the fact that the Montagnais Indians of Lake St. John and the lower St. Lawrence show an admixture of Eskimo physical traits is somewhat indicative of the former occupancy of part of their present territory by the Eskimo, an inference which is confirmed by other testimony. This fact naturally has its importance in the working out of the sequence of Algonkian tribal movements.

A second type of cultural evidence of chronological value is yielded by a statistical side of physical anthropology. I refer

to the relative thickness of population in any given area, whether this is inferred from the number of skeletal remains or directly gathered from the number of inhabitants known to occupy the area at a given time. If a large area is thinly peopled, we are inclined to infer that it has been occupied at a relatively recent period; while the presence of a large population in a restricted area generally argues long occupancy. From this point of view we shall have to conclude that the interior of Labrador was occupied by an Algonkian tribe (the Naskapi) at a time subsequent to the occupancy of the Maritime Provinces by other tribes of the same stock. Similarly, the great Plains area must have been practically unoccupied at a time when Yucatan and the valley of Mexico were already well peopled by a population considerably in advance of a primitive stage of culture; the comparatively late peopling of the Plains is an inference which can be reached also in other ways. The obvious caution to use in connexion with our present mode of reasoning is this, that geographical factors may limit the possibility of the increase of a primitive population beyond a certain point. Thus, the interior of Labrador would not be expected to support more than a sparse hunting population, even if peopled from time immemorial. With all due reservations, however, the value of density of population as an index of length of occupancy of a region cannot be gainsaid. A map, compiled from all the older sources available, showing approximately the relative density of the aboriginal population in different parts of the New World, before conditions were materially disturbed by contact with the whites, is a desideratum. Allowing for the geographical caution, it should throw not a little light on the currents of population in early America.

Though not strictly belonging here, we may also mention the evidence as to density of population supplied by the frequency of archæological remains in a given area. Thus, a comparison of the "thickness" of archæological remains of the Ohio valley with that of the remains of the middle Atlantic seaboard would seem to indicate a greater density of population and consequent priority of occupation for the former. We might conclude from this that the Algonkian tribes of the latter region (the Delaware) moved east to the Atlantic seaboard from the

Ohio valley, an inference for which, as it happens, we have also other evidence.

### *EVIDENCE OF ETHNOLOGY.*

More important for our purpose than evidence derived from a consideration of the data of physical anthropology or the density of population is the inferential chronological evidence derived from a study of American culture itself. Several more or less distinct lines of argument suggest themselves; there are no doubt others, not mentioned here, that may be at least equally fruitful.

### *CULTURAL SERIATION.*

A method that has been often used to reconstruct historical sequences from the purely descriptive material of cultural anthropology is one that may be termed seriation of cultural elements in order of complexity. The tacit assumption involved in this method is that human development has normally proceeded from the simple or unelaborated to the complex. Hence the simpler forms of a cultural element, whether found in the same or several tribes, are often interpreted as of greater age than the more complex ones. Thus, the simple type of totem pole consisting of a single carved figure, found, for instance, among the Nootka Indians, is almost certainly an older type than the more elaborate poles of, say, the Haida and Tsimshian, in which several carved figures are superimposed upon one another; the two-piece fire-drill of so many western American tribes must go back to a remoter period of American or general culture history than either the bow-drill of the Eskimo or the pump-drill of the Iroquois; the unorganized shamanistic practices of the Eastern Cree and other relatively undeveloped Algonkian tribes may well represent an older stratum of religious activity than the more elaborate Medicine Lodge or Midewiwin of the Ojibwa and Menomini; the simple type of suitor myth is doubtless older than the more elaborate form of the same myth found in clan legends; the use of detached amulets certainly dates back to a remoter past than the employment of amulet

assemblages in the form of medicine or war bundles with associated rituals; and so on indefinitely. The argument by seriation is utilized not only in proceeding from the simple to the complex but also in the alignment of cultural elements according to any other logical criterion, the sense in which such alignment is to be read being determined by theoretical motives. Here belong many series that have been constructed to show the development of geometric from realistic designs, the progress in these being not from the simple to the complex but from the logically prior to the logically secondary.

In the absence of outside chronological evidence, a different theoretical bias would make a chronological interpretation of the series in the opposite sense equally plausible; or one might feel constrained to break up the series altogether as determined by subjective considerations and, therefore, historically fortuitous. Evidence derived from seriation is, indeed, peculiarly apt to be controlled by a purely logical or concept-schematizing tendency. It fits in far better with the evolutionary than with the strictly historical method of interpreting culture. It can take little or no account of local or tribal differences or of mutual tribal influences, and thus substitutes for an historical construction a pseudo-historical one which may convince in the abstract but cannot easily be made to fit into an actual historical framework. The danger of the seriation method may be illustrated by an example. The Iroquois and Wyandot, as is well known, were organized into a number of exogamous clans bearing animal names, the members of each clan bearing individual names also characteristic of the clan. The clans, moreover, were grouped into two exogamous phratries. Now the neighbouring Mississauga, an Ojibwa tribe, were also divided into exogamous clans bearing animal or plant names, each of the clans being again characterized by sets of individual names. So far as we know, however, the Mississauga clans were not grouped into phratries. The seriation method of reconstructing culture history, proceeding from the simple to the complex, might well interpret these facts to mean that the Mississauga type of social organization was the older and that the phratric complication of the Iroquoian organization was a later development. Evidence derived from



a study of Ojibwa social organization, however, would lead one to conclude that the Mississauga organization was, on the contrary, merely borrowed in simplified form from that of the Iroquois, so that, as far as the relation between the Iroquois and Mississauga is concerned, the more complex type of organization, the clan-phratic, must be considered the older.<sup>1</sup> In spite of its inherent weakness as an historical method, there is no doubt that seriation can yield very valuable historical results. It is probably at its best in the construction of culture sequences of the simple-to-complex type in the domain of the history of artifacts and industrial processes, particularly where the constructions are confined to a single tribe or to a geographically restricted area.

### CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS.

I believe that a powerful method for the determination of the relative ages of cultural elements is the study of the associations that they form with one another, no matter whether these associations are of an organic (logically intelligible) or of a purely fortuitous character. There are several points to consider here. It is perfectly evident that the various elements and complexes that go to make up the whole of a culture are never isolated phenomena but that they enter into all sorts of relations. Some are necessary or demonstrable consequences of others, some are only different forms of a single underlying idea, still others are only externally connected.

### Principle of Necessary Presupposition.

The first principle of chronologic reconstruction to observe is that elements which are presupposed by other elements or complexes are necessarily earlier in age than the latter. A very simple application of this principle is the determination of the relative ages of the art of dressing skins and the buffalo-skin tipi of the Plains Indians. This type of dwelling was already firmly

<sup>1</sup> These remarks must not be misinterpreted to mean that the Iroquois phratry is necessarily an older social unit than the clan. The relative ages of the phratry and clan among the Iroquois themselves is, of course, another problem altogether.

established among the Plains Indians when first met by the whites but it is clear that a well-developed technique of fleshing and dehairing the hide and of rendering it pliable (presumably by the application of deer brains soaked in water) was necessary before the buffalo hide could be utilized as tipi cover. Hence we conclude that the technique of skin dressing common to many American tribes belongs to an older stratum of Plains culture than the buffalo-skin tipi.<sup>1</sup> Two of the most widespread and probably among the oldest elements of North American culture are the woven rabbit-skin blanket and the throwing-stick used in hunting the rabbit. There are, of course, other methods of securing the rabbit than by means of the throwing-stick, *e.g.*, the snaring method, so that the inference as to the greater age of the throwing-stick is not absolutely required by the facts. Nevertheless, the throwing-stick is so simple and characteristic an instrument for the purpose that I would hazard the thesis that it carries us back farther into the past than the woven rabbit-skin blanket. This would receive strong confirmation if it could be shown that the technique was originally developed in the southern plateaus (say among the Shoshonean tribes) and gradually spread north and east. Of this, however, there is no proof. One of the most characteristic and widespread Eskimo designs is the circle and dot, with which the concentric circle design is probably closely connected. It is clear that practically the only method which the Eskimo could employ to produce these designs is the drill. Hence the Eskimo circle and dot and concentric circle designs, old as they probably are, are younger than the drill itself. The Blackfoot medicine-bundle rituals always centre around a manitou experience, hence they are doubtless of much more recent age than the development of the typical American manitou experience itself.

The caution that must be borne in mind in the use of this principle of necessary presupposition is this, that a cultural element may be borrowed by a tribe without its chronological antecedent. Thus, the use of a cultivated variety of tobacco as a

<sup>1</sup> The question of whether the general type of conical tipi with pole foundation, of which the northern Algonkian conical birch-bark lodge is an example, is also of later origin than the skin-dressing technique, is, of course, not necessarily involved.

religious offering may be adopted without the cultivation of the tobacco plant itself, though the latter is a necessary cultural antecedent, for the tobacco may be regularly purchased by the tribe adopting the custom. Or the chronological antecedent may be replaced in the borrowing tribe by an equivalent, so that the chronological sequence established does not hold for the entire area considered, but only for a part of it. Thus, a decorative design which arises in one tribe as conditional to a certain technique may be freely adapted by the borrowing tribe to another technique.

### Reflection of Cultural Elements in Others.

A second type of association of culture elements is similar to the first but differs in that the sequence determined is not a necessary one. I include here all cases in which one of the cultural elements forms the subject matter, as it were, of the other. If this "subject matter" forms an integral part of the new formation, if it is not a secondary or accessory feature, it must be assumed to have preceded the latter in origin. We may then speak of an older element of culture as being "reflected" in a later element or complex. Thus, the self-torture characteristic of the Sun Dance of the Plains is evidently an old practice which has become specialized in a definite setting: it is probably considerably older than the Sun Dance complex itself. Its age as an element of American culture seems further indicated by its occurrence in other connexions among the Kwakiutl and Nootka Indians, though independent origin for the two areas is not inconceivable.

Excellent examples of the "reflection" of older elements in later forms are afforded by references to implements, customs, or beliefs in myths. The more frequent and stereotyped such a reference, the more reason, generally speaking, we have to assign the cultural element great age. Thus, the frequent references in Nootka family legends to whaling adventures is very good evidence of the antiquity of whaling among these Indians and show it to be older than a certain type of family legend itself. Conversely, the persistent failure of certain ele-

ments of culture to find mention in a representative set of myths is often good evidence, despite its negative character, for their comparatively recent origin. The fact that the Nootka Ts'ayeq or doctoring ceremony is never mentioned in the legends is good reason, despite its importance in the religious life of the people, for believing that it was introduced among these Indians at a later period than, say, the Wolf ritual or whaling rituals; this is confirmed by the fact that the more northern Nootka tribes lack the Ts'ayeq.

Place names and individual names are also sometimes useful as gauges for the relative ages of culture elements. To use the Nootka Indians once more, the fact that so many more of their individual names refer to whaling and whaling feasts than, say, to Wolf Ritual dances or potlatching, would seem to indicate a greater age for the former than for the two latter. Similarly, one cannot but admit that agriculture must have been practised by the Hopi for a very great length of time indeed, for so large a proportion of their individual names to refer to corn culture. In general, any well defined style or traditional mode of treatment is apt to embody an old culture element.

### **Relative Firmness of Association.**

A third method of utilizing the association of culture elements for chronological reconstruction is the relative degree of firmness or coherence with which they are attached to a complex. The firmer the association, the older the culture element; the looser the association, the more recent the culture element, at least in that particular connexion. In this way the obviously composite nature of many culture complexes, such as myths and rituals, can, under favourable circumstances, be resolved into a time sequence; in other words, the genesis and development of a culture complex may, to a certain extent, be read out of its own structure. That, *e.g.*, the Beaver bundle ritual of the Black-foot, at least in its present form, is of later origin than the Sun Dance is suggested by its loose superimposition upon the Sun Dance complex itself. An instructive example is afforded by a comparison of the relative importance or constancy of different



dances in the elaborate complex of dances constituting part of the Nootka Wolf Ritual. The great majority of these have properly nothing to do with the essential nucleus of the whole ceremony. Two of the dances are wolf dances and are probably the oldest of the set. A certain number of others, while not relating in any way to the wolf, are nevertheless typical dances of the whole ceremonial and are generally performed; these, while probably more recent than the wolf nucleus of the ritual, are no doubt of fairly considerable age. Finally, a large number of dances are so external in character to the ritual, that we must conclude them to be of late origin. Among these dances is to be included the Cannibal dance, which, indeed, we know from other evidence to be a recent acquisition from the Kwakiutl. Another example of an accessory and, therefore, late element of culture is to be seen in the vegetable foods of the Southern Paiute. Their main dependence for foods of this sort was on the large number of wild plant varieties (roots, seeds, cacti, pine-nuts) that they gathered and prepared in various ways. Nevertheless they were not entirely ignorant of agriculture even before the coming of the whites; they raised small patches of corn, beans, and sunflower seeds in a desultory way. The accessory character of Southern Paiute agriculture stamps it as a borrowing of no great antiquity from the Pueblo tribes to the south. An interesting type of accessory features is the explanatory (etiological) elements of many American myths. These are in doubtless every or nearly every case of later origin than the plots of the myths.

### **Maladjustment of Culture to Environment.**

In comparing a culture element or complex of one tribe with the related element or complex of a neighbouring tribe, we are sometimes struck by the fact that, despite its possible importance and elaboration in both, it seems somehow to be more at home in one than in the other. This is sometimes due to the fact that such a culture element or complex fits better into one geographical or cultural environment than the other. Thus, the sociological fact that the grizzly bear as crest is more in evidence among the

Tlingit and Tsimshian than among the Haida, though it is well established among the latter too, is almost certainly to be connected with the geographical fact that the grizzly bear is not found in the Queen Charlotte islands, the home of the Haida. We may safely conclude that the Haida grizzly bear crest is a borrowing from the mainland tribes. Conversely, the killer-whale, though one of the most important crests of the Tsimshian, does not occupy anything like the place in social organization and beliefs that it does among the Haida, among whom it is the chief crest of one of the two phratries. Once more, it seems safe to conclude that the Tsimshian Indians borrowed the crest from the Haida and to connect the predominance of the killer-whale among the Haida with the fact that they are an island people, who would, therefore, be brought into closer contact with so characteristic a denizen of the deep as the killer than the mainland tribes. Similarly, the clumsy elm-bark canoe of the Iroquois seems less adapted to its cultural environment than the various types of birch-bark canoe of their Algonkian neighbours. We may risk the guess that the Iroquois bark canoe<sup>1</sup> is an imperfect copy in elm-bark, a characteristically Iroquois material, of the superior Algonkian types, and connect this further with the general cultural consideration that the Iroquois were rather more inclined to be cross-country walkers than the neighbouring Algonkian tribes, who were more adept river and sea folk. The type of chronological reasoning based on the transfer of a style or technique suitable to one material, to a material more easily accessible in a neighbouring region, is too well known to need comment.

The argument from geographical or cultural fitness may open up wide vistas of historical interest. I shall refer to only one speculative problem of this type. One would imagine from the great importance of the thunderbird motive in West Coast culture, particularly in the southern part of the area, that the thunderstorm is a striking phenomenon in that part of the world. As a matter of fact, it is nothing of the kind. Only once in a great while, generally during the winter, one may hear a light rumble from the direction of the mountains. May we conclude

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<sup>1</sup>As contrasted with the shallow dug-out, probably an older type of Iroquois water craft.

from this that the thunderbird as a mythological motive gradually filtered into the West Coast, at a remote period in the past, the path of borrowing proceeding perhaps from the Eastern Woodlands and Plains, where the thunderbird motive is environmentally justified, across the western plateau, down the Columbia to the Pacific coast, and north to southern British Columbia?<sup>1</sup> Or would it seem more justifiable to consider the West Coast thunderbird motive as a heritage from a region of former occupancy in which its development could be more appropriately explained? In either case, we are impressed by the value of features of cultural maladjustment for inferences as to borrowing or tribal movement.<sup>2</sup>

### Frequency of Association.

A fifth method of studying culture associations for the purpose of reconstructing relative chronology is the noting, not, as in the preceding methods, of the character of the single associations, but of the frequency with which a particular culture element is associated with others. The more frequently an element is associated with others, the older, generally speaking, it will be felt to be. Our own feeling, for instance, that Christianity is an older historical development than, say, the locomotive, is not based altogether on the direct documentary evidence accessible to the inquirer, but, to a very considerable degree, on the far greater number of connexions (worship, ethical ideals, literature, plastic art, music, social prerogatives) into which the former enters in the whole of our culture. One feels that it takes considerable time for an element of culture to become so thoroughly ramified in the cultural whole as to meet us at every step. Such fundamental elements, as they are generally felt to be, are very frequently also the oldest, though not necessarily, of course, in all or even any of the forms in which they actually present themselves. A familiar example of such a fundamental, though not perhaps particularly striking, cultural trait is the

<sup>1</sup> This path of borrowing would explain the absence of the thunderbird motive in California.

<sup>2</sup> It should be carefully noted that the above remarks imply a relation of environment merely to the *content*, not the *forms* of culture.

emphasis among the Pueblo Indians on the four cardinal points. This emphasis is apparent in myth, ritual, and details of social organization, and is graphically expressed in sand paintings and otherwise. As a basic idea in Pueblo culture its extreme age can hardly be doubted. Similarly, the use of four as a ceremonial number in many American cultures; the notion of hereditary privileges in the male or female line among the West Coast Indians; the manitou dream or vision nearly everywhere in America; the grouping into moieties found in so many tribes, are all basic ideas which doubtless go back to a remote period, whether in American culture as a whole or, at least, in certain areas.

It is important to observe that a culture complex or element may take a prominent or even fundamental place in the life of a community and yet betray its relatively recent origin or introduction by its failure to enter into many associations with other elements or complexes. From this point of view, for instance, the decorative art of the Utes, despite its exuberance of development, does not impress one as being of great age. The Peyote cult of several Plains tribes is another such culture complex which, by its failure to enter into many culture combinations, leads to the supposition that it has been only recently introduced, a conclusion that is in this case directly given by documentary evidence. The cumulative-association method, as we may call it, is surely destined to play an important part in historical constructions, as it has already, more or less tacitly, done in the past.

### Cultural Elaboration and Specialization.

Mere elaboration of detail is not itself sufficient to establish the age of a culture complex, as experience shows that an elaborate technique or ritual may be borrowed *in toto*. Favourable circumstances, moreover, such as the influence of a powerful personality, may greatly accelerate such elaboration; witness the rapid growth of the Ghost Dance ceremonial in recent times. However, quite aside from the question of cumulative associations, the more elaborately developed of two culture complexes of a tribe may generally lay claim to the greater age. Thus,



the more complex medicine bundle rituals of the Blackfoot, such as the medicine-pipe, otter-bundle, and beaver-bundle rituals, are undoubtedly of greater age than many or all of the simpler ones. A useful distinction may be made between true or inner elaboration of detail and a superficial quantitative elaboration which often accompanies mushroom growth. As an example of such pseudo-elaboration may be cited the great number of versions of the origin legend of the Cannibal Dance current among the different Kwakiutl clans and tribes. It would be a mistake to lay much stress on the existence of these various versions as a proof of the age of the ceremonial (except from the point of view of geographical distribution, of which more anon), for they are evidently in large measure copied from one another. For this reason, among others, the clan legends of the Kwakiutl, which appear to show more variation, are doubtless older as a class than the ritualistic origin legends.

Considerable importance may often be attached to great specialization of form or technique as a sign of age, not so much of the specialized form as such as of the type of action or thought itself. The specialized weaving product known as the Chilcat blanket, for instance, while not necessarily of great age in its present form, undoubtedly presupposes a long period of development from simpler origins. Even without having recourse to a comparison of the Chilcat blanket weaving with the weaving of neighbouring tribes (*e.g.*, the Salish dog's hair blanket with geometrical designs), we shall have to conclude that the weaving of mountain-goat wool blankets among the Tlingit goes back to a respectable antiquity. It is particularly in the comparison of the same culture complex in different tribes that the argument from degree of elaboration finds useful application. As a rule, the complex is oldest in the tribe in which it has received the greatest elaboration. Thus, the peculiar association of myth and song so characteristic of the Mohave, Yuma, and doubtless other Yuman tribes of the Colorado, is also found, if apparently in rather different form, among the Southern Paiute tribes to the east. The elaboration, however, seems so much greater among the Yuman tribes that we may justly suspect the Paiute to have borrowed the idea of the sung myth (restricted among the Paiute

to the dialogue portions of the myth) from the Yuman tribes. Again, the more intensive agriculture of the Iroquois as compared with that of their Algonkian neighbours implies that the latter learned the art at a later date than the Iroquois.

### **Cultural Survivals.**

The seventh and last method of chronological reconstruction that makes use of the association of culture elements and complexes is the method of survivals, which has been so plentifully, one might almost say abusively, employed by evolutionary ethnologists. By a survival, I do not mean an element which is wilfully, or according to some general theory, construed to be the remnant of some more elaborate complex that is believed on general principles to have disintegrated in the tribe under consideration, but merely an obscure or isolated belief, custom, myth-episode, or other culture element that seems rather out of its context, as though its full content had been lost and it no longer stood in thoroughly intelligible relation to the rest of the culture. Survivals are particularly apt to be such customs or beliefs as are blindly accepted by the native without attempt at rationalization (reinterpretation). Taboos of various sorts, for instance, often belong here. The nucleus of the Nootka puberty rite for girls, to take another example, consists of a number of rigidly prescribed ceremonial acts whose meaning is no longer understood by the Indians and which they do not attempt to explain. This nucleus may be termed a survival complex and is undoubtedly older than the rest of the puberty ceremonial, much of which belongs to the rationalized stock in trade of the Indian. A survival may sometimes hark back to a practice of daily life superseded by a later one, as when, in a ceremonial, entry into the house must be made through the smoke-hole. Survivals, if we can only be sure we really have them, are of great historical interest, as they undoubtedly reach back far into the past. Survivals may, however, be only apparent, so that great caution is needed in the utilization of them. An element of culture may be merely borrowed from another tribe in which its setting is perfectly plain; becoming detached

from this setting, it may appear as an isolated survival-like element in the borrowing culture and deceptively suggest great age. Or the element may appear as a survival merely because all the descriptive data required for its elucidation have not been recorded.

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURE.

So far the inferential evidence derived from ethnological data (by the seriation and association methods) has been gained from a consideration of the cultures, complexes, and elements themselves and in their mutual relations. There remains a third method, in many ways the most powerful of all. This is the method of inference from the geographical distribution of cultures and culture elements. We may either take the distribution of a single element or complex, determine the mode and extent of such distribution, and attempt to interpret the geographical evidence in terms of a time sequence; or we may take a so-called culture area as a whole, see what elements of resemblance and difference it has with other areas, and thus aim to get a glimpse of remoter time sequences. Needless to say, these two tasks are not clearly marked off from each other but, on the contrary, cross in various ways.

### Diffusion of Culture Elements.

#### CONTINUOUS DISTRIBUTION FROM A CULTURAL CENTRE.

Generally speaking, the geographical distribution of a culture-element is continuous. It may stop abruptly at a prominent geographical barrier, such as a mountain range or desert tract, or send out spurs along favourable lines of communication, such as navigable streams or easily traversed coast lines, but, on the whole, the area of distribution tends to be a compact land mass with a more or less clearly defined centre in which the culture element under consideration is most elaborately, or, better, most typically, developed. Cases of culture distribution of this type are perfectly familiar to American ethnologists. Two or three examples may be given to fix the attention. Agriculture

in aboriginal America is spread over a perfectly continuous territory reaching from the heart of South America, north through Central America and Mexico, into the Pueblo country of Arizona and New Mexico, and east and north throughout the gulf region and Mississippi valley. The centre of distribution is probably to be assigned to the valley of Mexico. The quadrangular wooden house built up on a framework of corner posts and cross beams (with the level of the floor generally lower than the surface of the ground, with inclined roof, often with circular entrance) is a feature reaching from the Tlingit of southern Alaska south to the tribes of northwestern California. The centre of distribution may perhaps be fixed in the coast region of southern British Columbia. The Sun Dance is an elaborate but quite clearly defined ritualistic complex that is found represented among all the typical Plains tribes, but is also shared by a number of adjoining tribes on the east (*e.g.*, Ponca) and on the west (*e.g.*, Ute, Bannock, Flathead). The centre of distribution would seem to be in the heart of the Plains area, say among the Arapaho and Cheyenne.

In these and innumerable other cases the historical reasoning generally employed is easily understood. The cultural phenomenon whose distribution is studied must have originated but once in the area of distribution and have gained its present spread by a gradual process of borrowing from tribe to tribe. In this process the borrowed element is progressively subjected to various associative influences, so that it appears in its least typical form at the periphery of the area, in its most typical or historically oldest form at the cultural centre. This ideally simple mode of interpretation is, of course, seriously disturbed by several important factors. Thus, the spread of the culture element may, for environmental or resistant cultural reasons, be much more rapid in one direction than another, so that the culture centre is far removed from the actual geographical centre of distribution; the cultural centre may even conceivably lie at the periphery, especially if it happens to be near a powerful geographical barrier. Again, the historically oldest form of the culture element or complex may have undergone so much modification or elaboration at the centre as to appear in more typical



form at a considerable distance from it; this factor may lead to the wrong determination of the cultural centre. Movements of population within the area of distribution, furthermore, may bring about an easily misinterpreted type of culture distribution. Yet, in spite of these and other criticisms that may be urged, any or all of which would have to be considered in specific problems, the general value and validity of the theory of culture diffusion as a solution of the problem raised by the continuous distribution of a culture trait must be granted.

*Sequence of Diffusion.*

For our purpose, that of chronological reconstruction, at least two important principles of method result. In the first place, allowing for such corrections as various cautions make necessary, the tribe at the cultural centre must be inferred to have first developed the culture element or complex studied, while those geographically removed from the centre were later affected by it, those at the periphery receiving the new type of thought or action last of all. Thus, to use our former examples, the Carib and Arawak tribes of South America on the one hand and the Pueblo Indians on the other have probably become agriculturists at a considerably later date than the more advanced peoples of Mexico; such still predominantly but not exclusively agricultural tribes as the Mandan and Iroquois have no doubt taken up agriculture later than the Pueblos; while such outlying tribes as the Southern Paiute and various southern bands of Ojibwa have evidently become desultory agriculturists at a relatively recent time. Again, the quadrangular house of the Hupa and Yurok of northwestern California undoubtedly represents a later period of diffusion, though not necessarily a later type of house, than the more elaborate structures of the Kwakiutl of British Columbia. And the Sun Dance has obviously come later to the Ponca on the one hand and the Ute on the other than to such typical Plains tribes as the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa.

*Relative Ages of Diffused Culture Elements.*

The second mode of chronological inference from the facts of diffusion refers to the relative ages of two culture traits. We may say, roughly speaking, that the larger the territory covered by a culture trait, the older the trait itself. Thus, to return once more to our former examples, agriculture may be suspected to have developed earlier in America than the quadrangular type of wooden house, at least in its more massive form; while both features are certainly older than the Sun Dance complex. A host of other examples will occur to any one. The type of mythological plot known as the "magic flight," which is spread from Asia, through North America, down into South America, certainly possesses a hoarier antiquity than the incident of the diving for mud with which to fashion the earth, a motive which is found in an east and west zone of distribution from the Atlantic seaboard to California and the Columbia valley; the latter, in turn, is certainly an older product of myth invention than, say, the Loon Woman story, which is restricted to a number of tribes in California. The hand game, played with two or four cylindrical bone objects, is distributed over a tremendous area west of the Rockies, reaching from British Columbia south to northern Mexico; it need hardly be insisted that its age is greater than that, for instance, of the special type of stick game played by the northern tribes of the West Coast area. Similarly, the type of geometric designs, executed in twined or coiled basketry, that is found distributed among a vast number of western tribes (from the Tlingit and Chilcotin in the north to the Pima and beyond in the south) must be an immensely older cultural development than the peculiar semi-realistic designs of certain West Coast tribes (Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, Tsimshian, Haida, Tlingit).

*Cautions in Use of Criterion of Diffusion.*

*Delimitation of Culture Concepts.* This type of reasoning is often fascinating, it opens up interesting historical vistas, but it also has its peculiar dangers. A difficulty that often arises is the strict definition or delimitation of the culture elements

whose distributions are compared. Properly speaking, no such element originates at a specific point of time, but is imperceptibly connected, by a process of gradual change, with another element or with other elements lying back of it. Thus, a specific type of house or a religious belief or practice is linked historically with other types of house or of religious belief or practice from which it has been modified or by which it has been influenced. Eventually, it is bound to be historically connected with (derived from) a cultural form with which it has little outward resemblance. Hence the logical necessity of delimiting by a specific characteristic or characteristics the particular elements of culture whose relative ages it is determined to ascertain. Such a procedure may seem arbitrary at times, but it is made unavoidable by the futility of the quest for true origins.<sup>1</sup> In comparing the ages of culture complexes (and most cultural "elements" are at last analysis complexes) the complexes themselves must be clearly defined as an assemblage (functionally unified, as a rule) of specific elements. The relative ages of culture complexes do not necessarily throw light on the ages of the elements themselves. Thus, it would be a great mistake to infer from the priority of American agriculture to the Sun Dance complex also a necessary priority of agriculture to such elements of the Sun Dance complex as the ceremonial mock battle, the Sun Dance type of offerings, or the practice of self-torture; nor does the probable priority of the quadrangular wooden house to the Sun Dance complex involve its priority to the type of house which served as model for the Sun Dance lodge. The failure to distinguish between the age of a culture complex and that of one of its elements is largely responsible for much of the unhistorical character of cultural interpretation of the evolutionary type. Many a supposed "survival" is doubtless far older than the typical complex which

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<sup>1</sup> This is not the place to develop the thesis that the only conceivable kind of culture origin is the association into a functional unit of cultural elements already in existence in unassociated form. From this point of view any stage in the history of a culture element is fully as much an origin as the reconstructed or hypothetical starting point. Origins, as ordinarily understood, are set off from other points of a cultural sequence merely by more or less arbitrary relative evaluations of such points; to the "origin" is attached greater significance, for whatever reason you please, than to the immediately preceding and following points of the sequence. To use a geographical metaphor, an "origin" is the peak of a time-ridge.

is held to render it intelligible.<sup>1</sup> We cannot go into the question of how culture elements are to be marked off from one another and to what extent culture complexes are artificial abstractions or historically justifiable units. As speculative chronologists seeking to handle definite material, all we insist on is a clear-cut definition of the culture element and the assignment of a definite nucleus of associated traits to the culture complex.

*Rate of Diffusion.* A second factor in the historical utilization of culture distributions is more difficult to control. This is the vast differences in rate of transmission that must be assumed for (or, to a considerable extent, may be observed in) the various types of culture traits. Thus, it is obvious that a humorous story travels faster than a religious ceremony, a device for trapping game than a system of relationship terms, a social dance than a system of property inheritance, the cultivation of a particular plant than the art of agriculture itself. Hence we cannot directly compare areas of distribution without full allowance for the nature of the distributed traits themselves and, where possible, of the factors involved in the processes of distribution. In other words, such areas must be weighted as well as measured. This weighting presents a difficult but not altogether hopeless problem. The different methods of inferring and comparing rates of culture transmission form a large problem in themselves and cannot be fully outlined here.

I would suggest, with all due reserve, that rate of culture transmission is due to three mutually independent factors or, better, types of factors: the relative ease or readiness with which a culture trait is communicated by one tribe to another, the readiness with which it is adopted by the borrowing tribe, and the external conditions which favour or militate against the adoption of the trait. Where all three groups of factors are favourable towards the spread of the culture element, the rate of such spread is naturally at a maximum.

*Conditions of Culture Lending.* One of the most important conditions making for readiness of transmission is that a culture

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<sup>1</sup> These general considerations on the comparison of culture elements and complexes hold, of course, for the whole of this paper. They are introduced in connexion with the problem of distribution of culture traits because here the matter of definition of such traits is most imperative.



element be not hedged about with secrecy or taboo, that there be nothing esoteric about it. Thus, the spectacular part of a religious ceremony is much more readily borrowed by a neighbouring tribe than the esoteric elements known only to a few. Similarly, a myth or tale which is told for the mere fun of the telling travels faster than an origin or family legend that is owned by a specific society or clan. Again, a medicinal herb or other remedy whose use is widely known and openly practised in one tribe will be readily transmitted to a neighbouring tribe, while a method of treatment that is treasured as a secret by a particular family or religious society<sup>1</sup> tends to oppose itself to cultural transmission. In practice, of course, all cultural elements, no matter of how esoteric a nature, are capable of diffusion. It is a question here merely of relative rates of diffusion.

A still more important, if less easily grasped, condition of ready transmission is this, that the culture element in question be capable of detachment from its context and comprehensible as such. There is no doubt that different culture elements are thus detachable or, what amounts to the same thing, capable of conscious formulation by the native in quite different degrees. We have here a continuous gamut, ranging from the zero, or almost such, of a vocalic or consonantic change to indicate some subtle grammatical notion up to the maximum of what we may awkwardly term "conceptual detachability" of a type of implement of clear-cut form, material, and use. Obviously, culture elements are transmissible, roughly speaking, with an ease that is proportionate to their "conceptual detachability." Thus, we expect a ceremonial dance as such to be much more readily transmitted than any notions there may be as to its function; a myth plot more readily than, let us say, the cosmogonic ideas which serve as its frame; an element of decorative design than the precise mechanical technique in which it is executed or its style of artistic treatment in a particular tribe; a definite social custom, say the mother-in-law taboo, than the exact range of meaning covered by a relationship term.

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<sup>1</sup> Thus, the various lines of descent among the Nootka tribes all possess medicines which are guarded with jealous secrecy. Compare with this the secret knowledge of a remedy for rattlesnake bites possessed by the Rattlesnake fraternity of the Hopi Indians.

**Conditions of Culture Borrowing.** The second group of factors involved in culture transmission, that referring to the receptivity of the borrowing tribe, is probably even more important than the factors already considered. Only one of these factors need be mentioned here—the relative ease with which the borrowed culture element is assimilated to the culture of the borrowing tribe. Almost invariably we find that a new idea or activity borrowed from without falls in line with already existing ideas or activities; it does not so much constitute a new departure in cultural endeavour as fill out with a new richness of detail a pigeon-hole of culture ready to receive it. Frequently enough, in the process of borrowing, its primary significance is either lost or distorted; such loss or distortion is nearly always an expression of the assimilating power of the borrowing culture. In only a vast minority of cases, indeed, is an element of culture transplanted *in toto*, without undergoing assimilatory modifications. As far as the problem of rapidity of transmission is concerned, we are in the main safe in saying that the more perfectly an element fits into its new cultural environment, the more nearly, in other words, it answers to the immediate needs or interests of the borrowers, the more rapid will be the rate of transmission. Hence it is not difficult to understand why myth plots, spectacular dances, games, and certain decorative designs spread with tremendous rapidity and may, in many cases, cover larger areas of distribution than culture elements of greater age. These considerations make it peculiarly hazardous to infer greater age on the basis of geographical distribution when the elements compared belong to widely distinct categories of thought or activity, say social organization and methods of securing game.

**External Conditions of Diffusion.** The communicability of a culture element and the receptivity of the borrowing tribe, so far as already discussed, are conditioned by the nature of the element itself. External factors of various sorts, however, are generally highly important determinants of the course and rapidity of transmission. These form the third group referred to. Most or all of them may be summarized under the heading of degree of intimacy subsisting between the two tribes involved. Thus, tribes that are on a friendly footing for a long period of

time interchange elements of culture more freely and rapidly than such as are continuously at war with one another. A good example is afforded by the Mississauga, who, though an Algonkin tribe, assimilated in a relatively short time, because of their friendship with the Hurons and, in later times, Iroquois, a greater share of Iroquoian culture than such Algonkin tribes as the Malecite and Abenaki, who were never, at least until quite recently, on friendly terms with the Iroquois. Similarly, the culture of the Athabaskan Hupa is almost identical with that of their friendly non-Athabaskan neighbours, the Yurok and Karok, while that of their Athabaskan neighbours immediately to the south was much less complex.

A particularly important aspect of our problem is the extent to which transmission of culture elements is encouraged by intermarriage. Intermarriage, involving, as it does, change of residence, is perhaps the most potent of the more intimate causes of the spread of a cultural feature. Where, as among certain of the West Coast tribes, the dowry system prevails and where, moreover, as among all these tribes, privileges are inherited by heirs even when identified with an alien tribe, it is evident that many elements of culture (personal names, legends, crests, dances, songs) travel with relatively little change for very considerable distances. Frequently, indeed, we may say more properly that a culture element follows the paths of family connexion than of geographical propinquity as such. Eventually, of course, the cumulative effect of several intermarriages within a given area, aided by the stimulation exercised by an alien culture element on the form of similar activities in the local cultural stock, will make perfectly continuous the distribution within this area of practically any borrowed element.

An important external aid to free cultural transmission is mutual intelligibility (or partial intelligibility) of speech between the tribes that are in cultural contact. Lack of this aid, as we have already seen in the case of the Hupa, Yurok, and Karok, does not by any means constitute an effective bar to the borrowing and spread of ideas and activities, but its presence is certainly a powerful reinforcer of them. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a host of cultural elements held in common by all the

Iroquoian tribes, including the Hurons and Neuters, despite the hostility of these to the League; or to find the various tribes of Nootka Indians, speaking diverse but mutually intelligible dialects, sharing certain ethnological traits in contrast to their Kwakiutl and Salish neighbours. Such a case as that of the Hupa, Yurok, and Karok, or of the Tsimshian and Haida, is, properly speaking, only an apparent exception; for, where contact between tribes of radically distinct speech is close, there will practically always be found a number, sometimes even the majority of one of the tribes, who are bilingual. It is these bilingual individuals who undoubtedly serve, to a large extent, as the media of cultural interinfluences. Generally speaking, then, far-reaching cultural contact can hardly take place except as conditioned by some sort of mutual intelligibility of speech. It is often assumed off-hand that cultural resemblances between linguistically related tribes must go back to a time antedating the present linguistic differentiation. Yet it is evident from what we have said that the very fact of close linguistic affinity paves the way for a more than ordinarily rapid transmission within the geographical bounds of the larger linguistic unit. This in no way contradicts the statement made earlier in the paper that linguistic and cultural areas at least tend to be congruent. It merely points out that such congruence is not altogether necessitated by genetic factors (by a common historical heritage), but may, very largely, be shaped by the secondary process of borrowing under a favouring linguistic condition. This point of view may well cause hesitation in too free a use of the hypothesis of tremendous cultural conservatism in explaining the numerous and often startling resemblances in culture details between various Eskimo tribes. The hoary antiquity of at least some such features, when closely scrutinized, may resolve itself into a relatively recent spread of fashion.

We have already referred to geographical barriers as limiting the even spread of an element of culture. This opens up the question of accessibility of tribe to tribe, of aboriginal waterways and trade routes generally. Clearly, not only articles of trade, such as implements, foods, clothing, and ornament, but all manifestations of culture, whether material or not, travel



easiest along such trade routes. Hence, in evaluating geographical distribution of culture elements for ethnological reconstruction, it makes all the difference whether the tribes observed to have a certain feature in common lie along a well established trade route or not; further, whether or not they are in the habit of meeting periodically, or at least frequently, for exchange of goods and participation in common activities (ceremonies, amusements). Considerations of this sort will sometimes force us to correct radically impressions derived from a mere bird's-eye view of geographical distribution. The distance, for example, between the Copper Eskimo and, say, the Eskimo of the east coast of Labrador is, even in a straight line, more than ten times as great as that which separates the Yurok, of the west coast of California, from the Pomo to the south. Nevertheless, the cultures of the two Eskimo groups mentioned doubtless present many more points of similarity than those of the Yurok and Pomo. Does this prove that the culture traits peculiar to the Eskimo are as a body older than those respectively characteristic of the Yurok and Pomo, or, to put it somewhat differently and perhaps more legitimately, that the Eskimo are, culturally speaking, a much more conservative people than either the Yurok or Pomo? Whether such inferences are correct or not, they do not necessarily follow from the facts of geographical distribution. We must remember that the Eskimo are in the habit of covering immense distances by umiak and sleigh, furthermore that neighbouring Eskimo tribes often meet for trade purposes and that in this way objects and ideas (stories, songs, dances), may, with no great lapse of time, travel far from their home. On the other hand, the Pomo were not marine travelers and, like most central Californian tribes, only desultory river travellers, while the Yurok, though good canoemen, were certainly not in the habit of venturing far out at sea; moreover, inland communication between the Yurok and Pomo would be rendered difficult by the coast range of mountains. In short, the culturally "weighted" distance between the Yurok and Pomo may even turn out to be greater than that between the Copper Eskimo and the remote East Labrador natives. I believe that one of the pressing needs for a study of the larger problems of American culture history is a

careful mapping of the paths along which culture elements can be shown to have travelled with relative rapidity. Other things being equal, a culture element found distributed along lines of rapid transit must be considered as lesser in age than one distributed over the same geographical extent but largely along lines lying aside from trade routes.

*Chronological Inferences from Geographical Distribution.*

Such considerations as general intimacy subsisting between tribes, intermarriage, linguistic kinship, and means of access constitute some of the external factors governing the rate of cultural diffusion. None of these can be considered as altogether independent of the others, but each may operate in quite different degree. We are now in a better position to make profitable use for chronology of the method of geographical distribution than if we interpret such distribution at its face value. Putting the various factors involved in the transmission of a culture element into the form of a formula, we may say that: a culture element is transmitted with a maximum ease when it is conceptually readily detachable from its cultural setting, is not hedged about in practice by religious or other restraints, is without difficulty assimilable to the borrowing culture, and travels from one tribe to another living in friendly, or at least intimate, relations with it, particularly when these tribes are bound to each other by ties of intermarriage and linguistic affinity and are situated on an important trade route. Geographical arguments as to the age of a culture element transmitted under all these conditions need to be most qualified. General statements, such as have been made by Rivers and others, as to the relative conservatism or ease of diffusion of broad categories of culture, such as religion, mythology, social organization, art, and technology, are of little practical service, as everything depends on the specific nature of the borrowed element, the degree of similarity between the two cultures brought into relation, and the favourable or unfavourable character of the external circumstances of borrowing. While one cannot disprove, for example, that social organization, as maintained by Rivers, is the most conservative of all cultural features, it seems clear to me that the various elements

of social organization may behave quite differently from the point of view of diffusion. A tale, for instance, will normally travel much faster than a type of clan organization, to be sure, but it is perfectly conceivable, on the other hand, that an esoteric ritualistic myth may fail to be borrowed by a neighbouring tribe which has nevertheless adopted isolated features of social organization.

#### CONVERGENT DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN AREAS OF CONTINUOUS DISTRIBUTION.

So far we have assumed that the geographical distribution of a culture element is continuous and that, this being so, it may be represented as a single historical process of gradual diffusion. But two other possibilities present themselves. A culture trait may be continuous and yet not of single origin; in other words, it may have been independently evolved twice or even more often within its present area of distribution, so that the continuity of distribution represents a meeting and partial amalgamation of two or more distinct but similar streams of influence. Personally I do not believe that such types of diffusion, theoretically possible as they may be, are at all frequent. In probably the majority of supposed cases the two or more contiguous culture distributions are of elements that are of only superficial, not fundamental, similarity; where the similarity is undoubted and where, nevertheless, a single origin seems, for one reason or another, improbable, we are entitled to suspect that there has been an assimilation of two originally more clearly distinct elements into new forms. The criteria, formal and functional, of independent origin (convergence) versus historical relationship of similar cultural elements have been often discussed. The question is a large and puzzling one—puzzling, I venture to think, more in the abstract than as applied to specific cases. In any case, the determination of such independent origin or historical relationship must be assumed as made—how does not directly concern us here—before our methods of chronologic reconstruction can be applied.

## INTERRUPTED DISTRIBUTION.

*Cautions in Inferring Historical Connexion.*

The second possibility is of more interest. A culture element may be not continuous but interrupted in its geographical distribution, that is, it may be found represented in two or more tribes or groups of tribes separated by a tribe or group of tribes which does not share this feature. Here, even more than in the preceding case, it must be clearly ascertained that the supposed similarity in culture is fundamental or real before the problem of independent origin versus historical relationship can be attacked at all. Where the geographical distance is great, the resemblance limited to features of a very general character, and, more important still, the historical trend of the culture element which has been reconstructed for each area proves to run in quite different senses, it would be extremely hazardous, in the absence of other evidence, to infer historical connexion.

*Danger of Conceptualizing Too Widely.* The constant danger that besets the investigator is to make historical or psychological actualities out of merely conceptual abstractions—the more widely one defines the terms of his abstractions the more easily will he be enabled to embrace very distinct cultural phenomena within a single historical or psychological problem. Superficially the phratric organization of a number of West Coast tribes (Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian) bears points of resemblance to that of the Iroquois. Between the Iroquois and the West Coast tribes lies a vast stretch of country inhabited almost entirely by tribes without phratric organization. Have we here a case of convergent evolution or of an originally (or from time to time partly) continuous area of phratry distribution which has become disrupted by the vicissitudes of history? A closer study of the nature of the phratries in the two areas soon convinces one that they are in essence more unlike than alike. While the West Coast phratries are, at least in nucleus, enlarged kin groups with specific crests, the Iroquois phratries are rather functional



(quasi-political) aggregations of clans.<sup>1</sup> What I have termed the "historical trend" of the phratries seems different in the two regions. The West Coast phratry, aside from later accretions of originally disconnected clans, seems to have arisen as the result of its splitting up into a large number of clans, that have not altogether lost their sense of kinship. The Iroquois phratry, however, seems to be a secondary confederation of clans.<sup>2</sup> Thus we conclude that what threatened to be an interesting problem, opening up a wide historical perspective, is hardly more than a conceptualistic mirage.

*Degree of Geographical Isolation.* At this point I wish to urge that the degree of geographical isolation of the two areas involved must by no means be neglected in weighing the claims of a theory of independent origin against those of historical relationship. The greater the geographical distance, the stronger have we a right to demand the evidence to be of historical connexion, that is, the more rigidly do we apply our criteria. The reason for this is that, as the distance between two tribes possessing a feature in common increases, the greater becomes the difficulty of assuming that all the intervening tribes once also possessed the feature, but lost it, or that the tribes compared

<sup>1</sup> Two or three facts bearing on the complex problem of the nature of the two phratric organizations will suffice here. While, among the West Coast Indians, the phratry as such has its definite crest or crests, the relationship among its clans being largely determined by ownership of this same crest, the Iroquois phratries can hardly be said to be characterized by crests or totemic emblems. On the West Coast the various clans, like those of the Iroquois, are characterized by distinctive sets of personal names; unlike the Iroquois clans, however, a number of clans belonging to the same phratry often possess certain names in common (I have in mind chiefly Mr. C. M. Barbeau's Tsimshian data), a fact that points to the West Coast phratry (or phratric nucleus) as an old kin group that has become subdivided into a number of clans. Both these facts clearly emphasize the kin-group nature of the West Coast phratry as contrasted with the Iroquois phratry. Equally instructive is the ceremonial relation subsisting between the phratries in the two cases. Among the Iroquois the phratries act as such in their relations to each other—in games, in mourning or commemoration ceremonies, in council deliberations. Among the West Coast Indians reciprocal functions, it is true, have been reported for the phratries (witness the phratric burial duties among the Tlingit), but where a more complete analysis has been made (again I have in mind chiefly Mr. Barbeau's Tsimshian data) it would seem that what is really involved in such cases is not the (or an) opposite phratry as such but a group of paternal kinsmen which, in a society with matrilineal inheritance, must needs belong to the (or an) opposite phratry. Here again the West Coast tribes emphasize the phratry as a kin group, the Iroquois as a functional unit.

<sup>2</sup> There are several reasons for believing this to be true. One of the more important ones is the fact that while the clans correspond to a large extent in the Iroquoian tribes, their grouping into phratries does not. In other words, the Iroquoian clan tradition seems older, on the whole, than the phratric tradition.

were once in geographical contact but were later severed by migration. Neither of these alternatives is at all impossible, though the former has undoubtedly been more often theoretically advanced than specifically demonstrated. The point to remember is that the probability of either decreases, other things being equal, with the increase of distance. The claim of Graebner and others of his school that the test of historical relationship between two culture elements is to be sought solely in certain formal and other characteristics of the elements themselves without any regard to the geographical difficulties involved must be rejected as naïve. It tacitly assumes that we are able in every given case to decide whether a culture feature or group of features is or is not capable of more than one independent origin, that is, it affects to treat as mathematical certainties judgments which notoriously vary from individual to individual. Where there is in practice so much room for difference of interpretation of Graebner's criteria, we shall do well to cling humbly to the geographical caution. Hence, e.g., a West Coast crutch paddle will not necessarily be heard to cry vigorously for its Melanesian mate.

#### *Chronological Value of Interrupted Cultural Distribution.*

A considerable number of valid cases, however, of historical relationship between culture elements found in geographically non-contiguous areas undoubtedly remains. How this validity is to be established it is not part of our task to define. Before similarity of geographically disconnected culture elements can be utilized for chronological purposes, it is obvious that their historical relationship must be assumed as demonstrated.<sup>1</sup> Such historical connexion, as already indicated, can be under-

<sup>1</sup> This does not mean that arguments based on time perspectives gained from a consideration of other data may not help to establish the independent origin or historical relationship of the similar culture elements investigated. Thus, to use our former example, if it could be shown on other evidence that the Iroquois phratries have necessarily originated subsequently to the rise of a culture element whose distribution is confined to the Eastern Woodlands tribes and whose former existence cannot be demonstrated among the West Coast or intervening tribes, it becomes increasingly difficult, impossible indeed, to historically connect the phratries of the two regions. On the other hand, if it could be shown on other evidence that the Iroquois phratries necessarily antedate the rise of a culture element of almost universal distribution in America, say the acquiring of power from manitous, the ground would be effectively cleared for the demonstration of the thesis that the phratries of the two regions are historically connected.

stood in two ways. We may either succeed in showing that the intervening tribes, who once possessed the culture element, have lost it; or we may show that one or more of the tribes of one of the areas formerly lived in geographical contact with the tribes of the other area and was, at a subsequent period, severed from them either by a peaceful migration or by the irruption of hostile tribes. In either case the problem is reduced to the normal one of the continuous diffusion of a culture element from a single centre.

For chronological purposes, cases of the interrupted distribution of a culture element are of particular importance. In a general way, a culture element whose area of distribution is a broken one must be considered as of older date, other things being equal, than a culture element diffused over an equivalent but continuous area. The reason for this is that in the former case we have to add to the lapse of time allowed for the diffusion of the element over its area of distribution the time taken to bring about the present isolation of the two areas, a time which may vary from a few years or a generation to a number of centuries. Thus, any culture traits which, *e.g.*, the Tuscarora may be shown to have in common with the non-contiguous tribes of the Iroquois League alone may well be suspected to be of greater antiquity than such as say the Neuters or Erie may be shown to share with the neighbouring League tribes alone.

More specifically, the interrupted distribution of a culture element gives us a minimum relative date for the origin of the culture element itself. The element must have arisen prior to the event or series of events that resulted in the geographical isolation of the two areas. Examples of this type of chronological reasoning will occur to every one; they are particularly easy to understand where there has been a tribal migration. Thus, the peculiar type of star myth (identification of mythological heroes with stars or constellations) found among both the Arikara of North Dakota and the Pawnee of Nebraska, but not among the intervening Siouan tribes, was doubtless developed before the northward drift of the Arikara away from their linguistic kinsmen. In a similar way, we may conclude that the family hunting territories, with tendency to paternal descent, of the Algonkin



tribes of New England and the Maritime Provinces (Penobscot, Abenaki, Micmac), a feature found also among the Algonkin tribes of the Ottawa valley (Ojibwa, Algonquin) but not, as far as can be ascertained, among the intervening Iroquoian peoples, go back to a time preceding the irruption of the latter into what must formerly have been Algonkin territory.

More difficult of treatment are cases of interrupted distribution not due to movements of population. In only a small minority of these will the culture element in question turn out to have totally disappeared without trace in the intervening region. It is, indeed, almost inconceivable that the formerly existing cultural feature should have been so thoroughly wiped out or should have been so completely replaced by another element of equivalent function as to leave no trace. Generally we shall find that it either lingers on in modified form or that other cultural features (say mythological references) presuppose it. The more profoundly the element has become modified in the intervening region or the less evident traces it has left of its former existence, the older must we infer its formerly continuous distribution and its origin to be.<sup>1</sup> According to whether one emphasizes differences or similarities in analysing culture elements and complexes, the same problem may often be labelled one of either interrupted or continuous distribution. One application of the chronological thesis based on interrupted distribution will suffice here. The conical bark lodge with pole foundation is found distributed among many Algonkin tribes in Maine and Canada, also farther west among Athabaskan tribes. Among the Paiutes of the southern plateaus we find it again, except that instead of regular layers of birch bark we have cedar bark more

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<sup>1</sup> There is nothing to prevent our inferring its original centre of distribution to have been in the intervening territory itself in which the element is no longer found in characteristic form, if at all. Thus, Buddhism in Ceylon and in Tibet point, aside from such overwhelmingly corroborative documentary evidence as we possess, to its formerly continuous distribution via India, where, despite its lingering existence among Jain sectaries, it may be said to have disappeared as such. Now, we know that Buddhism arose neither in Ceylon nor in Tibet, but in India, whence it was diffused north, south, and east. Quite aside again from older documentary evidence, we could have inferred that Buddhism was diffused from India because several features connected with it point to Indian culture (*e.g.*, Buddhistic terms current in Tibet and elsewhere which are evidently of Sanskrit origin; certain philosophic ideas, such as continuous reincarnation and delivery from earthly existence attained by those of extraordinary religious merit, that are characteristic of Indian religion in general).



loosely applied as a covering to the framework. Between the areas occupied by these two types of conical bark lodge are intruded the conical mat lodge (Interior Salish, Nez Percé) of the plateau and the buffalo-skin tipi of the plains. Obviously the mat and skin tipis are best considered as modifications of an older type of bark lodge. The point that chiefly interests us here is that the conical bark lodge must be assigned an age great enough to allow for the origin and development of its derivative forms. The older we deem the skin tipi to be, the greater the age we shall have to assign to the conical bark lodge itself. The comparison, with a view to determination of age, of culture elements with interrupted distributions among themselves and with such as have continuous distributions is naturally subject to all the cautions we have reviewed in dealing with continuously diffused elements.

#### DIFFUSION VERSUS COMMON HERITAGE.

A contrast is often made between identity or similarity of culture due to diffusion and to independent retention of a common heritage. The alternative is, however, one of degree rather than of kind. Any culture element is practically certain to be diffused over more than a single community, indeed its currency in a single community is already an instance of diffusion that has radiated out, at last analysis, from a single individual. When, for one reason or another, the continuous area of distribution is broken up into two or more isolated ones, the element in question will normally continue to be diffused among the new neighbours of one or more of the geographically detached groups. Hence at no point in the history of the culture element has its gradual diffusion ceased. All that we mean when we say that two non-contiguous tribes have independently inherited a culture element is that its former diffusion among them antedated the events that brought about their isolation, not, as is sometimes loosely assumed, that there is no problem of diffusion involved as far as they are concerned. For us this raises no new problems. It is simply a matter of estimating the age of one historical process in terms of another.

### Culture Areas and Strata.

#### THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE AREA FROM AN HISTORICAL STAND-POINT.

It is customary to group the tribes of North and South America, as of other parts of the globe, into a relatively small number of culture areas, that is, groups of geographically contiguous tribes that exhibit so many cultural traits in common as to contrast with other such groups. Despite the undoubted conveniences of this mode of classification, we should be under no illusions as to its character. The culture area is primarily a descriptive, not an historical, concept. The various culture elements that serve to define it are of very different ages and their grouping into a set of cultural differentia is applicable only to a particular, in our case generally a very recent, cross-section of history. This means that the different culture areas recognized in North America, say, are historically not necessarily comparable at all. If for instance, it could be shown, as seems not unlikely, that all or most of the cultural differentia constituting the Plains culture area arose at times subsequent to the development of most of the features characterizing the Eskimo and Eastern Woodland culture areas, we should be compelled to conclude that, from an historical standpoint, the Plains area is a sub-grouping of some kind when contrasted with the relatively primary groupings of the Eskimo and Eastern Woodland areas. Such a result necessarily follows from the quite different historical weightings given, let us say, to the skin tipi, buffalo hunting, the rawhide industry, the camp circle, and the Sun Dance, on the one hand, and to the kayak, the conical bark lodge, the two-pronged fish-spear, beaver hunting, the birch-bark industry, and "medicine" conjuring on the other.

As for the earlier cultural status of the tribes that constitute our "sub-grouping," two possibilities present themselves. We may find that the elimination of those historically secondary cultural elements that were responsible for the interpretation of the sub-grouping as a distinctive culture area either leaves the area possessed of primarily such features as are shared also by a single neighbouring culture area; or, on the contrary, discloses

descriptively secondary (historically primary) lines of culture cleavage within the area, so that it breaks up into two or more sections that respectively belong to neighbouring culture areas. In the former case we may speak of a specialized cultural development originating within a larger culture area. Many, or at least some, of the features which at first seemed to constitute exclusive differentia will in this case prove to be merely specialized forms of elements whose presence may be demonstrated in the primary culture area. In the latter case, a number of superimposed cultural features, diffused over a continuous area, have proven strong enough to create a new culture area which breaks up and unites older ones.<sup>1</sup> It is not always easy in dealing with specific problems to determine whether a (secondary) culture area is the result of specialized development within a larger culture area or represents a "reassortment" of culture areas. Taking the Plains culture area, for example, we may either think of it as a specialized form of culture based on a more general Eastern Woodland culture; or we may prefer to see in it a culture blend in which participate tribes originally belonging to the Eastern Woodland, the Southeastern, the Plateau, and possibly the Southwestern culture areas. The latter view seems more tenable to me, though particular emphasis should, I believe, be placed on the historical relation between the Plains and Eastern Woodland areas.

The synthetic process by elimination that we have roughly indicated is, of course, a successive one. An historical analysis of North American culture would quite probably reduce the present culture areas to two or three fundamental ones, say a Mexican culture area, a Northwest Coast area, and a large Central area of which the Pueblo and Eskimo areas are the most specialized developments; the former as conditioned by profound Mexican influences, the latter as conditioned by a very peculiar environment. Whether or not the particular results here indicated prove correct, the method of chronologically weighting culture areas, or rather cultural differentia constituting

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<sup>1</sup> This process of "reassortment" of culture areas is taking place on a large scale to-day. Such modern features as the factory system, the organization of labour, steel armament, railways and numerous other technical advances, and the parliamentary form of government are simultaneously creating new geographical units of culture and breaking up old ones.

such areas, is now more or less clear. These areas are not strictly comparable on a flat, but may represent quite distinct historic levels. The process of elimination is, as a matter of method, equivalent to the removal of an archaeological stratum so as to enable us to penetrate to the culture lying disclosed just below.

#### THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE STRATUM AND ITS HISTORICAL DIFFICULTIES.

We are now face to face with the concept of a culture stratum. In the case of our own modern occidental civilization we distinctly feel that certain elements and complexes belong to a stratum that centres about the tremendous industrial advance characteristic of the nineteenth century, others to another stratum underlying this which is closely associated with the spread of Christianity, still others to a stratum of custom and belief which antedates the advent of Christianity. At first sight the concept of a culture stratum, that is, of a group of culture elements which go back in origin to a common period, differs from the concepts of a culture area and of a culture complex in that it is strictly chronological in character, whereas the latter are respectively culture-geographical and conceptual in nature. In actual practice, however—and here lies its weakness for chronological purposes—it is not possible to disentangle the culture stratum altogether from conceptual and geographical considerations.

As to the conceptual difficulty, consider for a moment the various vicissitudes that some element bound up with Christianity has undergone in the course of its history. Would such an element of modern English culture, for instance, as the inclusion of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords have to be considered as belonging to a specifically Christian culture stratum or not? Much depends on the particular aspect of this institution that we choose to emphasize. If we treat it primarily as an anachronism in modern society, as a vestige symptomatic of a former status in England of church prerogative, we might well assign it to a Christian culture stratum, a stratum one of the ruling ideas of which was the supreme importance in daily



life of a correct attitude towards certain religious dogmas and of the necessity of controlling such an attitude by means of a hierarchy of office. On the other hand, we may lay the emphasis rather on the parliamentary aspect, considering the Archbishop's seat as an element in the development of a parliamentary form of government. This development, however, is to be assigned to a culture stratum which is, in the main, subsequent to the Christian stratum. In this particular case we have a wealth of documentary evidence which enables us to analyse the institution into its various elements and to assign each of them to its proper chronological place. In the absence of such evidence, however, even the application of several of the criteria reviewed earlier in this paper might not throw enough light on the remoter history of the institution to prevent a certain blurring of perspective, with consequent more or less arbitrary assignment of the whole complex to a definite culture stratum in which it is grouped with conceptually associated complexes. The tendency, therefore, to lump culture elements and complexes that are pervaded by some central idea together as belonging to one culture stratum is strong and is seldom resisted by those who undertake to define such strata.

The geographical bias also may be elucidated by an example taken from our own culture. At the very time that the emphasis on industrial development was greatest there was plainly perceptible a stream of Oriental influence on art, literature, and philosophy (we have only to think, for instance, of the vogue of Chinese and Japanese porcelains and of Japanese prints and kimonos, of the direct influence exerted on our own painting and drawing by Japanese models, of Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam, of the Vedantist societies that flourish in certain circles). To put it in terms of daily experience, the man who has just bought himself an automobile is likely to have also invested in a Japanese vase for the adornment of his parlor. Living in the present as we do, we feel keenly that the invention and use of the automobile and the popularity of Japanese vases are, as far as we are concerned, cultural elements of the same stratum, both first appearing in our culture at about the same period. Yet it is hardly likely that a culture-historian of the distant future, un-

possessed of documentary evidence, would ascribe their appearance in our culture to the same time. It is more likely that he would class the automobile with the steamboat, railway, telegraph, telephone, and other inventions as having arisen in a certain period (call it the Age of Industrialism). The culture stratum going back to this period (and he might be able to demonstrate that the strike, woman suffrage, and the Montessori method of education, among other elements, belong to the same stratum) he would probably succeed in diagnosing as being, on the whole, of indigenous origin. The Oriental influences we have spoken of (and let us even grant that he can show them to be largely contemporaneous in origin and to be quite distinct historically from the older stream of Oriental influence represented by the introduction of rice and tea) will impress him as constituting or belonging to a different stratum of exotic origin. There are likely to be but few, if any, indications of an associational character pointing to the fact that the indigenous elements are to be ascribed to the time when the later Oriental influences were coming in. If he succeeds in demonstrating, as he is quite likely to, that in China and Japan the porcelain vase, the silk kimono, and the peculiarly Japanese art of delineation are very much older than the automobile and associated elements, he would be strongly tempted to conclude that the "Industrial" culture stratum is of later origin than the stratum associated with Oriental art also in occidental culture. And yet, as we happen to know, this would be doing very serious violence to the facts of history. In short, there will be the same tendency to unify and isolate as a culture stratum elements of demonstrably the same geographical provenience as to unify and isolate as a culture stratum elements of the same conceptual group.

The concept, then, of a culture stratum, as actually handled in the study of primitive culture, can hardly lay claim to being a clean-cut historical implement. It may be defined as a group of associated culture elements and complexes which in origin, if not always in their actual form as recorded, go back to the same general period, but which is apt to include elements of quite different date but related content and to exclude elements of like date but distinct geographical provenience. It is an his-

torical concept in theory, in practice strongly biased by psychological and geographical considerations. What makes it possible for the ethnologist to speak of culture strata at all as of more than purely local application is the fact that many characteristic elements are so widely diffused that they are found grouped together within certain geographical limits. Thus, in the Plains area the camp circle and Sun Dance are correlated throughout the greater part of their area of distribution, not so much because they are an organically connected pair of elements as because, being, roughly speaking, of like provenience and age, they are distributed in largely parallel fashion. The different factors responsible for differences of rate of diffusion make themselves felt, however, at the rims of the distribution areas of these two elements, a point which shows conclusively that there can be no talk of organic connexion. Thus, the Sun Dance is found among the Utes and Bannocks to the west, who do not use the camp circle; the Sun Dance is absent among the Omaha to the east, who group their clans, when on the hunt, in the form of a camp circle; while the Nez Percé to the west, who have borrowed a number of Plains features (e.g., the skin tipi and the rawhide parfleche) possess neither the Sun Dance nor camp circle. If two of the most characteristic features of Plains culture thus present what we might call a "ragged edge" of distribution, it is evident that the totality of such traits presents a far greater "raggedness of edge"; the distribution rim of some will fall well within the bounds of the typical Plains area, that of others will extend far beyond the bounds of this area into adjoining or distant culture areas. We are forced to conclude, then, that a culture stratum, unless it be to all intents and purposes identified with a coherent culture complex, cannot travel very far from its area of distribution without losing many or finally all of its characteristic elements. The notion of a culture stratum, composed of a large number of elements that are technically independent of each other, journeying without great loss of content, as though isolated in a hermetically sealed bottle, from one end of the world to the other is unthinkable and contradicts all historical experience. The phrase "*kulturgeschichtliches Nonsense*" might well be applied to such a Graebnerian

conception of culture transmission, though its sponsor would fain have us think that it is the opposed notion that deserves it.<sup>1</sup>

#### LIMITATIONS TO THE HISTORICAL USEFULNESS OF THE CONCEPTS OF CULTURE AREA AND STRATUM.

Our rapid review of the concepts of culture area and culture stratum may seem rather disappointing, but it should be remembered that our point of view is entirely historical, not descriptive or psychological. The culture area is a highly useful classificatory device for descriptive purposes, indeed it aids considerably also in the psychological interpretation of culture; its usefulness for historical purposes, however, depends entirely on the extent to which its differentia can be interpreted as a culture stratum or a series of culture strata. The culture stratum itself is an intrinsically useful historical concept but, owing to reasons already advanced, it may be both unduly inclusive and exclusive; hence the erection of a sequence of culture strata, when unsupported by archaeological evidence, must not be interpreted too rigidly but must allow for very extensive overlapping. And, most important of all, the culture stratum must not be freely handled as a universal counter, but needs to be restricted to the bounds set by at most a continent or parts of two adjacent continents. Some strata, indeed, must be considered as of hardly more than local application. As far as American culture is concerned, I think it would be more than advisable for the present to refrain from the attempt to establish a sequence of strata intended to hold for the whole of North and South America; further, to refrain from assigning such generalized elements as the crutch paddle, the simple bow, the exogamic clan, or the manitou concept to specific culture strata. A painstaking determination of the relative ages and directions of distribution of the single culture elements and complexes themselves must eventually yield a solid basis for their grouping into strata and for the extent and direction of distribution of these strata.

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<sup>1</sup> Father Schmidt's demonstration of the existence in South America of identically the same culture strata as Graebner had isolated in the South Seas is a welcome *reductio ad absurdum* of the latter's conception of culture diffusion.



The main burden of affording us the historical depth that we seek to find in primitive culture must always be borne, I believe, by the analysis of the culture elements and complexes rather than by the culture strata that we build out of them. However, the determination of sequences of strata and of synchronous or chronologically parallel culture areas helps greatly in giving us a larger historical perspective. The greater the number of successive culture strata we are able to unravel, the more distant our vision into the past. The greater the number of culture areas whose differentia reach back to an equally remote past, the greater age can we claim for the fundamental culture that includes the cultures of such areas.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, it makes a great difference in historical perspective whether our recognized North American culture areas as such can be shown to be of approximately equal age or to loosen up, as it were, into a smaller number that lie back of them, as previously suggested. In the former case we must allow for a far greater lapse of time for the formation of present-day culture areas than in the latter. A further value of the employment of culture areas and strata lies in the readiness with which we may by means of them handle groups of descriptive facts without the irksome necessity of particularizing in every case. The economic value of such labels as "Plains culture area" and "Plains culture stratum" (or, in Graebnerian parlance, "camp-circle culture stratum") is by no means to be underrated, even by those to whom they seem of only secondary historical value.

### *EVIDENCE OF LINGUISTICS.*

#### LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.

We have, finally, to consider the manner in which linguistic data may be employed to set culture elements in chronologic relation to one another. There are two basic factors which make it possible for linguistic evidence to serve such a purpose. In the first place, a language is not a disconnected complex apart from culture but, on the contrary, is an important part of

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<sup>1</sup> A culture, I hasten to add, that need by no manner of means be assigned to America itself.

the culture of a particular people living at a definite time and place. As such it reflects in its subject matter, *i.e.*, chiefly vocabulary, many of the non-linguistic elements of that culture. Its association with a definite tribe or group of tribes often enables us to make valuable inferences as to earlier distributions and movements of population, while its mirroring of culture is obviously of great assistance in the securing of a perspective for the culture itself. In the second place, language, like culture, is a composite of elements of very different age, some of its features reaching back into the mists of an impenetrable past, others being the product of a development or need of yesterday. If now we succeed in putting the changing face of culture into relation with the changing face of language, we shall have obtained a measure, vague or precise according to specific circumstances, of the relative ages of the culture elements. In this way language gives us a sort of stratified matrix to work in for the purpose of unravelling culture sequences; its relation to culture history may be roughly compared—one should not press the analogy—to that of geology to palæontology. How linguistic perspective is obtained, how linguistic features or elements are assigned to a relatively late or early period, how they may be reconstructed to earlier forms we can not undertake to demonstrate here,<sup>1</sup> as these problems are far beyond the scope of the present paper. We must here assume these results as possible of achievement and limit ourselves to a consideration of how they are to be utilized for cultural reconstruction.

In three important respects language, as an instrument for reconstructing the past, has the advantage of culture. First of all, it forms a far more compact and inherently unified conceptual and formal complex than the totality of culture. This is due primarily to the fact that its function is far more limited in nature,<sup>2</sup> to some extent also to the fact that the disturbing force of rationalization that constantly shapes and distorts culture anew is largely absent in language. Any changes, then, that affect language are generally more consistently and regularly

<sup>1</sup> The general subject of time perspective in language, specifically in American languages, I hope some day to take up in a separate paper.

<sup>2</sup> The greater the specialization of function, the more neatly are the parts of a complex apt to be bound together and the finer the technique.

carried out than in culture; this means that there are, on the whole, fewer cautions to observe in the application of such chronological criteria as can be formulated. Secondly, linguistic changes proceed more slowly and, what is more important, at a generally more even rate than cultural ones. This means that, particularly where there is abundant comparative linguistic material available, we are enabled to penetrate farther back into the past and to obtain a more reliable feeling of relative durations of such linguistic time sequences as are available. Thirdly, and most important of all, a language is, of all historical products, at the same time the most perfectly self-contained and the least often apt to enter as such into the central field of consciousness. Its resourcefulness in meeting with, in other words adequately reflecting, new conditions is extreme, so that violent cultural changes are often accompanied by only moderate linguistic adjustments.<sup>1</sup> From all this it follows that a language, under normal circumstances, is relatively little affected by influences from without. Whereas in culture curiously little remains when the manifold streams of foreign influence have been eliminated, the elimination from a language of such linguistic features, whether as regards form or content, as are due to outside influences, nearly always leaves all but the whole of the formal framework and by far the greater part of its content standing intact as of native growth. That this greatly simplifies the chronologic problem is obvious. Moreover, where there has been foreign influence, it is very much easier to recognize it as such and see it in proper relief against the native ground-work than in the case of culture. Indeed, this very sharpness of contrast between the native and the foreign elements, a sharpness which naturally tends to become obliterated with age, is frequently helpful in the making of chronological inferences. However, we must be clear that the methodological advantages enjoyed by linguistics in inferred chronology are of direct benefit only to linguistics itself; they become of use also to culture only indirectly, that is, insofar as such advantages affect linguistic features that are closely associated with cultural considerations.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, it is amazing how little such languages as Iroquois or Chinese have been affected in their essentials by sweeping cultural changes in modern times. And yet they succeed perfectly in giving expression to all new needs in terms of traditional form and subject matter.

There are chiefly two ways in which linguistic data may yield results of chronologic interest to the history of culture. We may either take a single linguistic element (word, grammatical element, morphological peculiarity, phonetic characteristic) and study its cultural associations and geographical distribution; or we may take a language or linguistic group as such and work out its geographical distribution and, in most cases, differentiation into smaller units with a view to deducing from this certain historical facts. The method of association of culture elements corresponds to one aspect of the former of these linguistic problems, the method of distribution of culture elements to another aspect thereof and to the second linguistic problem. Roughly speaking, linguistic elements correspond to culture elements and complexes, linguistic groups to culture areas.

## INFERENCES FROM ANALYSIS OF WORDS AND GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS.

### Descriptive and Non-descriptive Terms.

#### ANALYSIS OF CULTURE WORDS.

If we have any method of determining the relative age of a word<sup>1</sup> that has cultural significance, it is clear that we have at the same time a means of ascertaining something as to the relative age of the associated culture element itself. One of the most useful principles for the determination of the age of a word is a consideration of its form; that is, whether it can be analysed into simpler elements, its significance being made up of the sum of these, or is a simple irreducible term. In the former case we suspect, generally speaking, a secondary or relatively late formation, in the latter considerable antiquity. We assume here, of course, that we are able to eliminate borrowed words, which,

<sup>1</sup> In applying linguistic data to culture-historical uses in many Asiatic and European languages we are, of course, immensely aided by documentary evidence, inasmuch as the changing form and content of language are more or less adequately reflected in datable records. For aboriginal America, however, documentary linguistic evidence, while not altogether wanting, is relatively scanty. The methodology of linguistic reconstruction is, therefore, bound to restrict itself in the main to inferential evidence. Such evidence alone, indeed, is here considered.



however recently introduced, are naturally incapable of analysis from the point of view of the borrowing language.<sup>1</sup> We know, for instance, that the objects and offices denoted in English by the words *bow*, *arrow*, *spear*, *wheel*, *plough*, *king*, and *knight*, belong to a far more remote past than those indicated by such words as *railroad*, *insulator*, *battleship*, *submarine*, *percolator*, *capitalist*, and *attorney-general*, but we might have guessed this from the fact that the latter set, unlike the former, are clearly secondary formations, descriptive terms that seem to have been created out of older linguistic material to meet new cultural needs. This type of reasoning does not by any means imply that the older stock of non-descriptive words are necessarily in origin of a category distinct from the later descriptive ones. As a matter of fact, comparative, direct historical, or other evidence frequently enables us to show that what now appear to be non-descriptive terms are themselves originally descriptive in character, but, through the destructive agency of gradual phonetic change, have in time lost their morphological transparency.<sup>2</sup> It is this very obscuring, in course of time, of the analysis of a word, that gives the contrast between words of evident morphology and unanalysable words its chronological significance.

In aboriginal America there are undoubtedly countless examples that might be chosen of the operation of this method of inferring the relative ages of culture concepts, but linguistic data have as yet been so little employed by Americanists in the handling of ethnological problems<sup>3</sup> that we need not be surprised to find them only sparsely, if at all, represented in the literature. An example or two will, therefore, be of service. The Tsimshian word for crest, *dzabk*, offers a contrast, from the point of view of morphologic analysis, to that for phratry, *ptex*. While the latter is, so far as we can see at present, a morphologically irreducible

<sup>1</sup> Thus, such a Wishram word as *st-stagin* "stockings" is incapable of Wishram analysis, but is naturally merely a recent loanword from English *stocking*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, the word *king* (Anglo-Saxon *cuning*) can be shown to be a derivative of *ken* (Anglo-Saxon *cynn*); its significance at an earlier stage of its history was thus "one who belongs to (represents, leads) a kin-group." This example shows incidentally that linguistic analysis often helps to unravel the earlier history of a culture concept.

<sup>3</sup> Aside from the use of the concept of linguistic stock, particularly as expressed in Powell's linguistic map of aboriginal America north of Mexico. Many ethnologists, indeed, have gone much further in the definitive and exclusive use of these stock groupings than the historical-minded linguist would concede as allowable.

term, the word *dzabk* is clearly a derivative of the verb *dzab* "to make," -*k* being a mediopassive suffix; *dzab-k* may thus be interpreted as "what is made" or "what is represented in visible form," referring probably to the carvings and other plastic representations of crests.<sup>1</sup> These linguistic facts may be deemed much too slender to justify the inference that the present phratric groupings, or better phratric groupings of some kind, antedated the development of clan and phratric emblems, though I should not be inclined to consider as improbable the fact of the inference. However, it seems that one may at least conclude that the extensive representation of the crest belongs to a later period of the history of Tsimshian social organization than the origin of phratry groupings. The present argument is corroborated by another linguistic criterion, that of the geographic distribution of a word, of which more anon. In the Nass River dialect, which is rather closely related to Tsimshian proper, the word for phratry, *pte'q'*, is only dialectically different from the corresponding Tsimshian word, while an entirely different word, *'ayuk's*, is used to denote a crest.

This type of argument is frequently an alluring one when it is a question of comparing the relative antiquity of the same culture concept in two or more distinct tribes. Thus, the Nootka have a word for attendant at a feast, *yatsmi'lh̄si*, which can be readily analysed as "one-who (-*h̄si*) walks (*yats-*) about-in-the-house (-*mi-l-*)," whereas the corresponding Kwakiutl word, *'əl̄k'*, is not capable of analysis. It hardly seems too far-fetched to surmise from this that the ceremonial aspect of feasting was earlier developed among the Kwakiutl than among the Nootka.

#### ANALYSIS OF PLACE NAMES.

The analysis of place names is frequently a valuable means of ascertaining whether a people have been long settled in a particular region or not. The longer a country has been occupied, the more do the names of its topographical features and

<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the Kwakiutl word for crest, *he's'o'*, is doubtless a derivative of *he'á'* "to carve." According to Mr. Barbeau, the Tsimshian are quite aware of the relation of *dzabk* to the verb *dzab*, though another interpretation is sometimes offered. According to some, a *dzabk* is "what is made up, devised" and shown at a potlatch, referring rather to the invention of new ways of showing old crests or even the invention of new crests.

villages tend to become purely conventional and to lose what descriptive meaning they originally possessed.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, it is by no means an accident that a considerable number of village names among the Nootka are incapable of satisfactory analysis, whereas the names of topographical features among such less settled tribes as the Paiute and Ojibwa are in practically every case readily interpreted. It is sometimes instructive to compare the names for the same topographical feature among two or more tribes. Mt. Shasta, in northern California, is visible to a considerable number of distinct tribes. The Hupa call it *nen-nis-'an lak-gai*, a descriptive term meaning "white mountain"; while the Yana have a distinctive term for it, *wa'galu'*, which does not yield to analysis.<sup>2</sup> We may infer from this that the Hupa, as an Athabaskan-speaking tribe, are newcomers in northern California as compared with the Yana, a conclusion that is certainly corroborated by other evidence.

#### CAUTIONS IN USE OF METHOD.

##### *Danger in Comparison of Equivalent Words in Different Languages.*

In actual practice, however, it is apt to be dangerous to use the method we have considered when dealing with words for the same culture concept in different tribes. The chief reason for caution lies in the great differences exhibited by different languages in the relative freedom with which descriptive terms are formed. Some languages, such as Chinook and Takelma, have a relatively large number of radical elements and hence are not as apt to resort to descriptive formations as are languages, say Athabaskan, that have a smaller number of radical elements but greater powers of synthetic word-formation. Moreover,

<sup>1</sup> Note, e.g., the more or less transparent analysis of such names of cities in America as New York, Philadelphia, Washington, New Orleans, Indianapolis, St. Louis, San Francisco, Buffalo, as contrasted with such at present meaningless European names as London, Paris, York, Leeds, Rouen, Rheims, Rome, Naples.

<sup>2</sup> *wa-* may be identical with Yana *wa-* "to sit." Of how long standing the term *wa'galu'* must have been among the Yana is further evidenced by the fact that its diminutive, *wa'gonu'fo* "little-Mt. Shasta," is applied to Mt. Lassen, a volcanic peak within the confines of their own territory. Mt. Shasta is in neither Hupa nor Yana territory.

the rates of phonetic change undoubtedly differ very considerably in different languages, so that obscuration of an originally descriptive term may be brought about more readily in one than in another. How long a descriptive term for a culture concept of undoubted antiquity may linger on in a language which tends to keep its analysis of descriptive terms transparent is illustrated by the Athabaskan word for glove or mitten. Among the Athabaskan tribes of the Mackenzie valley we can hardly doubt that the mitten was an old element of their material culture; hence we would rather expect the term for mitten to be a non-descriptive term than a compound yielding readily to analysis. As a matter of fact these tribes use a word which simply means "hand-bag" (Chipewyan *la-djis*, Hare *lla-dji*, Loucheux *nle-djic*). We may put up with this when we recollect that Athabaskan shows a more than ordinary fondness for synthesis, but we are certainly given a jolt when we find that exactly the same transparent compound turns up in Navaho as the term for mitten (*la-djic*).

#### *Changes in Terminology.*

Even when the method is in the main restricted to a comparison of culture words in the same language, a number of cautions are necessary. In the first place, a culture concept may prove to be old in spite of the fact that its designation is demonstrably of recent origin, for the older, perhaps non-descriptive, term may have become obsolete and given way to a later formation. One of the most potent sources of such changes in terminology is the widespread custom of tabooing words for a certain period after the death of a person whose name was identical with, compounded of, or even merely similar to such words. Normally the old word is reinstated after the taboo is lifted, but it must often have happened that the newer, generally descriptive, term lingered on out of habit alongside the older one and eventually even replaced it altogether. That the present term for an old culture concept is not necessarily the primary one in the particular tribe studied is demonstrated by the analogy of many evidently secondary terms for non-cultural concepts which must have been familiar to the natives from time immemorial. Thus,



the crane must have been uninterruptedly known to the Hupa as far back as the time at which the hypothetical undifferentiated Athabaskan prototype of Hupa was spoken in the far north. Nevertheless, we find that the Hupa do not use the regular Athabaskan stem *del* for crane, but a descriptive term (*xas-lən tau*) meaning "he who frequents riffles." Very likely the old non-descriptive word for crane became obsolete because a name taboo enforced its temporary disuse. In general, then, it is safest to use the morphological criterion for the age of a culture word when comparative linguistic evidence does not show that it was preceded in use by a non-descriptive term of like meaning.

### *Changes in Application of Culture Words.*

There is, further, a reverse caution to be observed. The culture word may be of undoubtedly great antiquity but, owing to a change of meaning that it has undergone, the culture concept that it at present symbolizes need not, at least in its present form, be as old as the word itself. Thus, it goes without saying that the English word *needle*, which can be traced back to a very remote antiquity, did not always denote the delicately fashioned article of steel that we now know, but was originally applied to a more primitive prototype of bone and, later, of bronze. Still more striking is the history of our English word *Hell* which, in spite of its present characteristic significance, originally referred to a cold and cheerless domain presided over by a female deity. A striking instance of this sort from aboriginal America will further illustrate the necessity of caution. The Athabaskan non-descriptive noun stem *lɬel* is found in both Chasta Costa and Navaho with exactly the same meaning, "matches." It is perfectly obvious from other considerations that this can not possibly be the primary meaning of the word and we learn, indeed, by comparison with other Athabaskan dialects (e.g., Chipewyan) that *lɬel* properly means "fire-drill" and was transferred to "matches" when these came in as a modern substitute for the former. I mention this example not because there is the slightest actual danger here of misinterpreting the evidence, but because the wrong inference (assuming that we had only Chasta Costa

and Navaho to guide us) would be hard to controvert on purely formal linguistic grounds. We learn from this and other examples of transfer of meaning that without fairly complete comparative evidence it is often dangerous to argue as to the age of a specific form of culture element on the basis of the linguistic criterion we have been considering, though the relative age of a certain general type of culture element may be satisfactorily enough established by its means.

### **Specialized Meanings of Words and Special Vocabularies.**

While descriptive words are, in the main, apt to be of relatively recent age, they cannot all be put in the same class. Between complete lack of capability of analysis and absolute transparency of analysis there are naturally many stages. A type that is of particular interest to us is constituted by such words as are satisfactorily analysable from a purely linguistic standpoint but whose actual meaning does not correspond to that which is immediately suggested by analysis. Such words carry the history of their transfer of meaning with them. They are of value from our standpoint because a greater age may often be inferred for the culture concept implied in the linguistic analysis than for such culture concepts as are indicated by descriptive words of literal analysis. Contrast, for instance, the English words *carpet-sweeper* and *spinster*. The former is to be understood quite literally as "that which sweeps carpets," the latter does not now mean "one who spins" but "unmarried female of somewhat advanced age." *Spinster* clearly did at one time mean "one who spins," but, through association with a particular class of individuals, gradually took on a specialized meaning. From the length of time that it must have taken for so complete a transfer of meaning to become effective, a transfer including entire loss of the older meaning, we may reasonably infer the purely cultural fact that the art of spinning was known at an early time and that it was in the hands of the women; further, that it antedated by a long time the advent of the carpet-sweeper. These facts are, of course, well known to us from direct historical evidence, but it is methodologically important to show that

it is possible to ascertain them, or at least to suggest them, on the basis of a purely linguistic criterion. The age of the word *spinster* is further assured by the relative rarity of the agentive suffix *-ster* (compare *huckster*, *songster*, and stereotyped proper names like *Baxter*, i.e., baker, and *Webster*, i.e., weaver); this argument makes use of another linguistic criterion, of which more presently.

The application of the principle of specialization or other modification of meaning may yield interesting results as to the relative ages of two or more components of a ritual, say the Sun Dance of the Plains or the Night Chant of the Navaho. Names of rituals, dances, and other ceremonial activities are not always of clear application to the ceremonies as at present performed or understood; their analysis may not infrequently be expected to show either that one of the constituent elements, not necessarily the most prominent now, arose prior to certain others that perhaps at present give the ceremony most of its content or that a certain culture concept implied in the name is older than the ceremony as such. Thus, among the Nootka, the term *lutcha* "buying a woman" is applied to a complex of ceremonial and economic procedure which corresponds to our own marriage ceremony. Properly speaking, the term should apply only to the distribution of property on the part of the bridegroom and his supporters to the bride's family as payment for her acquisition. As a matter of fact, however, it includes all the songs, dances, and speeches that precede the "wife-purchasing" potlatch and much of which has no necessary reference to the "purchase." Thus, there is a whole class of songs known as *lutcha'yak* "for woman-purchase," whose connexion with marriage is merely conventional. Yet it is just the ceremonial procedure preceding the potlatch that is chiefly meant by the Indian when he speaks of *lutcha*. Furthermore, the fact that the bride's family immediately distributes the gifts to their own villagers and, still more important, that they may in the near future return the gifts with a dowry of privileges and a potlatch distribution of as great value as or even greater value than the property received as "wife-purchase" frequently reduces the "buying of woman" as a type of marriage to little



more than a form. Nevertheless, the cultural value of the term *lutcha* lies precisely in the fact that it implies a purely economic wife-purchasing form of marriage as lying back of the present marriage complex with its secondary accretions of ceremonial procedure and weakening of economic significance.

Here we may say a word as to the inferential importance for cultural chronology of a specialized vocabulary defining a whole culture' complex. We find on an analysis of the terminologies of the different complexes that go to make up a culture that they differ considerably in the completeness and precision with which the single elements constituting them are symbolized by words. Of two cultural complexes we naturally assign a greater antiquity to that possessing the more ramified vocabulary, particularly if the vocabulary consists largely of non-descriptive words. Contrast, for instance, the extensive and highly distinctive vocabulary concerned with the breeding and use of cattle (*cow, ox, bull, steer, heifer, calf, cattle, beef, veal, butter, cheese, whey, curds, cream, to churn, to skim*—all unanalysable terms of evidently considerable age) with the more meagre and less distinctive vocabulary of such an industry as, say, the growing of oranges.<sup>1</sup> Linguistic evidence alone would make out a strong case for the greater age of cattle breeding and the dairy industry than of orange growing. Arguments of this type can frequently be applied with profit to the study of American culture. The great age of such complexes as sea-mammal hunting among the Nootka and Eskimo, canoeing among the West Coast tribes and Eastern Algonkin, agriculture among the Iroquois, and the gathering and preparation for food of wild roots and seeds among the Plateau tribes is in nearly every case attested by an appropriately rich vocabulary. On the other hand, the complexes of more recent age, say the decorative art of the Utes or the Ghost Dance religion, seem to make use of less extensive and distinctive vocabularies. I should go so far as to say that no study of a culture complex is historically complete without a thorough investigation of the range and nature of its vocabulary.

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<sup>1</sup> In many modern industries quite extensive and explicit vocabularies have grown up, to be sure, but they are largely technical in character and of strictly limited appeal and thus lie rather apart from the main channel of linguistic history.



## Inferences from Grammatical Evidence.

## GRAMMATICAL TREATMENT OF CULTURE WORDS.

So far we have dealt only with words as such and with their analysis, where possible, into their constituent elements. Something of historical value may, further, be gleaned from the grammatical treatment of culture words. In every language there are a number of grammatical processes and elements that have ceased to be alive, as it were, that are no longer productive of new analogies, but that appear restricted in use to a limited number of stereotyped forms. Such grammatical features are clearly only survivals of features that were formerly more typical and more freely usable. They imply a considerable age for the words that they affect. This matter becomes of cultural interest when the words affected by irregular grammatical processes are of cultural reference. In this case we may infer a like antiquity for the culture concept itself. Thus, the antiquity that we have already demonstrated for cattle breeding in our own culture is further implied by such grammatical irregularities as the *-en* plural of *oxen*, the poetic plural *kine* for *cows*, and the change of *-f* to *-v-* in the plural *calves* and the verb *to calve*. Irregularities of this sort are not uncommon in American languages and are practically always indicative of the great age of the words that illustrate them and, generally speaking, of the associated concepts. Thus, in Nootka, three uncommon and evidently unproductive types of plural formation are the change of final *-l* to *-h*, reduplication with *a*-vowel, and reduplication with inserted *-t-*. Now these irregular types are respectively illustrated in *ha'wi:h* "chiefs" (singular *ha'wil*), *qaqo:l* "slaves" (singular *qo:l*), and *ɔ:t:entl* "dogs" (singular *ɔ:ni:tl*; *ɔ:illt-* is used as stem in all derivatives); from which we can with some degree of safety infer that a clearly defined chief's class, the institution of slavery, and the domestication of the dog belong to a remote antiquity in this area. Similarly, the singular and plural of the Tsimshian term for "chief" (*səm'ɔ:gɪd*: *səmgigad*) form a quite irregular and unparalleled set of forms in that language, though they are in this case not incapable of at least partial analysis (*səm-* "very, real"; *gad* "man," *gigad* "men").

The criterion of morphologic irregularity, however, can be safely applied only positively, hardly negatively; that is, we may conclude with reasonable certainty that a culture concept associated with an archaic linguistic process is itself an old one, but we cannot be sure that a culture concept expressed by a word whose grammatical treatment is perfectly normal is of relatively recent origin. The reason for this is the ever present tendency for less well represented grammatical features to be ruled out by the analogy of other better represented ones of like function; not only do the forms of new words follow the most regular analogies present in the language but many of the old stock are remodelled in accordance with these analogies. This process is known to linguists as analogic levelling.<sup>1</sup> Thus, while such irregular plurals as *sheep* and *oxen* are of positive cultural value as indicating a great age for the domestication of sheep and cattle among the ancestors of the English (contrast such regular plurals as *elephants* and *tigers*, both of these animals becoming known at a much more recent period), it would be erroneous or at least unwarranted to infer from such regular forms as *horses* and *goats* that these animals were not domesticated at as early a date. The retention of a grammatical archaism is in almost every specific case governed by factors beyond our power of analysis; in other words, it is an accident. It must also be borne in mind that languages differ very much in the readiness with which they allow analogical levelling to operate. Some, like Takelma, seem to put up with a good deal of formal irregularity; others, like Yana or Paiute, while they may exhibit great complexity of structure, keep their formal machinery in well regulated grooves. This difference in formal tendency is clearly based on psychological factors that we do not need to elucidate here.

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<sup>1</sup> Analogic levelling and phonetic change are the two most important tendencies that make for linguistic variation. Analogic levelling is precisely the process that is illustrated by the child's *mans*, *runned*, and *brang*. These and similar examples merely lack the sanction of adult usage. Such a preterit as *worked* (for older *wrought*) was originally as gross a solecism as *brang* or *bringed* for *brought*.

## CULTURAL VALUE OF GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS.

In the cases that we have so far discussed the cultural content of the word has been borne by its radical portion, the stem. In some of the typically polysynthetic languages of America, however, non-radical elements, that is affixes, which are often possessed of very concrete significance, may imply a reference to some element of culture. As the process which turns an originally independent stem into a derivative affix is necessarily a slow one, the presence of such affixes, particularly when there is no longer an etymologic relation between them and any of the independent stems of the language, is generally good evidence of their age and, by inference, of that of the culture concept it embodies. Owing to the specialized character of the affix, as compared with the independent stem, the former has an even greater *a priori* claim to antiquity than the non-descriptive stem. Naturally the caution as to transfer of meaning, which we have already dealt with in the case of independent stems, is equally operative here; indeed, we may quite generally suspect the specific cultural application of an affix to be due to the turning over of an element of originally wider range of meaning to the exclusive use of a culture concept of growing importance (thus, we might easily conceive the gradual loss in the future of the wider agentive and instrumental function of English *-er* and its specialization into a cultural affix denoting "complex piece of machinery" on the basis of such forms as *typewriter*, *receiver*, *smelter*, *reaper*, and *developer*). Such a caution, however, would not seriously invalidate the use of our linguistic criterion, as a considerable period must be assumed to have elapsed before such specialization could be effected; it merely lessens somewhat the remoteness of cultural perspective implied by the existence of the affix.

One of the most interesting types of elements of this sort is constituted by such numeral classifiers as refer to objects of cultural interest. The presence in Yurok, e.g., of numeral classifiers referring specifically to woodpecker-scalps and obsidian blades is in a high degree symptomatic of the great age of the custom of prizing these objects as valuable forms of property and further implies that the keen sense of property evinced by

these Indians is by no means a recent development. Similarly, the occurrence in both Salish and Tsimshian of numeral classifiers defining canoes necessitates the conclusion that both groups of tribes have not only been acquainted with the canoe from time immemorial, but have long been dependent on it in the pursuit of their livelihood; this comes out even more strongly in the case of Tsimshian, which employs entirely distinct stems for "one" and "two" when these numbers refer to canoes. Further, the fact that Nootka has numeral classifiers specifically referring to such units of measurement as fathoms, spans, finger-widths, and board-lengths, is the best kind of evidence for the antiquity among these Indians of the use of units of measurement, a cultural trait, furthermore, that presupposes a well-developed property sense of long standing. It is, indeed, more than probable that the glimpses into the past afforded by the numeral classifiers of Yurok, Tsimshian, Salish, and Nootka reach back farther than the origin of many, if not most, of the social and ceremonial features of these tribes. Another interesting example of a group of affixes of cultural reference is afforded by several Nootka suffixes that refer to ceremonial procedure, *e.g.*, *-o'il* "to ask for something as a gift in a girl's puberty potlatch," *-lo'la* "to give a potlatch for someone," *-inl* "to give a feast of some kind of food (in a potlatch)." Such elements clearly indicate that at least certain cultural concepts connected with the potlatch are of great age among the Nootka.

Negative evidence of the sort that we are considering can hardly be looked upon as significant in view of the fact that it is only exceptionally that grammatical affixes of cultural reference are found altogether. The weakness of such negative evidence would be at its greatest when used to compare the ages of the same culture element among different tribes, unless possibly the languages of these tribes were strictly comparable in structure. Thus, the complete structural dissimilarity of Hupa and Yurok robs of all its significance the fact that in the former the emphasis on woodpecker-scalps and obsidian blades finds no reflex in grammatical structure, though this emphasis is equally strong in the culture of both tribes.



## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURE WORDS.

**Diffusion versus Common Heritage.**

We now turn to the geographical distribution of linguistic data. The mode of argumentation is here essentially the same as that employed in studying the distribution of culture elements; in other words, the more extended the geographical distribution of a culture word, the older the word and, by inference, the older its associated concept. Owing to the ease with which borrowed culture elements are renamed, whether by means of a transfer of meaning of an old term or by means of a new descriptive term, the method must be used with great caution. There are, however, two factors in regard to which the evidence derived from linguistic data is generally less liable to misinterpretation than that which is directly derived from the distribution of culture.

In discussing the distribution of a culture element we found that it was in many cases practically impossible, or at least difficult, to distinguish between similarity due to diffusion from a certain centre and similarity due to retention of the element by tribes originally forming part of one and the same cultural community. For reasons which we cannot here take up fully it is, on the other hand, very frequently possible to distinguish between a word of native origin and one which has been borrowed from without. Applying this to the problem of distribution, we find that we are often able to distinguish between cultural terms that have been inherited in common by the languages forming a linguistic stock or subdivision thereof and cultural terms that have passed beyond the limits of such a group and been taken up by one or more languages of an alien group. Naturally, it is also very possible that a culture term travels from one language to others of the same linguistic group, so that the problem arises of how to keep apart primary stock words from such as have been diffused within the genetic group. Roughly speaking, we may say that the criteria for such distinction are the same as for the more fundamental distinction we have first mentioned; the criteria are merely more delicately

applied, greater emphasis being placed on specifically dialectic linguistic features. Even when a doubt remains as to whether a culture term is to be looked upon as of indigenous or alien origin, a minimum date, in terms of one or more linguistic features, can be assigned to its introduction; this possibility is, of course, of great chronologic importance.

The second helpful linguistic factor that I have in mind is a corollary of the first. Owing to the very nature of linguistic evidence, we can not only in specific instances determine the negative fact that a word is of foreign origin (this is merely another way of stating that it is not of native origin), but proceed to the positive conclusion that it has of necessity been borrowed from a particular language. As soon as we are able to do this, we have a powerful argument for ascribing the origin of the culture element in question to one tribe rather than another and thus gain some idea of the sequence in which the element was assimilated by the different tribes of a region.

### **Borrowing of Culture Words.**

#### **MORPHOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.**

The evidence that stamps a word as of foreign origin, insofar as it is of a purely linguistic nature, is either morphological or phonetic. It may, of course, involve both criteria at the same time. It is a pretty safe rule for most languages that words of more than a certain length<sup>1</sup> must be capable of at least partial analysis into elements (stem and formative elements) characteristic of the language. If such an analysis is impossible, there is very good reason to suspect the word to be of foreign provenience, to have been borrowed from a language in which the standard radical length is great enough to tolerate the word in question without analysis or in which it is capable of morphological analysis. Thus, such thoroughly assimilated English words as

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<sup>1</sup> What might be termed the standard length of radical elements differs greatly in different languages. In some it is a syllable (among such languages there are some in which a consonant plus a vowel is the norm, others in which the normal stem consists of a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant), in others two or even three syllables; a norm of three-syllabled radicals is certainly not common, however.

*hurricane*, *moccasin*, and *tomato* are incapable of analysis into English stems and formative elements; as their length is well beyond the normal one for English stems, we conclude that they are borrowed words and are confirmed in our conclusion by more direct evidence. Incidentally this effectually clears the path for a study of the culture-history of the moccasin as a style of footwear that has become popular in certain circles among the whites in America and of the growing of the tomato for food purposes.

A good American Indian example of the morphological criterion of borrowed words is the Nootka *tlo'kwa'na*, the term applied to the wolf ritual, the chief ceremonial complex of these Indians. The normal Nootka stem is monosyllabic, consisting generally of a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant; quite infrequently it is a sound group of two syllables, while trisyllabic stems are entirely absent. The word *tlo'kwa'na* looks as though it ought to be analysable into a stem *tlo'kw-* plus a suffix *-a'na*, but these elements have no meaning in Nootka. We, therefore, suspect the word to be of foreign origin. Turning to Kwakiutl, we not only learn that the similar word *dlo'gwala* is applied to a wolf dance performed during the winter ceremonial but also—and this is more to the point here—that it is readily analysable into a verb stem *dlo'gw-* "to be powerful" plus a common durative suffix *-(a)la*. The important cultural inference must be drawn that at least certain elements in the wolf ritual of the Nootka have been assimilated from the neighbouring Kwakiutl. A similar line of reasoning leads me strongly to suspect that the Nootka term *topa'ti*, meaning any privilege that is obtained by inheritance, is of foreign origin, and this in spite of the fact that it indicates one of the most fundamental aspects of Nootka culture. However, I have not as yet succeeded in connecting the word with any foreign linguistic elements. Should it eventually prove, after all, to be a native Nootka word, it would have to be considered as of great antiquity, as no descriptive meaning whatever now attaches to it. The most instructive instances of the borrowing of culture words are those which, like Nootka *tlo'kwa'na*, can be definitely traced to a specific language, for in these the direction of diffusion is established.

But the morphological criterion sometimes fails us, notably in the case of short words which nowhere yield to analysis. We may be quite certain that the diffusion of a culture word is in part due to borrowing without our being in a position to say, from the linguistic evidence alone, in what direction the borrowing must be understood to have taken place. Considerations of another sort may often enable us to determine or surmise this direction, but even at the worst the linguistic evidence retains its value as immediately demonstrative of the fact of diffusion. A good instance of such ambiguity is the distribution of the word for "tobacco" among the Diegueño in southern California, the Shasta in northern California, and the Takelma in southwestern Oregon. There is no doubt that Diegueño *up*, Shasta *o'p*, and Takelma *o'w<sup>1</sup>p<sup>1</sup>* are indicative of the gradual diffusion of the cultivated tobacco (very likely the name properly applies to only a particular species of native tobacco) over a large part of western North America, but it seems impossible, at least for the present, to ascribe the origin of the word to one rather than another of these languages. If a south to north spread of the culture plant is surmised, it is on other than purely linguistic evidence. The distribution of a widespread word for "dog" in western North America (e.g., Nahuatl *chichi*, Yana *cucu*, Takelma *tsixi*)<sup>2</sup> presents a similar cultural problem.

#### PHONETIC EVIDENCE.

Where the morphological criterion can not be employed, the phonetic one is sometimes of service. It rests on the fact that languages differ in their systems of phonetics, sounds or combinations of sounds that are usual in one being absent or at best rare in the other. Generally speaking, such phonetic features of a borrowed word as are strange to the borrowing language are replaced by their closest available equivalents, so that the word frequently assumes a deceptive appearance of being thoroughly at home. Thus, the English word *rum* ap-

<sup>1</sup> Diegueño (a Yuman dialect) and Shasta are both Hokan languages and are thus remotely related, but it is highly improbable that this particular concordance rests on anything but culture diffusion. Takelma, so far as known, is not related to the Hokan languages.

<sup>2</sup> Which can be easily reconstructed, on both internal and comparative evidence, to *tsisi*.



pears in Lower Umpqua as *lam*, in Nootka as *na'ma*, neither of these languages possessing an *r*-sound, while Nootka also lacks *l*. Similarly, the Nootka word *llo'kwa'na* "wolf ritual," though no doubt borrowed from Kwakiutl *dlor'gwala*, presents no phonetic characteristics that are untypical of Nootka, the un-Nootka sounds *dl*, *gw*, and *l* of the Kwakiutl original being respectively replaced by *tl*, *kw*, and *n*, the nearest Nootka correspondents.

It does sometimes happen, however, that sounds otherwise foreign to a language are preserved in certain words of demonstrably foreign origin and that, generalizing from these, it is possible to establish the alien provenience of other words involving the same sound. Thus, it can be shown in English that the voiced sibilant *j* (as in French *jeu*, *âge*) is never found in words of native origin but is restricted in its occurrence to foreign, chiefly French, Latin, and Greek words, in which it either goes back to an original *j* (as in *rouge*) or, more often, to an original *zy* (as in *pleasure*, *erasure*, *aphasia*).<sup>1</sup> The value to English culture-history of these facts may be illustrated by reference to such a word as *garage*, in which both the *j*-sound and the place of the accent point to a foreign, specifically French, origin. The culture-historical inference that the automobile and garage are elements due to French influence can, of course, be made on more direct evidence, but it is none the less important from a methodological standpoint to realize that phonetic evidence alone strongly suggests it.

Not infrequently a sound, while of native origin in certain positions, occurs in certain other positions only in foreign words. Thus, while the sounds *z* and *dj* in medial and final position are common enough in native English words (e.g., *as*, *fleas*, *chosen*; *edge*, *fledgling*), initially they occur only in foreign, more particularly French, Latin, and Greek words (e.g., *zeal*, *zoology*; *Jew*, *just*, *John*). The culture-historical value of such distinctions comes out clearly in estimating the age of such words as *judge*, *jury*, and *general* and, to a certain extent, of the culture concepts

<sup>1</sup> In words like *erasure* and *closure*, *j* developed from *zy*, inasmuch as original Latin *-sura*, via French *-sure*, i.e., *-sûre*, became *-syure*, *-syur*. In words like *aphasia* and *cohesion*, original intervocalic *-si-* became voiced non-syllabic *-sy-*. Native English *-zy-*, whence *-j-*, arises only optionally in sentence phonetics, e.g., *dju* from *ds yu* (i.e., as *you*).

connected with them. Frequently, also, the foreign provenience of a word is indicated by a combination of sounds each of which may be freely used in native words in all positions (e.g., *-ps-* or *-ps* in Greek and Latin words, such as *rhapsody*, *apse*, *Cyclops*, *lapse*; such English forms as *lips* and *sips* are hardly comparable, as they can be readily resolved into *p*-stem plus *s*-suffix).

A couple of examples from American Indian languages will indicate the usefulness of the phonetic criterion in the recognition of loan words. In Haida *m* is a comparatively rare sound at best; initially it does not seem to occur in undoubtedly native words at all. The word *mat* "mountain goat," evidently related to the Tsimshian *mati*, is, therefore, clearly a loan-word from the latter language, not the reverse; the fact that the mountain goat is not found on Queen Charlotte islands, the home of the Haida, naturally strengthens the argument, but is not really necessary to it. If the word for "mountain goat" is borrowed in Haida from Tsimshian, there is good reason to believe that the mountain-goat crest, one of the less prominent crests of the Haida, was borrowed by them from the Tsimshian also, an inference which is confirmed by other testimony. In chronologic terms this means that the mountain-goat crest is of later origin among the Haida than among the Tsimshian. A similar problem is presented by the Upper Chinook word for "buffalo," *i-duiha* (also "bull"; *a-duiha* "buffalo-cow, cow") with its rather anomalous *h*, a sound occurring only rarely in Chinookan. Some of the Upper Chinook were in the habit of accompanying their Shahaptian neighbours on the annual buffalo hunt on the western plains, but this habit must have been of very recent origin, so that a non-descriptive word for "buffalo" is almost certain, on purely cultural evidence, to be of foreign origin. Thus the anomalous phonetics of *i-duiha* agrees well with the cultural evidence, though I have not been able to determine its prototype.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Can it possibly be related to Cheyenne *hotu'a* "bull" (see American Anthropologist, N.S. vol. 8, 1906, p. 18)?

## Common Heritage of Culture Words.

## CHRONOLOGICAL INFERENCES.

Of special interest are such culture-historical words as are distributed over a number of tribes speaking related languages or dialects, this distribution not being due to secondary diffusion but to dialectic retention of an old word that formed part of the vocabulary of the common prototype of the languages or dialects concerned. Allowing for the caution imposed by a possible change of meaning,<sup>1</sup> a consideration of such words throws much light on many of the older elements of culture possessed by the tribes to whom the languages belong. As is well known, interesting and valuable results have been obtained in this way in the culture-history of the Indo-germanic, Semitic, and other old world groups of peoples, but in aboriginal America the application of the method is hardly in its infancy. Its value to cultural chronology lies chiefly in this, that the culture concepts associated with the more widely distributed words of a dialectic group (linguistic stock) reach back to a more distant past, other things being equal, than those of more local distribution. Further, as between a culture word distributed over a certain area by dialectic differentiation and a culture word distributed over an equivalent area by borrowing, the greater antiquity must be accorded the former, the splitting up of a language into a number of dialects being a much less rapid process than the diffusion of a word.

A good example of the former type of inference is presented by some of the Athabaskan words for "house." That both the quadrangular plank house of the Hupa and the earth lodge (hogan) of the Navaho are, from the standpoint of older Athabaskan culture, chronologically secondary to the round bark tent is neatly indicated by linguistic evidence, the common Athabaskan word for "house," *ye*, *yèx* (Kato *ye*; Anvik *yax*; Ten'a *yax*; Carrier *yax*; Chipewyan *ye*; Hare *yí*; Loucheux *je*) being respectively replaced by *xonta* and *hoyan* in these languages. Many more such examples could be adduced, but, as already

<sup>1</sup> Such caution, however, is far less frequently applicable to a word of identical or like meaning in a number of related languages than when our view is limited to a single language. Independent parallel development of meaning in two or more languages is not unknown (cf. Athabaskan *lét* "fire-drill" as developed to "matches" above), but its probability rapidly decreases with the number of the languages compared.



remarked, the value of the method has hardly begun to be realized among Americanists.

#### HISTORICAL VALUE OF OPERATION OF PHONETIC LAWS.

It must be acknowledged that in particular cases it is not always easy to distinguish between a word independently inherited by a number of languages from a common prototype and one which has spread by diffusion within the limits of a group of genetically related languages. Ordinarily the distinction is rendered comparatively easy by the fact that the borrowed words do not show the influence of such dialectic phonetic laws as operated before their adoption. However, a borrowed word may happen to have come into use at a period prior to the operation of all such phonetic laws as are capable of affecting it, in which case it exhibits all the phonetic characteristics of words belonging to the oldest ascertainable stratum of the language. The chronological value of such words remains great, for they give us a minimum age, in terms of often relatively datable phonetic laws, for their adoption and that of the concepts associated with them.<sup>1</sup>

A good example of such a culture word is the Nootka *hei'na*, which is identical in origin with the Kwakiutl *xwe'la*. This term designates the supernatural quartz which is capable of flying and which, among the Nootka, plays an important part in the conduct of and in the beliefs connected with the Wolf Ritual. Nootka possesses both *x* (velar voiceless spirant) and *xw* (labialized velar voiceless spirant), though these are not common sounds; original Wakashan (Kwakiutl-Nootka) *x* and *xw* have both regularly developed to *h* (velarized aspiration).<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Kwakiutl *l* regularly corresponds to Nootka *n*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The phonologic criterion renders great service in the stratification of the borrowed culture words of a language. Countless examples could be given from the history of the culture languages of the old world. Thus, the minimum age for the origin of the probably borrowed hemp culture among the Germanic-speaking tribes is indicated by the phonetic form of the Germanic word for the plant (cf. Anglo-Saxon *haneþ*); comparison with such forms of the word as Greek *kannabis* shows clearly that this culture, or at least the knowledge of the plant, was older than the characteristic Germanic changes of original *k* to *h* and of original *b* to *p*, whence results an inference of very considerable antiquity, an antiquity exceeding that, e.g., of the acquaintance of the West Germanic tribes with Christianity (cf. Anglo-Saxon *cyrice* "church," i.e., *kürike*, from Greek *küriake*; note retained *k* in Anglo-Saxon, and West Germanic generally, because this word was borrowed subsequently to the time at which the shift from *k* to *h* operated).

<sup>2</sup> Nitinat and Makah, however, preserve Wakashan *x* and *xw*.

<sup>3</sup> Kwakiutl *l*, when "hardened" from *l*, corresponds to Nootka *'y*, not *'n*. This consideration may ultimately prove Nootka *hei'na* to be borrowed from Kwakiutl *xwe'la*, not cognate with it. Nootka *n* would then have been substituted for Kwakiutl *l* as its nearest acoustic equivalent.



Hence the two words look somewhat as if they might be independent developments of a common Wakashan prototype. Could we be sure of this, we would have to assign a very great antiquity to the Wakashan belief in the supernatural power of flying quartz. At the very least, the word must have been borrowed by Nootka before the *x-h* shift, whence we may infer that it belongs to the oldest stratum of Kwakiutl ritualistic influence.

Another example of this type is afforded by the Uto-Aztekan word for "metate, grinding stone," *mella-(tli)*; this appears in Nahuatl as *mella-tl*, in Huichol as *mala*, in Luiseño as *mala-l*, in Southern Paiute as *mara-tsi-*. Linguistically there is nothing to show that these correspondences do not rest on dialectic development from a common Uto-Aztekan source; should this interpretation prove sound, we would be dealing with a very old culture element antedating the tremendous movements of population that have scattered the Uto-Aztekan peoples from Idaho to Central America. If, on the other hand, there should be other than linguistic evidence to show that the metate was gradually diffused from an Aztec centre of distribution to the Sonoran and Shoshonean tribes to the north, the linguistic evidence would still prove a great antiquity for this diffusion, as it must have been consummated before the operation of a number of distinctive phonetic laws of considerable geographical distribution and, therefore, age (assimilation in Sonoran and Shoshonean of *e—a* to *a—a*; spirantization of intervocalic *-l-* to Luiseño *-l<sup>1</sup>* and Southern Paiute *-r<sup>2</sup>*).<sup>3</sup>

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF LINGUISTIC STOCKS.

### Concept of Linguistic Stock.

Probably the most valuable service that linguistics can render ethnology is the setting up of groups of languages into linguistic stocks. The concept of a linguistic stock is of par-

<sup>1</sup> This applies to all Luiseño-Cahuilla dialects, also to Tübatulabal.

<sup>2</sup> This applies to all Ute-Chemehuevi and Shoshoni-Comanche dialects.

<sup>3</sup> It would not be necessary to assume that Uto-Aztekan *tl* had not yet become *t* in Sonoran and Shoshonean, as *tl* of a borrowed Nahuatl word would in these languages be replaced by its nearest phonetic equivalent, *t*. Compare such Castilianized words as *mado* and *ocote*.

ticular interest to us because, while based on descriptive data, it is strictly historical in character. It implies the former existence of a comparatively undifferentiated language which, by gradual phonetic and morphologic changes, has diverged into distinct forms of speech. Each of these, of course, may in turn become ramified, and so on. Hence a proper classification of genetically related languages always tends to assume the form of a genealogical tree. While it may be possible to say with certainty that a given number of languages are genetically related, it is a much more embarrassing task to prove the corresponding negative, that certain languages, because offering few, if any, obvious traits of similarity, cannot be considered as going back to a common origin. It is not difficult to realize that the process of linguistic differentiation may, after a vast lapse of time, bring about such profound dissimilarity of phonetics, structure, and vocabulary that the positive proof of genetic relationship may be a difficult or even impossible task. Even the most inclusive classification of aboriginal American languages that could be made would, therefore, have positive validity as far as it went without justly allowing the necessity of the negative corollaries that might be drawn.

### **Chronological Inferences from Linguistic Differentiation as to Movements of Population.**

#### **COMPARISON OF DISTINCT LINGUISTIC STOCKS.**

The greater the degrees of linguistic differentiation within a stock, the greater is the period of time that must be assumed for the development of such differentiations. The greater the geographical extent covered by a linguistic stock, the greater is the period of time that must be allowed for the movements of the tribes speaking its languages. The latter criterion of relative age holds good, however, only insofar as geographical extent is proportionate to degree of linguistic differentiation. A tribe may overrun a large territory at a very much more rapid rate than a language splits up into two divergent dialects. Hence, while the extensive geographical spread of a language undoubtedly

forms a favourable condition for dialectic differentiation, it is not necessarily directly proportionate to the latter. Yet the chronological value of the facts of linguistic distribution, particularly when emphasis is placed on remoter time perspectives, depends on the linguistic differentiation implied in such distribution. Let us glance at a few American examples.

The Algonkin languages proper<sup>1</sup> are spoken over a vast territory reaching from the Atlantic to the Rockies and from Hudson bay to the Ohio valley. In this area are (or were) spoken a large number of distinct languages and dialects (*e.g.*, Naskapi, Montagnais, Cree, Micmac, Abenaki, Ojibwa, Menomini, Fox, Shawnee, Delaware, Natick, Miami, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Blackfoot). There can be no doubt that a very great lapse of time (probably several millennia) must be assumed to account for the geographical distribution and dialectic differentiation of the Algonkin languages proper. As compared with the Algonkin area, that of the Penutian languages of California (Yokuts, Miwok-Costanoan, Maidu, Wintun),<sup>2</sup> though large, is quite restricted. Are we justified in assuming from this that the movement of Algonkin peoples<sup>3</sup> from a relatively small area occupied by a people of homogeneous speech greatly antedated the analogous movement of Penutian peoples? Not unless we can show that the differentiation of the Algonkin languages is not less profound than that of the Penutian languages. As a matter of fact, the morphologic and lexical differences that obtain between even the most divergent Algonkin languages, say Chey-

<sup>1</sup> That is, without the inclusion of the remotely related Yurok and Wiyot of California.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Penutian stock as defined by Dixon and Kroeber. I have collected evidence to show that it extends into Oregon, embracing Takelma, Coos, and Lower Umpqua, possibly certain other languages. For the sake of simplicity, however, I here use the term Penutian in its more restricted Californian sense.

<sup>3</sup> This and similar terms ("movement of people of such and such speech") do not by any means imply that all or even most of the present population speaking dialects of the stock have of necessity primarily descended from a relatively homogeneous group speaking the hypothetical prototype of the stock. A language may spread to neighbouring peoples without any great displacement of population. Linguistic displacement due to cultural contact is here included under "movement of tribes of related speech." In actual fact, to be sure, I believe it may be shown that far-reaching movements of population were quite frequent in aboriginal America. I doubt if linguistic displacement was as typical a process in America as in the old world, though it is by no means unknown (thus, the Tlingit-speaking Tagish were originally an Athabaskan tribe; the Nootka-speaking Ho'pa'cas'ath were originally a Salish tribe; the Tewa of Hano are adopting Hopi as their language).

enne and Micmac, while by no means inconsiderable, are of comparatively little moment when set by the side of analogous differences obtaining between two such Penutian languages as Yokuts and Miwok. The fact that Cheyenne and Micmac were understood to be clearly related at a time when Yokuts, Costanoan, Miwok, Wintun, and Maidu<sup>1</sup> were looked upon as mutually independent linguistic stocks, in itself indicates that the differentiation exhibited by the latter languages cuts deeper into the historic past than that found in the Algonkin languages. There can be no doubt, then, that the distribution of Penutian-speaking tribes antedates, as a whole, the scattering of Algonkin peoples from a comparatively restricted centre. If under the term "Algonkin" we include the remotely related Yurok and Wiyot of California, a comparison with the Californian Penutian group as to relative age of linguistic differentiation might well favour the former. However, too little is known of the details of either problem to enable us to answer such a question as yet.

#### LINGUISTIC DIFFERENTIATION OF EARLIEST MAN IN AMERICA.

One corollary of great historical interest follows from our argument as to the chronological significance of linguistic differentiation. If the apparently large number of linguistic stocks recognized in America<sup>2</sup> be assumed to be due merely to such extreme divergence on the soil of America as to make the proof of an original unity of speech impossible, then we must allow a tremendous lapse of time for the development of such divergences, a lapse of time undoubtedly several times as great as the period that the more conservative archæologists and palæontologists are willing to allow as necessary for the interpretation of the earliest remains of man in America.<sup>3</sup> We would then be driven

<sup>1</sup> Gatschet's surmise of the genetic relationship of Costanoan and Miwok was the first step towards the recognition of the Penutian stock.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of the reduction in American linguistic stocks which we have of late years been witnessing, there is no reasonable prospect, as far as I can see, of our ever getting beyond the assumption of a quite considerable number of isolated linguistic groups in North and South America.

<sup>3</sup> While it is absurd to juggle with specific figures, it may be interesting to note that at a recent scientific meeting a well known American palæontologist, who is at the same time conversant with the problem of early man in America, expressed himself as believing ten thousand years an ample, indeed a maximum, period for the human occupation of this continent, as far as the geological evidence is concerned. This was only a somewhat reluctantly given personal opinion, but it very likely represents the general consensus of conservative opinion on the subject. Ten thousand years, however, seems a hopelessly inadequate span of time for the development from a homogeneous origin of such linguistic differentiation as is actually found in America.



to the alternative of assuming that the linguistic differentiation of aboriginal America developed only in small part (in its latest stages) in the new world, that the Asiatic (possibly also South Sea) immigrants who peopled the American continent were at the earliest period of occupation already differentiated into speakers of several genetically unrelated<sup>1</sup> stocks. This would make it practically imperative to assume that the peopling of America was not a single historical process but a series of movements of linguistically unrelated peoples, possibly from different directions and certainly at very different times. This view strikes me as intrinsically highly probable. As the latest linguistic arrivals in North America would probably have to be considered the Eskimo-Aleut<sup>2</sup> and the Na-dene (Haida, Tlingit, and Athabaskan).<sup>3</sup>

#### DIFFERENTIATION OF LINGUISTIC STOCKS INTO DISTINCT LANGUAGES.

The criterion of linguistic differentiation has time value not only in relation to independent linguistic stocks but also, and indeed even more typically, in relation to the cognate languages of a single linguistic stock. The major divisions of a linguistic stock represent the oldest differentiations within it and the geographical distributions of each of these divisions as unit must be considered as of equal weight in an attempt to reconstruct the earliest ascertainable location and movements of the stock as a whole. In other words, the geographical centre of gravity, historically considered, of a linguistic stock is not determined directly on the basis of all the dialects of the stock but rather on the basis of its major divisions, regardless of whether

<sup>1</sup> Or so remotely related at best that the fact of relationship could hardly be gathered from the descriptive evidence.

<sup>2</sup> The Siberian Eskimo would, of course, still have to be considered as representing a regressive movement from America to Asia.

<sup>3</sup> From these considerations follows a highly important theoretical, if not at present practical, corollary. Should it ever be possible to prove a tangible genetic relationship between Asiatic and American languages, this would by no manner of means necessarily or even probably involve more than a small proportion of American languages. I do not consider it at all inconceivable that, *e.g.*, the Eskimo-Aleut and Na-dene languages may ultimately be shown to have respective Asiatic affinities but no American ones. I need hardly insist that these remarks have a merely theoretic validity.

they are greatly ramified into subdivisions or not.<sup>1</sup> The procedure in estimating the relative chronological significance of further linguistic ramifications is analogous to the above. To put it briefly, we must aim to weight the historical equivalence of languages at every step rather than to make historical inferences from their number.

To show how these considerations affect the reconstruction of earlier movements of linguistically related tribes we may briefly take up two or three actual problems. The geographical centre of distribution of the Algonkin tribes proper would seem to be the upper Great Lakes, but before we can attach an historical interpretation to this purely descriptive fact it is well to weight the linguistic evidence. As far as we can see at present, the Algonkin languages (aside from their more remote kinsmen, Yurok and Wiyot) fall into four equivalent groups—Blackfoot, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Central-Eastern Algonkin,<sup>2</sup> the last including the greater number of Algonkin languages. In other words, the divergence between Arapaho and Blackfoot, despite the fact that their speakers are in both cases typical Plains tribes, reflects a linguistic (and tribal) differentiation of greater antiquity than that of two such distant tribes as the Naskapi and Shawnee. At best, therefore, the Great Lakes can be considered as the historical centre of distribution of only the Central-Eastern tribes; while the linguistic equivalence with this group of the Blackfoot, Arapaho, and Cheyenne, each of which lie to the west of the former, pushes the historical centre of distribution of the Algonkin tribes proper considerably to the west.<sup>3</sup> We

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<sup>1</sup> I am assuming here that it is possible to determine the linguistic divisions which are historically equivalent; further, that a distinction can be drawn between a historically fundamental divergence and a relatively secondary one, even though the latter is of greater descriptive magnitude (*e.g.*, English seems, on the whole, more distinct from German than does German from Danish, yet it can be shown very convincingly that the English-German divergence is historically secondary to the German-Danish, better West Germanic-Scandinavian, one). To justify these assumptions would lead us too far into the technique of comparative philology.

<sup>2</sup> Since this was written, I have come to consider it highly probable that Cheyenne and Arapaho belong to a single group of Algonkin.

<sup>3</sup> This naturally has its significance in view of the presence of Yurok and Wiyot still farther west. It is hardly an accident that the greatest linguistic differentiation of Algonkin proper is found in the west, not in the Atlantic region.

can hardly avoid the inference that in the remoter past the general movement of Algonkin tribes was from west to east.<sup>1</sup>

A particularly neat instance of the oft-times conclusive nature of linguistic evidence for the determination of the direction of a movement of population is that of the distribution of the Athabaskan languages. As is well known, these languages are spoken in three geographically isolated areas, a very large northern area (interior of Alaska to near Hudson bay), a Pacific area (southwestern Oregon and northwestern California), and a southern area (Arizona, New Mexico, and western Texas). As long as it is assumed, as is generally done on purely geographical grounds, that these three dialectic groups represent the equivalent major divisions of Athabaskan, there is no pressing reason of a linguistic nature for considering one rather than another as the historical centre of distribution. As a matter of fact, however, while the southern and Pacific dialectic groups are each of them clearly homogeneous and contrast with other groups of Athabaskan dialects,<sup>2</sup> I do not see that any evidence has been given to indicate that the northern dialects form a single group equivalent to these. Though these dialects have not yet been satisfactorily classified, it seems at least probable to me that they may ultimately be grouped into two or more major divisions, each equivalent in differential value to the southern group. Thus, I do not see that the divergence between, say, Carrier and Loucheux is less profound than that which obtains between, say, Chipewyan and Navaho. This being so, it would seem that the historical centre of gravity lies rather in the north than in either of the other two regions and that the occupation of these latter was due to a southward movement of Athabaskan-speaking tribes. It is important to observe that the argument is not in any way dependent on the fact that the northern tribes cover a much vaster territory than those of the other two groups or

<sup>1</sup> This in no way contradicts the fact that at a much later period there was clearly a westward drift of certain Algonkin tribes (Western Cree, Plains Ojibwa, Arapaho, Cheyenne). I am not inclined to believe that the western movement of the Cree is part of the same general movement of population that gave the Blackfoot their present home.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, Pacific Athabaskan as unit is characterized by *s* and *c* as reflexes of both original *s* and *z* and *c* and *j* respectively; in morphology we may note the frequent use of *-in* "infinitive" tense forms of many verbs. Southern Athabaskan as unit is characterized by the development of original palatalized *k*-sounds to *ts*-sounds.

even directly on the fact that probably a larger number of distinct dialects are spoken in the north than elsewhere. The argument for the northern provenience of the Athabaskan tribes is clinched by a further linguistic fact, namely that the Athabaskan dialects form one of the three major divisions of the Nadene stock, the other two being Haida and Tlingit. The fact that the latter are spoken in the northwest coast area so emphatically locates the historical centre of gravity of the stock in the north that it becomes completely impossible to think of the Athabaskan tribes as having spread north from California or the southwest.<sup>1</sup>

The value of the criterion of linguistic differentiation for a reconstruction of the relative ages of tribal movements, to a considerable extent also of the direction of such movements, has doubtless been made evident. If, as may sometimes happen, the linguistic evidence seems to run counter to other evidence or to a prevailing theory, it should not be lightly discarded as irrelevant to historical problems. While it may be forced to yield in the face of powerful testimony pointing to contrary conclusions, its claims always deserve serious consideration. Had the historical significance of linguistic differentiation been more generally appreciated, I doubt if the theory, for example, of the distribution of Eskimo tribes from the west coast of Hudson bay as a centre would have received quite such ready acceptance. I do not wish expressly to oppose this theory, but merely to point out that it does not well agree with the linguistic evidence. The Eskimo linguistic stock is sharply divided into two dialectic groups, Eskimo proper and Aleut. Inasmuch as Aleut is confined to Alaska and as a considerable number of distinct Eskimo dialects are spoken in Alaska besides, it seems very probable to

<sup>1</sup> There is also specific linguistic evidence in both the Pacific and southern dialectic groups of Athabaskan tending to show that Athabaskan is intrusive in those areas. In another paper I have attempted to demonstrate that the Hokan languages (Shasta-Achomawi, Chimariko, Karok, Pomo, Yana, Esselen, Yuman, Seri, Chontal, probably also Chumash and Salinan) are related to the Coahuiltecan languages of the western Gulf coast (Coahuilteco, Comecrudo, Cotoname, Tonkawa, Karankawa, possibly also Atakapa); if this is correct, the Athabaskan tribes now separating Yuman from Karankawa and Tonkawa could hardly be other than intrusive. Similarly, in northern California, the territory lying between that of the Pomo and that of the linguistically related Shasta, Chimariko, and Karok is largely occupied by Athabaskan tribes. Finally, in Oregon, Coos and Lower Umpqua are cut off from the remotely related Takelma (the evidence for this I expect to produce in a future paper) by Athabaskan dialects.



me that the earliest at present ascertainable centre of dispersion of the tribes of Eskimo stock lies in Alaska.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PHONETIC AND MORPHOLOGIC FEATURES.

It is well known to students of language that striking phonetic and morphologic similarities are not infrequently found between neighbouring languages that, so far as can be ascertained, are in no way genetically related. Such resemblances, insofar as they are not merely fortuitous, must be due to the assimilatory influence exerted by one language over another. This may either mean that in the acquisition of an originally foreign language that gradually displaces the native one certain habits of speech (phonetic or structural peculiarities) are carried over by the speakers from the old into the new language<sup>1</sup> or that such peculiarities are, more or less unconsciously<sup>2</sup> and through the medium of bilingual individuals, created in one language on the model of analogous features in the other. Which of these factors is involved in any particular case it may often, or generally, be quite impossible to tell.

One of the most striking American examples of phonetic accord overriding fundamental linguistic independence is the occurrence in a considerable number of West Coast linguistic groups (Na-dene; Tsimshian; Kwakiutl-Nootka, Chemakum, Salish; Chinookan; Lower Umpqua, Coos) of velar consonants, voiceless laterals, and glottalized ("fortis") stops. These far-reaching resemblances in rather uncommon types of sounds are likely to be in part due to such assimilatory processes as we have mentioned. Examples of important morphological resemblances in unrelated, but geographically contiguous languages are the sex gender of Coast Salish and Chinookan; the occurrence of numeral classifiers and distributive (or plural) reduplication both in Tsimshian and in Kwakiutl-Nootka, Chemakum, and

<sup>1</sup> Just as we, when a foreign language has been but imperfectly mastered, involuntarily substitute familiar for difficult and unfamiliar sounds and literally translate morphological and syntactic usages that are familiar to us into the new medium of communication.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes no doubt also consciously. Fashions in speech, peculiar to one language, particularly if associated with ceremonial or literary values, may be directly imitated by the speakers of another.

Salish;<sup>1</sup> the instrumental verb prefixes of Maidu, Shoshonean, Washo, and Shasta-Achomawi;<sup>2</sup> and the local verb suffixes of Maidu, Washo, and of Shasta-Achomawi and Yana.<sup>3</sup> There seems no practical alternative in these and many other cases that might be mentioned to the hypothesis of morphological influence exerted by one language on another. The point of historical interest in such assimilatory phenomena is that they necessarily presuppose a very long period of tribal contact. They may, therefore, be employed as indications of the relative age of a tribal contact or even of the former existence of a contact now disrupted. While I do not think that too free a use should be made of this criterion for historical purposes, difficult as it generally is to isolate and apply, there is no doubt that in special cases it can yield interesting results.

An inference or two from some of the morphological facts listed above will be helpful towards the understanding of the method of application. Tsimshian, as far as we know, is genetically unrelated to either the Na-dene languages to the north or the group comprising Kwakiutl-Nootka, Salish, and Chemakum to the south. Culturally the Tsimshian Indians are more closely affiliated with the Na-dene tribes of the Pacific coast (Haida and Tlingit) than with even the northernmost of the latter tribes (Kitamat, Bella Bella; Bella Coola). Nevertheless, the morphologic resemblances noted above between Tsimshian and the languages south of it, when contrasted with the lack of correspondingly significant resemblances between Tsimshian and Na-dene, seems to be indicative of a much earlier contact of the Tsimshian with the Kwakiutl and Salish than with the Haida and Tlingit. Such contact need, of course, not have been in precisely the same territory as now occupied by the tribes nor need their geographical relation have been quite the same. Should

<sup>1</sup> These three, as long ago pointed out by Boas, have several important morphological traits in common. They may well prove to be genetically related.

<sup>2</sup> In this respect Maidu differs from the other Penutian languages (Yokuts, Miwok-Cos-tanoan, Wintun, also Coos and Lower Umpqua; Takelma also, but quite independently of Maidu though perhaps again under Shasta-Achomawi influence, has developed a set of instrumental verb prefixes of a rather different type). On the other hand, instrumental verb prefixes seem characteristic of certain Hokan languages (Shasta-Achomawi, Chimariko, Pomo).

<sup>3</sup> Here again Maidu differs from all the other Penutian languages (including Takelma, Coos, and Lower Umpqua). Once again the peculiarity is characteristic of several Hokan languages (Yana, Shasta-Achomawi, Chimariko, Karok).

our inference prove correct, it would probably mean that the great bulk of the cultural development exclusively peculiar to the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian is of much more recent date than the earliest contact between the Tsimshian and the Kwakiutl and Salish.

A comparison of Maidu and Wintun seems to lead to a similar line of argument. Both of these languages are in contact with northern Hokan languages, Maidu with Shasta-Achomawi and Yana, Wintun with Yana, Shasta-Achomawi, Chimariko, and Pomo. Moreover, the Wintun territory extends considerably to the north of that of the Maidu. If anything, therefore, one would have expected Wintun to show more of a Hokan influence than, or at least as profound a Hokan influence as Maidu, instead of which we find that two of the most striking morphological features of Hokan, instrumental prefixes and local suffixes in verbs, are shared by Maidu but not by Wintun.<sup>1</sup> It hardly seems too rash to infer from this that the Maidu have been in longer contact with Hokan-speaking tribes than the Wintun. This can only mean that at an earlier date the Maidu were the northernmost of the Californian Penutian tribes and that the Wintun have only later gradually spread north from the lower Sacramento valley, where they were probably only in contact with other Penutian tribes and with the southern Yuki. Before this northward movement of the Wintun we may suppose the Pomo to have been in contact with their remote linguistic kinsmen, the Yana and Shasta-Achomawi.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS ON METHOD.

We have now completed our survey of the methods available for a reconstruction of time perspectives in aboriginal American culture-history. Anything like real completeness is, of course, entirely out of the question here, my chief aim having been rather to suggest some of the more important avenues of approach than to write a systematic methodology or to treat in

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<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered that both Wintun and Maidu are Penutian languages and are, therefore, related. The linguistic psychology of the two languages seems, indeed, to be very much the same, so that, other things being equal, Wintun might be supposed to be as readily susceptible to Hokan influence as Maidu.

exhaustive detail of the practical application of our methods to the more important problems of American ethnology.

A possible impression that may have been left in the mind of the reader is that I attach an exaggerated importance to the historical value of purely inferential evidence as contrasted with the more obvious direct evidence derived from a study of datable documents and from stratigraphic archæology. Such an impression is certainly not intended. I would not dispute for an instant the general superiority of direct to inferential evidence in the establishment of culture sequences, but have made it more particularly my aim to show in what way, in the absence or dearth of direct evidence, the inferential data may be made to yield historical perspectives. The methods to be pursued in the handling of historical documents are relatively obvious; moreover they may be found discussed in more than one manual of historical method. As for the historical methodology of archæological research, while I consider the method of stratigraphy, where available, as probably the most fruitful of all, I have felt that it would be presumptuous for one as inexperienced in archæological technique as myself to do more than barely indicate the nature of this method. I earnestly hope that the present paper may stimulate some one better qualified than myself to prepare a systematic statement of the principles of such a methodology, with special reference to the reconstruction of time sequences in American culture.

In connexion with the treatment of inferential evidence, I feel myself open to a second criticism, that of a disproportionate insistence on purely linguistic criteria coupled with an undervaluation of the data of physical anthropology. This criticism also would be directed rather at the form than at the spirit of my contentions. I freely grant that incomparably the most significant of all inferential evidence bearing on the time perspective of culture is yielded by ethnological data. That I have treated the linguistic criteria at somewhat disproportionate length is due to two reasons, the one personal, the other pedagogical. My own interest in and relative familiarity with facts of a linguistic order have doubtless betrayed me into a tendency to make rather more of them than strict justice might allow. On the other hand, the



actual historical value of linguistic criteria is so real and this value so little appreciated among Americanists generally, that it seemed pedagogically advisable, if not theoretically warranted, to somewhat overdo the emphasis on them. As for the claims of physical anthropology to more detailed consideration, I must here, too, confess that I feel too keenly my limitations in this regard to do more than briefly indicate a few possibilities. The incidental light thrown on culture history or on former movements of population by the data of physical anthropology is certainly worthy of a careful methodological treatment.

In answer to a third possible criticism, I must emphatically point out that I do not consider any single one of the inferential criteria that I have set up as necessarily valid in a specific case. An argument, *e.g.*, based on the associations formed by a culture element or on its geographical diffusion or on its linguistic representation may be entirely convincing in the handling of one problem, yet appear far-fetched or even totally inapplicable in the handling of another. Everything depends upon the specific conditions of a given problem. And, needless to say, any one criterion is never to be applied to the exclusion of or in opposition to all others. It is a comfortable procedure to attach oneself unreservedly or primarily to a single mode of historical inference and wilfully to neglect all others as of little moment, but the clean-cut constructions of the doctrinaire never coincide with the actualities of history.

If any general point should have come out more clearly than another in the course of our discussion, it is the danger of tearing a culture element loose from its psychological and geographical (*i.e.*, distributional) setting. No feeling of historical perspective can be gained for any culture element without careful reference to these settings. Another way of bringing out this point is to emphasize the necessity of historically evaluating or weighting a culture element or linguistic datum before it is employed for comparative purposes. The failure adequately to weight ethnological and linguistic data, but to rely largely on the counting of noses, is to an equal extent responsible for the historical vagaries of a Frazerian evolutionist and for those of his counterpart, the Graebnerian diffusionist.

**Editorial Note**

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Section Two:  
Cultural Comparison





## Introduction

Edward Sapir was a frequent and significant commentator on the work of his fellow Boasian anthropologists. His reviews clarify his opinions on the nature of ethnology and its relationship to linguistics and demonstrate the range of his ethnological interests. Indeed, apart from *Time Perspective*, it is in his comments on the work of others that we find most of Sapir's statements on general issues of ethnological comparison, or on ethnological patterns in North America as a whole. Even though his remarks on guardian spirit experiences in North America (letter to Ruth Benedict, this volume) discuss Benedict's data, Sapir went on to present material from his own ethnography. However, the two papers on kinship terms and social organization that appear in this section derive directly from his own experience. Many of Sapir's ethnographic writings on particular peoples deal with these topics, and in these two papers he took them up on a broader level of comparison.

As might be expected, Sapir's reviews of Boasian anthropological works are generally favorable. Some are enthusiastic and extensive; others, more perfunctory, are still positive. Even in the briefest of comments, in his annotated bibliography on archaeology and ethnology for the *Canadian Historical Review* (1923b), there are cameos of theoretical argument. For example, Benedict's work on the guardian spirit quest (see letter, this volume, for more extensive commentary on this work and "the body of historical critiques which anthropology owes to Boas") described patterns which were "in no sense psychologically inevitable" but were "the resultants of specific historical processes each peculiar to its time and place." Sapir noted that Kroeber's case for the Asiatic origins of Northwest Coast culture was weaker than geographical position would suggest (though Sapir himself was already seeking linguistic evidence for such a connection). He described his own paper on Sarcee pottery as containing "certain far-reaching historical possibilities [which] are glanced at." Sapir praised Waldemar Bogoras's noting of "certain important formal analogies" between Chukchee and Eskimo-Aleut but felt it "too early to speak definitely" about genetic relationship (neither man pursued this suggestion). Clark Wissler was praised for

concentrating on historical processes rather than innate racial differences. Sapir's annotations focus on Boasian work, clearly equivalent for him (as for many of his contemporaries) to scientific ethnology. Also in 1923, Sapir sponsored his colleague Harlan I. Smith's collection on prehistoric Canadian art and proposed that the Canadian government issue albums of prehistoric art for each of the five major culture areas of Canada, a plan that was never fulfilled. The volume was intended "to stimulate Canadian artists and designers to use aboriginal motifs," an aim that Sapir believed would be served by introducing readers to Boasian tenets. He deplored the common tendency to view ethnographic collections only as scientific specimens and not as art.

Clark Wissler's 1917 *The American Indian* provided the first Boasian synthesis. Sapir (1919f) praised its avoidance of the journalistic voyeurism and superficial theorizing so common to the existing literature. In sum, "owing to the paucity of direct chronological evidence, the historical point of view in American culture resolves itself largely into a careful study of distributions and the inferential translation of these into terms of historical sequence."

Sapir's review (1912e) of Alexander Goldenweiser's essay on totemism shows considerable enthusiasm for what he saw as "the most generalized psychological definition applicable to all [totemism's] forms," although Goldenweiser was, in practice, not "rigorously analytical" enough to carry through on his own suggestion. The method of the work is attributed to Boas, and it was so perceived by the discipline. Sapir was intrigued by Goldenweiser's insistence on the independence of clan, totem or crest, and exogamy in particular totemic systems:

the analysis of a cultural phenomenon into its elements and the historical interpretation of the phenomenon as an association, varying in character from place to place, of these elements, is the method so often insisted upon by Professor Franz Boas as that best fitted to give fruitful results in anthropological investigations. The insistence on the importance of mutual cultural influence of neighboring tribes is also one of the leading notes in the ethnological method of Boas and his school.

Sapir reviewed Robert Lowie's *Primitive Society* for three periodicals, adopting three differing but uniformly enthusiastic approaches. In *The Dial* (1920g), Sapir argued that the study of primitive mentality should be considered a science rather than a mere cataloguing of natural diversity. He stressed the importance of historical reconstruction and that primitive man is "simply ourselves, caught in the net of other geographical and historical circumstances." Readers might gain insight into their own culture by reading about other cultures, a theme that

would recur in Sapir's later works on culture and the individual (see Volume III). Culture, Sapir concluded, is "the fine art of living, enshrined in the heritage of generation to generation." Most of the review is devoted to Sapir's rejection of facile evolutionary theories, rather than to the content of Lowie's book itself.

In *The Freeman* (1920h), Sapir attributed to Lowie "the sympathetic yet acidly critical spirit" of Franz Boas and "the sobering influences of fieldwork" on theoreticians. Lowie had produced the first non-evolutionary synthesis intended for the general public, "the clearest and most balanced expression we yet possess of the present temper of American anthropology." Interestingly, Sapir presents Boasian anthropology, implicitly including his own contributions to it, as a team effort. At its best, the work of Lowie, Kroeber, Sapir, Radin, Wissler, Spier, and Boas himself represented a jointly held commitment to scientific anthropology. In *The Nation* (1920f), Sapir again debunked (social) evolutionary theory, calling it "a pseudo-science like medieval alchemy," and he casually dismissed the emerging Freudian psychology as likely to be "antiquated" before it became "classical." He complimented Lowie for depicting the people he worked with as real, not exotic.

Sapir (1922r) reviewed Elsie Clews Parsons's collection of life histories by Boasian anthropologists, to which his "Sayach'apis, a Nootka Trader" (1922y) was a contribution, with similar enthusiasm for intelligible cultural description and the importance of the individual in cultural life. His statement foreshadows later work in cultural theory (p. 570):

Can this conscious knowledge of the ethnologist be fused with the intuitions of the artist?...Few artists possess so impassioned an indifference to the external forms of conduct as to absorb an exotic milieu only to dim its high visibility and to make room for those tracks of the individual consciousness which are the only true concern of literary art...the exotic is easily mistaken for subject, when it should be worked as texture.

Sapir stresses texts as well as experiments with genres of ethnographic writing in his call for emphasis on the individual.

In a review (1929h) of Ruth Bunzel's work on Pueblo pottery, Sapir acknowledges her as the "most brilliant" of Boas's students of design elements, noting her ability to distinguish between geographical distribution and historical development and "artistic individuality within the framework of a carefully defined communal style." Following Boasian tenets, Bunzel avoided both evolutionary theory and the subjective interpretation of symbols. This review is interesting in being the only



published reflection of Sapir's own abortive effort, around 1917–18, to study western responses to Indian design elements.

Sapir's 1938 introduction to his student Walter Dyk's *Son of Old Man Hat* provides another example of the ethnographic standards Sapir espoused toward the end of his career. He stressed that the sequence of memories in this life history was not an analysis of personality but a way to convey to the reader that "customs are not merely eccentricities of nature" (p. vi). Ethnologists had too often let efforts to be "precise, detailed, objective, and impersonal" draw them away from the commonalities of primitive behavior and their own. The positive evaluation of this work harks back to Sapir's long-standing concerns with how ethnographic writing might capture the reality of culture for the individual. Although he called for studies of individual personality in various cultures in his theoretical writing at this time, however, Sapir never came to terms with how this might be done (see Volume III). A similar line of thought is evident in a review (1927f) of Paul Radin's *Crashing Thunder*.

Outside the Boasian network, Sapir's reviews tended to be more negative. He found (1910b) Merriam's Miwok myths as good as could be expected without linguistic texts, implying that Merriam did not meet the emerging scientific standards for ethnography. He criticized (1927g) A. Hyatt Verrill for descending to a mere catalogue of descriptive facts and suggested that his lack of direct field experience contributed to ethnographic naivete and failure to apply "reconstructive historical thinking." Leyburn's handbook style of dealing with cultures and languages was dismissed rather abruptly (1932c); Sapir did find a detail of interest to him, however, commenting on Tocharian as an Indo-European language — his rather than Leyburn's generalization. With regard to the *Mythology of All Races* series, however, Sapir (1921i, 1921j) added his own emphasis on the "ultimate psychic determinants of cultural form." The emphasis on "form" as the key to psychology — itself the key to culture history — was characteristic of Sapir's application of linguistic methodology to culture through aesthetics (see Volume III). Sapir also pointed out that elements of myth were never permanent and that the question of origins had to be held in abeyance. An unpublished review (included in this volume) of Father Schmidt's diffusionist work on native American religion is highly critical of non-objective methods and the selection of data to fit a theory.

Sapir's work on social organization is notable both for his approach to it from linguistic terminology and for his contributions to contem-



porary debates in the discipline. In "Terms of Relationship and the Levirate" (1916g), Sapir intervened in the debate between Kroeber and W. H. R. Rivers on the analysis and interpretation of kinship terminologies. In his *History of Melanesian Society* (1914a) and *Kinship and Social Organization* (1914b), Rivers had argued that terminological systems were a consequence of "social conditions" whose history could be reconstructed on the basis of the kinship terms. So closely did a particular form of society determine a particular terminological pattern, Rivers claimed, that should the present terminology fail to occur with the form of society it ought to reflect, then that form of society must have existed in the past. Much of *Kinship and Social Organization* explicitly opposed Kroeber's paper "Classificatory Systems of Relationship" (1909), which had advocated a componential approach to kinship terminologies. Kinship terms, Kroeber proposed, represent the linguistic labeling of psychological categories: all the relatives Ego calls by a particular term are, to him, in some sense similar (e.g., in generation or sex). The only "explanations" of kinship terminologies Kroeber envisioned were linguistic — not historical or psychological.

The debate hinged not only on the question of survivals and historical reconstruction, but at least as much on what Rivers and Kroeber each meant by "social conditions" and "psychology."<sup>1</sup> For Rivers, the "social conditions" determining kinship terminologies were, in the main, specific marriage rules, such as cross-cousin marriage. Although the scope of the family group contracting a marriage relation is taken into account, Rivers discussed marriage itself very narrowly, as if it concerned only sexual access. Moreover, what Rivers understood by "psychology" was experimental psychology, a scientific discipline to which he had made notable contributions. Kroeber, in contrast, used "psychology" in a much looser, more humanistic way, as the individual's perspective on a social system. Both Kroeber's *California Kinship Systems* (1917a) and Lowie's *Culture and Ethnology* (1917) were in large part responses to Rivers's position. Sapir's work on kinship appears in this context.

Sapir sharply criticized Rivers for "far-fetched inferences," although he was convinced of the general argument. Kinship nomenclature was "only in part capable of explanation on sociological grounds," and only detailed linguistic analysis of the terms would yield theoretically useful results (i. e., historical reconstruction). Sapir also stressed the need for "some feeling for the lack of strict accord between linguistic and cultural change." That is, evolutionary assumptions were untenable. Applying his linguistic intuition, Sapir noted that Ishi, his Yahi informant, found

"the dependence of these facts of terminology on the custom of the levirate...quite clear and practically self-evident" (1918j: 173). From this Sapir concluded that the levirate, in which he included the sororate, was part of Yahi social life as well as terminology.

Robert Lowie (1965, reprinted in Koerner 1984: 126–127) praised Sapir for his treatment of concrete data on the levirate when he "combined a control of facts with his rare intelligence and intuition." Sapir's thesis was refuted by the later work of Lowie and of Paul Kirchhoff, but nonetheless "directed attention to the nomenclatural significance of step-relationships and to the systems of clanless groups." Lowie stressed that Sapir had not intended his data on particular systems to apply universally. In the eyes of his contemporaries, Sapir, though no specialist, made substantive, methodological and theoretical contributions to the study of kinship.

Sapir's review (1912f) of Stumpf on music was the first of many works reflecting his enthusiasm for and training in music.<sup>2</sup> The son of a cantor, Sapir played the piano and had tried his hand at composition. The review of Stumpf is largely devoted to questions of culture history, and like other works by Boas and his students at this time it rejects global speculations about the origins of music and its evolution and diffusion. But if Sapir was unimpressed by Stumpf's speculations on these points, he concurred with him in refuting the naive extension of Darwinian evolutionary theory to the origin of music, and agreed that music should be defined as "relations of tones" (p. 277) rather than as the tones themselves. A study of the origin of music was thus to be concerned with "how definite tone-schemes or intervals came to be." In his review of von Hornbostel (1913d), Sapir discussed the validity of using a set of absolute musical pitches for cross-cultural comparison, and in other articles on music (e.g., "Representative Music," 1918d, Volume III). This interest may in a sense be seen as a harbinger of his conception of the phoneme and sound systems in language.

Sapir's essays on music (some of which appear in Volume III of *The Collected Works*) are still well regarded by ethnomusicologists. Judith Vander (p. c.) writes:

"Although Sapir's output on music was small, it reflects deep interest and knowledge. While praising Stumpf for his presentation of a wide variety of world musics, he presciently criticized the single-minded focus on music which neglected associated cultural features. He recognized the exciting possibilities of von Hornbostel's breakthrough — the scientific measurement of pitch and intervals, permitting cross-cultural

comparison of scales and instruments. (Subsequent scholarship has questioned the assertion by von Hornbostel of an historical relationship between the panpipes of the Solomon Islands and Brazil and the xylophones of Burma and Africa.)

"In his article on Percy Grainger (1916d), Sapir expressed admiration not only for the composer's ability to understand and appreciate non-Western music, but also for his desire to preserve its idiosyncratic qualities through recording and notation of exquisite accuracy. Sapir embodied this ideal in his major musical publication, "Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology" (where the transcriptions were clearly by Sapir himself, not by his father Jacob Sapir; see Sapir 1910d: 460, fn.) In that work, Sapir provided full explication of each song text and its setting in myth. He used such meters as 11/4 and 5/4, and indicated all the subtleties and variations of rhythm and pitch, vocal attack, and song form. His transcriptions and discussion of Paiute song recitative remain a classic model for ethnomusicologists today."

## Notes

1. See comments on Rivers and Kroeber in Schneider (1968) and Firth (1968), essays appended to the 1968 edition of Rivers' *Kinship and Social Organization*.

2. For Sapir's other works on music, see Volume III; in a more ethnographic vein, see his "Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology" (1910d), in this volume.

3. See Jaap Kunst, "Around von Hornbostel's Theory of the Cycle of Blown Fifths," in Kay Shelemay, ed., *Ethnomusicological Theory and Method* (New York and London: Garland, 1990), pp. 43–75.





Review of  
Alexander A. Goldenweiser, *Totemism,  
an Analytical Study*

*Totemism, An Analytical Study.* By Alexander A. Goldenweiser. *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 23 (1910), 179 – 293.

Most theoretical works on totemism are of a constructive or synthetic character, seeking to find the essence of the phenomenon in one or more basic sociological or psychological features, and then superadding other features as necessary or typical correlates in a coherent system of belief and practice that presents uniform or parallel characteristics wherever found. Goldenweiser's paper differs fundamentally in method from these, as its subtitle indicates. Its main purpose is to analyze out the various ethnological elements that form part of any given totemic system, to investigate the claims of each as a necessary feature of totemism, and to discover the most generalized psychological definition applicable to all its forms. In this way a new and independent standpoint is gained for the understanding of the mechanism of totemism.

In the introduction (pp. 1 – 5) the author deals with the definitions of totemism that have been given by three well-known English anthropologists, Frazer, Haddon and Rivers. It should be noted that Goldenweiser is not primarily concerned with a balanced review of prevalent theories of totemism and its origin, and hence refers to them only for illustrative purposes. It is the type of totemic theory exemplified by Frazer that he has chiefly in mind throughout the paper as opposed to his own standpoint, but issue is taken also with certain other writers on totemism, such as Lang, Major Powell, Hill-Tout, and Father Schmidt. As a result of his brief review of the definitions of totemism given by Frazer, Haddon and Rivers, Goldenweiser finds that there are chiefly five types of belief and custom that form elements of totemic systems as ordinarily defined. These are clan exogamy, totemic names of clans, a religious attitude toward the totem (an animal, plant or inanimate object serving as the protector or crest of the clan), taboos (generally of eating and killing) in regard to the totem, and belief in descent from

the totem. As the author pertinently remarks, "The justification of regarding the various features of totemism as organically interrelated is not *a priori* [455] obvious." And the whole trend of Goldenweiser's argument is to the effect that they are not thus "organically interrelated" in origin or by a uniformly operative process of evolution, but have become so in whole or in part, and often with still other features not generally considered of such fundamental importance, by various processes of secondary association.

The major part of the paper is taken up with a survey, first, of the totemic features found in two areas in which totemism is characteristically developed — Australia and the northwest coast of America (pp. 5–52); secondly, of the general occurrence in different parts of the world of ethnological features, believed to be symptomatic of totemism, divorced from any totemic setting, and, conversely, of the frequent non-occurrence of one or more of the features in cases where one can nevertheless justly speak of a totemic society (pp. 53–86). A careful comparison of the two regions selected, as a test example, for relatively detailed treatment shows certain analogies and, on the other hand, several fundamental differences. The results of the comparison are summarized in tabular form (p. 51). We find that in both western British Columbia and Central Australia, exogamy, that is, the prohibition of intermarriage among the members of a social unit, is found, with this important difference, however, that while among the Indians of the north Pacific coast (Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, northern Kwakiutl) the totemic social units (phratries or clans) are exogamous as such, among the natives of Australia it is the larger non-totemic social units (phratries, otherwise known as "moieties," and marriage classes) that as a rule regulate exogamy, the totemic clans being in most cases exogamous only by virtue of their being phratric subdivisions. Moreover, the totemic social units of both areas bear totemic names, though the Australian clans are more consistent in this respect than the tribes of British Columbia. Of the four Tsimshian clans or phratries (sociological nomenclature is in somewhat of a muddle in West Coast ethnology) only two have names referring to their animal totems or crests (wolf and eagle); the phratric subdivisions (Tlingit clans and Haida "families"), while possessing their distinctive crests, have names of a local character, thus pointing to the inference that they are social units originally confined each to a single village; furthermore, the Eagle clan (probably better called phratry) of the Haida is just as often termed *Gitins*, a name of no ascertainable totemic significance. I am inclined to think

that Goldenweiser makes too much of this relative lack of totemic names in British Columbia as a point of difference between [456] the two regions compared. The essential fact is the existence of crests associated with definite social units (phratries and clans), which may well be compared with the Australian totems that are associated with clans; the mere matter of whether or not the names of the totemic social units have distinct reference to the totems is, where the phratric or clan totems or crests themselves stand out clearly, of distinctly secondary importance.

Right here a more serious criticism must be made. For one who aims to be rigidly analytical in method, Goldenweiser does not carry his analysis far enough. The concept "an exogamous totemic clan" involves three distinct sociological concepts—the clan, the totem or crest, and the practice of exogamy. These are mutually independent concepts. Now the clan or other subtribal social unit is of such wide occurrence and is so much a matter of course as a starting point for a totemic society, that there is perhaps no need to isolate the phenomenon of a grouping into clans as one of the symptoms of totemism, though it might have been useful to entertain for a moment the possibility of totemic features becoming associated with a tribe or other undivided social unit as such. Be this as it may, it is clear that the concept of the totem, including that of crest or badge, as associated with the clan, should be analyzed out as one of the symptoms of totemism. Strange to say, Goldenweiser has not definitely done this, but has tacitly subsumed the notion under the concepts of exogamy of totemic social units and totemic naming. This seems unjustifiable, for Goldenweiser shows clearly that the clan totem as such can subsist without either exogamy, totemic naming, or, it may be added, worship of or other religious attitude toward the totem (see pp. 82–86). It may be objected that if we eliminate from a totemic system the totemic name, the taboo against eating, killing or acting in some other specific way toward the totem, the belief in descent from or other form of kinship with it, and a religious regard therefor, there is no totem left wherewith to totemize. The phenomenon of experience, divested of all its sense attributes, has evaporated into a metaphysical "Ding an sich." This objection is not valid. It happens not infrequently that a social unit is associated with an animal, plant or inanimate object merely as a crest or emblem, often guarding the right to display or represent it in some way or other. The totem is in such cases seen in its most simplified form, as a communal badge or heraldic symbol, or, again, it may be merely referred to in a legend. It should be noted in



passing that the active association of art and totemism, on which Goldenweiser justly lays [457] stress, is not to be confounded, though it may be intimately connected, with the heraldic aspect of totemism. In British Columbia in particular, where the totem often tends to become a mere crest, it would have been quite in place to isolate the clan totem (crest) as such as one of the elements of totemism.

The further comparison given by the author of Australian and West Coast totemism discloses instructive differences. Taboos, particularly of eating and killing, are common enough in both areas, but while both totemic and non-totemic taboos are found in Australia, they are never associated in British Columbia with totems as such. In central Australia the belief in descent of the clansmen from the totem has taken firm hold, whereas it is but imperfectly developed among the natives of the Pacific coast, being absent among the northern tribes (Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian) and occurring to a limited extent among the Kwakiutl. In Australia magical ceremonies for the increase of the food supply and the belief in reincarnation of mythical ancestors are intimately connected with the totemic system; in British Columbia, while both magical ceremonies and belief in reincarnation are found, they are not in any way brought into relation with the totemic social organization. On the other hand, while the practice of acquiring guardian spirits and its elaboration into a system of secret societies is bound up among the natives of the northwest coast of America with their system of crests, this is far from being the case in Australia, though the guardian spirit idea is not entirely absent in that continent. Furthermore, in western British Columbia it has left a deep impress upon the decorative art of the natives, and to some extent seems even to have been influenced in its development by that factor; in Australia, however, decorative art, which is far less highly developed than in British Columbia, is less apt to be involved in totemic ceremonies than in that region. The ranking of individuals and clans gives West Coast totemism a peculiar coloring of its own, this feature being entirely lacking in Australia. Finally, the number of totems found in any tribe of the West Coast is small, while an Australian tribe regularly comprises a very large number of totems. As a net result one certainly gets the feeling that the two totemic systems compared owe their undeniable points of similarity, coupled with other points of difference, to what has been termed convergent evolution, and that these totemic systems in themselves have arisen by a process of secondary association of ethnological elements of disparate nature and origin, rather than by one of an evolution of custom and belief, [458] with definitely determined



sequences. It is the object of the latter part of the paper to heighten this feeling into assurance.

The pages devoted to exogamy and endogamy (pp. 53–73) are among the most interesting of the paper. Evidence is presented to show that clan exogamy frequently occurs unassociated with totemic features; further, that totemic clans need not be exogamous. It is made clear that clan exogamy is not the only type of group exogamy found among primitive peoples, but that we have also to deal with local exogamy, and kinship exogamy based on a classificatory system of relationships. Goldenweiser lays stress, and justly, on the importance and difficulty of determining, in cases of intercrossing or subdivision of social units, which of the units is inherently exogamous and which only secondarily so. Thus, a clan may be exogamous either by virtue of its own character as a social group, determining exogamous relations; or by virtue of its forming a part of a larger group of such character; or because it is localized in a village which is exogamous as such; or because all the members of the clan, according to a classificatory system of relationship, are held to be kin to one another, and thus debarred from intermarrying by the rule of kinship exogamy. Bearing these important distinctions in mind, Goldenweiser makes a good case for the view that the typical Australian totem clan is not a true exogamous unit, the rule of exogamy as such referring to the phratry or marriage class. To call a clan exogamous under such circumstances might be to commit a fallacy similar to that of describing New York State as a commonwealth forbidding slavery, when, as a matter of fact, this is already implied in the statement that it forms part of a larger commonwealth forbidding slavery.

As to the next totemic feature examined, that of totemic names (pp. 73–75), Goldenweiser gives a number of instances, besides those already adduced for British Columbia, of totem clans that do not bear the names of their totems, though the naming of a group from its totem is one of the “features” of totemism least often absent. Examples are then given to show that the totem is by no means always conceived of as the ancestor of the clansmen (pp. 75 and 76). The modest proportion of cases of taboo that are distinctly totemic in character is next indicated, while conversely it not infrequently happens that a totemic group observes no taboo in reference to its totem (pp. 76–80). The independence of the taboo as such of any necessary connection with totemism is conclusively demonstrated. Finally, in discussing the religious aspect of totemism (pp. 80–86), so [459] often believed to be the significant aspect

of the problem. Goldenweiser shows, first, that the worship of plants and animals is a universal ethnological feature not at all necessarily connected with a totemic society; secondly, that the religious attitude toward the totem in a totemic society is often but weakly developed, at times even absent altogether. The religious side of totemism, even where present, never exhausts, and generally makes up but a small part of the total religious life of the totemic community. Thus the claims of totemism to be considered a distinct stage in the history of religion are disposed of without much difficulty.

The following pages of the paper (pp. 86–98), defining more sharply the character and genesis of the “totemic complex,” sound the keynote of the study and form its most valuable and suggestive portion. Totemism is shown to consist not of one particular ethnological feature, or even of a combination of two or more such features, but might be understood as a process of intimate association of one or more of these with social units. Goldenweiser’s own words are worth quoting here: “This association with social units is what constitutes the peculiarity of totemic combinations. Elements which are *per se* indifferent or vague in their social bearings (i. e., as related to social units) — such as dances, songs, carvings, rituals, names, etc. — become associated with clearly defined social groups, and by virtue of such association themselves become transformed into social values not merely intensified in degree but definite and specific in character. The one obvious important means by which the association with definite social groups is accomplished is descent” (p. 93). In proceeding to define totemism Goldenweiser points out that a definition of the phenomenon which aims to be inclusive must exclude reference to the specific content of different totemic systems, must express the nature of totemism as a relation subsisting between ethnological elements rather than as their sum, and must exclude the notion of religion, for which he substitutes, as a more inclusive concept, “objects and symbols of emotional value.” Owing to the fact that totemism is variable not only in place but in time, Goldenweiser thinks it necessary to describe it as an ever-changing process, rather than in purely descriptive terms as a static phenomenon. While it would be quite wrong to deny this dynamic element in totemism, one may reasonably doubt whether it would not have been better to neglect this aspect for the purpose of a definition. As Goldenweiser’s definition now reads, “Totemism is the tendency of definite social units to become associated with objects and symbols [460] of emotional value” (p. 97), the emphasis seems somewhat misplaced, for all ethnological complexes,



and, for that matter, all single elements of custom and belief, must be understood dynamically, that is, historically. In the definition as stated there is somewhat of a contrast implied, though only vaguely, between totemism as a dynamic phenomenon and other cultural phenomena, a contrast which naturally weakens rather than strengthens the emphasis on the historical method of ethnology that Goldenweiser has in mind. The revised, and, to my mind, more acceptable definition would read: Totemism is the association of definite social units with objects and symbols of emotional value. The brief psychological definition given by Goldenweiser, "Totemism is the specific socialization of emotional values" (p. 97), while intelligible in the light of all that precedes it, is hardly serviceable as a definition aiming to stand on its own feet; the process of association, while implied in it, is not sufficiently emphasized.

In the final pages of the paper (pp. 98 – 110), on the whole its weakest portion, the methodology of current evolutionary theories of totemic origin is first illustrated, then unfavorably criticized. Goldenweiser takes issue with the assumption of a regular one-line evolution of the forms of totemic society. He points out that it is unwarranted to select one feature of totemism as the primary element historically of the whole complex, and to establish a natural sequence for the appearance of the other features as growing up out of the primary feature. Merely plausible or intelligible evolutionary theories of the origin and development of cultural phenomena can in this way be built up without end, and it is often difficult to choose among them. Plausibility as such, however, has no evidential value. Another fundamental error of the evolutionist school of anthropology is the failure to recognize the vast importance of borrowing and assimilation of cultural elements. Processes which in higher levels of culture are recognized without question are often tacitly ignored in the study of primitive society. The lack of documented history is too often, ostrich fashion, taken to mean the lack of history, and primitive customs are too often thought of as the psychologico-mechanical product of "primitive" modes of thought acted upon by alleged principles of social evolution. That a whole totemic complex may be due primarily to processes of borrowing and assimilation is shown by the totemism of the western Shuswap, Lillooet, Chilcotin, and Carrier (pp. 103 – 106), for among these Indians we can trace the profound totemic influence of the coast tribes. The method employed [461] by Goldenweiser in his study of totemism, the analysis of a cultural phenomenon into its elements and the historical interpretation of the phenomenon as an association, varying in character from place to place,

of these elements, is the method so often insisted upon by Professor Franz Boas as that best fitted to give fruitful results in anthropological investigations. The insistence on the importance of mutual cultural influence of neighboring tribes is also one of the leading notes in the ethnological method of Boas and his school. The examples given by Goldenweiser of cultural borrowing in British Columbia in other phases than totemism serve to illustrate further his methodological standpoint.

One is at times disposed to complain of the rather small number of examples given or range of tribes covered for certain points, but it should be remembered that the study is in no sense a survey of totemistic fact, any more than, as we have seen, it is one of totemistic theories. Once and again a fact is not stated quite accurately (thus, p. 42, totem poles can hardly be said to be a striking feature of all or even most British Columbia villages), or is doubtfully pertinent to the argument (thus, p. 21, the restriction of whaling among the Nootka to certain families has nothing to do with taboo). These are but slight blemishes, however, that in no way seriously impair the value of the study. It is hardly too much to say that Goldenweiser's *Totemism* forms one of the most notable, perhaps the most notable, contribution to ethnological method yet produced by American anthropologists.

### Editorial Note

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## Review of Carl Stumpf, *Die Anfänge der Musik*

*Die Anfänge der Musik.* By Carl Stumpf. Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1911.

This is a timely work on primitive forms of music. Much of the best that has been written in recent years on primitive music, and exotic music generally, is scattered in a number of special works, such as Gilman's *Hopi Songs*, and in numerous articles chiefly by von Hornbostel, Abraham, and Stumpf himself, which are not easily accessible. Hence such a book as this, which aims to present in succinct form the results of current research in this new and fascinating field, must needs [276] be of great interest not only to those who occupy themselves with musical problems but to students of primitive culture as well. Owing to the relatively technical character of musical studies and the difficulty of reducing the melodies of primitive peoples to black and white, ethnologists have paid perhaps less attention to the subject of music than to almost any other phase of primitive life. And yet nothing is more evident than that music is one of the most important elements entering into primitive culture. Psychologically this is evident from the fact that many complex rituals, for instance, consist mainly of, or center about, ceremonial songs, with or without dance accompaniment, often rigidly determined in number and order. Historically the importance of musical elements in determining cultural connections and lines of influence is certainly great, though comparatively little has yet been done in this regard. A brilliant example of the possibilities of this type of culture research is afforded by von Hornbostel's article "Über ein akustisches Kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge" (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1911, pp. 601–615), in which the xylophones of Africa and Burma and the pan-pipes of Bolivia and Melanesia are respectively shown, plausibly enough, to be culturally connected on the basis of technical musical coincidence.

Stumpf's book is divided into two parts, the first, "Origin and Earliest Forms of Music" (pp. 7–61), taking up the theoretical aspects of the

origin and development of music, the second, "Songs of Primitive Peoples" (pp. 102–196), constituting a survey of some of the characteristics of primitive music in different parts of the world, as illustrated by sixty selected songs with accompanying musical analysis. A number of interesting points only briefly referred to in the text of the first part are taken up in a series of notes (pp. 62–101), which include also a useful bibliographical résumé of the work done during the last thirty years in the study of exotic music (pp. 64–69). A series of eleven photographs of primitive musical instruments with explanatory remarks (pp. 197–209) closes the volume.

The first chapter of the work, "Modern Theories" (pp. 8–23), briefly discusses and disposes of three theories that have found favor as explanatory of the rise of musical expression. The first of these is that of Charles Darwin, according to whom the earliest forms of human song, like the songs of birds during the mating season, are due to sexual selection, the songs of the males having supposedly served the same purpose as the bright plumage of male birds. Among several difficulties in the way of an acceptance of this theory, Stumpf rightly lays stress on a radical difference between the songs of human beings and of birds. "We call music," says Stumpf, "not the production of tones as such, but of certain series of tones, be they ever so simple. And a quite essential characteristic of music in the human sense is that these series can be recognized and repeated independently of the absolute pitch" (p. 10). In other words, the subject-matter of music is not tones so much as relations of tones. Bird music, however, can be demonstrated to approximate to a definite absolute pitch, differing fundamentally in this respect from music as we understand it. The crux in any theory of musical origin is not so much to explain the rise of variations of pitch as to make clear how definite tone-schemes or intervals came to be.

A second theory of the origin of music has been put forth by Rousseau, Herder, and, independently of them, by Herbert Spencer. According to it, the earliest forms of music must be sought in the accents and changes of pitch involuntarily produced in speech under the stress of emotional excitement. This theory, while recognizing that there are no hard and fast lines between speech and music, fails at the same time to do justice to the significance of fixed intervals, characteristic of true music, as contrasted with the comparatively indefinite glides and cadences of speech.

The third theory of musical origin discussed by Stumpf is the rhythmical theory proposed by Wallaschek and by Karl Bücher in his famous

*Arbeit und Rhythmus*. According to this, the rhythmic movements of many occupations of ordinary life, such as rowing, grinding, and threshing, have set the rhythmic framework in which song might develop as an accompaniment. The one-sidedness of this theory has been well pointed out by von Hornbostel in his review of Bücher ("Arbeit und Musik," *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, XIII, pp. 341–350). Rhythm is naturally but one element of music, probably less distinctive of it than the use of definite tone intervals. As Stumpf remarks, "An ever so nicely differentiated drum-sonata is not yet music, at any rate not that music whose origin we seek" (p. 22). An added difficulty lies in the relatively infrequent occurrence of working-songs among primitive peoples.

The second chapter, "Origin and Earliest Forms of Song" (pp. 23–34), takes up Stumpf's own theory of the early steps leading to what may properly be called music. According to Stumpf, the dividing line between speech and song was reached when the necessity of calling out to one at a distance produced long-drawn-out tones of high pitch. We may term this the signaling theory of the origin of musical tones. The second and [278] more characteristic step was reached when a group, consisting of men and boys or men and women, joined in such a signal note, for here simultaneous tones of different pitch would be produced. Now two tones at the interval of an octave, such as might often be produced under such circumstances, have the peculiarity of "melting" into what strikes the naive ear as a single tone. This characteristic is also possessed, though in less degree, by tones at intervals of a fifth or a fourth, which is but an inverted fifth. Primitive man, Stumpf believes, came to take particular notice of the unified effect of tones sung at consonant intervals and developed freedom in their use as such, that is, as transposable tonal relations. The other intervals, dissonant or relatively so, would in time arise by giving the voice free play within the fourth, fifth, and octave.

Like most theories of cultural origins, this of Stumpf's is more ingenious than demonstrable. It would be difficult to prove that consonant intervals did not first rise into consciousness in the manner described by Stumpf, yet it is clear that the theory is not based on definite historical data. In the nature of things any such theory must be purely speculative, as the use of musical tones is far too ancient a heritage of humanity to yield its genesis to historical reconstruction. Failing historical evidence, a theory of origin can be fully convincing only when so well grounded in psychology as necessarily to exclude all



other possible theories. This is hardly the case here. There are many circumstances under which musical tones, involuntarily produced, could be brought to man's attention, more than one thinkable method by which musical intervals could have been determined. Nor is it evident why only one factor need have operated in the origin of tone intervals. Another weakness of Stumpf's theory lies in its too great emphasis on the purely intervallic side of music. Music is neither purely tone nor purely rhythm. Would it not be more suggestive to think of it in terms of an association of tone production, however it might arise, with the rhythmic impulse manifested in all of man's artistic activities? Granted this impulse and the possession of vocal cords, adjustable for changes of pitch, various forms of musical expression might be expected to arise. Several paths seem possible, the actual course or courses traversed lie beyond our ken.

In the third chapter of the book, "Primitive Instruments and their Influence" (pp. 35—42), Stumpf rapidly traces the history of instrumental music among primitive peoples. Pipes, pan-pipes, trumpets, musical bow, instruments of percussion, and xylophones and metallophones are selected for treatment. In connection with trumpets Stumpf suggests (p. 38) that the overtones produced by over-blowing may have [279] served as a factor in the determination of consonant intervals (octave, fifth, fourth, and third). It is refreshing to find, however, that he is not inclined to overdo the influence of instruments in the development of the main elements of music. The example that he gives (p. 42) of the high development of purely vocal music among the North American Indians, though instrumental music occupies a distinctly secondary place among them, may serve as warning against the tendency to make too much of the determining influence of instruments.

Chapter IV is devoted to "Polyphony (*Mehrstimmigkeit*), Rhythm, and Speech-Song" (pp. 42—53). The barest rudiments of harmony may be detected among various tribes in the tendency to sing in parallel octaves, fourths, and fifths, and the holding out throughout a melody of a single tone (organ point). Of harmony proper, however, that is, the use of several tones grouped in chords, we find no trace in primitive music or, for that matter, in any forms of music outside of that of late medieval and modern Europe. Of "latent harmonies" in the music of primitive peoples no tangible evidence seems forthcoming. Yet for what such music lacks in harmonic or melodic complexity it often makes up in complexity of rhythm. Complicated time-schemes, such as 5/4 and 7/4, or alternations of different schemes, which are not infrequent in



American music, and the following of distinct time-schemes by melody and by accompanying instruments are evidences of this. The latter part of the chapter is devoted to the mutual influence that speech and music exert on each other (recitatives and chants). A particularly interesting example of the influence of speech on music is afforded by the drum language of western Africa, in which the pitch accents of ordinary speech serve as model for the succession of drum taps produced by differently tempered drums.

The first part of the book closes with a chapter on "Lines of Development" (pp. 53-61), in which various stages in the development of a tonal system are sketched. In the first place, there is a progressive tendency towards the development of a primary tone in a melody ("tonic"), though its rigid restriction to the beginning tone of a definite scale is a phenomenon that appears late in the history of music. Another important step is the formation of a more and more definite scale within the compass of the octave. As is well known, our diatonic scale of seven tones is only one of a large number of possible scales, and a survey of exotic systems of music in which scales are recognizable at all shows, indeed, many types of scale in use, both as regards number of tones and fixing of intervals. One of the most specialized and at the same time [280] logically constructed musical scales that we know of is that of the Siamese, which consists of tones obtained by dividing the octave into seven exactly equal intervals; no single interval of this scale corresponds to any of our diatonic or chromatic intervals. Scales based on intervals at fixed distances from each other within the octave are, however, by no means the rule, the principle of consonant intervals nearly always demanding the recognition of true fifths and fourths as important tones in the scale. Hardly less important than the development of the scale is the fixation of various types of melodic structure. This brings us to musical form, an aspect of primitive music that has been but imperfectly studied as yet. I am inclined to doubt whether a purely musical study of this problem would be as fruitful as when taken in connection with song-texts, dance forms, and such other features as musical execution is wont to be associated with in practice. The peculiarities of melodic forms are often due to factors that have no direct relation to musical problems as such, as witness our masses, lullabies, and bugle calls. These remarks are meant to indicate the necessity of studying the more complicated problems presented by primitive music in connection with associated cultural features. Stumpf's relative neglect throughout the book of all features that are not strictly musical in

character is naturally to a large extent unavoidable, but we must not fail to realize that such one-sidedness may lead us astray in our interpretations.

The latter part of the chapter deals briefly with the various methods that have been evolved of handling simultaneous tones. Starting with the simplest form, Stumpf sets up (pp. 97–101) six types of tonal treatment. These are unison, by far the most widespread in primitive music; organum, singing or playing in parallel intervals; bordun or organ point; heterophony, the simultaneous performance of a theme in different variations, a style of treatment that has obtained its highest development among the culture peoples of eastern Asia; polyphony in its narrower sense, the simultaneous performance of several more or less distinct themes, most typically developed in the West European music of the fifteenth century; and harmony, which so thoroughly pervades our musical thinking that we find it difficult to refrain from reading harmonic implications even into unaccompanied melodies of non-European peoples.

Doubtless the most interesting portion of the book for the majority of readers is the selection of primitive songs constituting its second half. The method of transcription used by Stumpf in these follows the lines laid down by Abraham and von Hornbostel ("Vorschläge für die Transskription [281] exotischer Melodien," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, XI, 1909). This method aims to be as purely objective as it is possible to be with our staff system of musical notation, justice being done to peculiarities of intonation, time-scheme and rhythm, method of delivery, and melodic structure. Many of the illustrative songs are such as have been worked up by von Hornbostel and those connected with him at the Phonographic Archives in Berlin. Though it would naturally be impossible for Stumpf, in the space at his disposal, to treat fully of the musical peculiarities of all primitive peoples from whom phonographic material has been obtained, he has succeeded in covering a wide range of tribes and types of songs and in giving some idea of the nature and difficulty of the problems involved.

Beginning with the Vedda of Ceylon, of whom four songs are given, he takes up in order the Andaman Islanders (two songs), the Kubu of Sumatra (three songs), the natives of Beagle Bay in western Australia (one song), the Torres Straits natives (two songs), the Melanesians (three songs), the Tehuelche of Patagonia (four songs), the Toba Indians of Bolivia (one song), the Yaqui of Sonora (one song), the Pueblo Indians (four songs), the Pawnee (three songs), the Iroquois (three songs), the



Dakota and Kiowa (one song each), the Ojibwa (three songs), the Bella Coola (three songs), the Nootka (two songs), the Kwakiutl (two songs), the Thompson River Indians (six songs), the Tlingit (one song), the Eskimo (two songs), the Ewe of West Africa (five songs), the Wanyamwezi and Wasukuma of East Africa (three songs), and the Singhalese of Ceylon (one song). More or less detailed analyses are given of all of these, the musical problems brought up by each being discussed in their place. Practically every song discussed has one or more points of interest, but only a few of these can be selected here for explicit reference. In comparing Old World songs with those of the American aborigines, one is on the whole impressed by the greater intelligibility of the former to those accustomed to modern European music. Thus the Australian song from Beagle Bay (p. 122) and the second Ewe song (p. 188) are surprisingly easy, or seem to be, to grasp and write in terms of European music. The Melanesian song from Nissan (p. 128) has a peculiar charm all its own; it is given as a mother's death-lament. The Indian song from Bolivia (p. 137) is remarkable for its range of voice (no less than two and a half octaves). Of the North American Indian songs, the Hopi song given on pages 145 to 148 is the most interesting in melodic structure, consisting as it does of four distinct sections, two of which are repeated with modifications in the course of the [282] song. A good example of the peculiar rhythmic structures that we often meet in the music of the West Coast Indians of North America is given in the Kwakiutl song on page 172; though neither the melody nor the rhythm can be considered in any sense complex, the relation of the drum and voice rhythms is such as to produce an effect decidedly unexpected to European ears. The Ewe songs (p. 188) are remarkable for the rhythmic complexity of the drum and hand-clapping accompaniments; in the second of these there are no less than three simultaneous and rhythmically distinct accompaniments, executed by big drum, little drum, and hand-clapping.

It will be inferred that Stumpf's work is in no sense a definitive study of primitive music, and, indeed, there are many unanswered problems raised in the course of it. This, however, is not a defect, but a decided merit at this stage of our knowledge. Scientific investigation of primitive music has but barely begun, yet much that is interesting and suggestive has already come to light. Stumpf's *Anfänge der Musik* will doubtless do much to add impetus to this important branch of ethnological research.

## Editorial Note

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## A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America

AN interesting feature in the systems of relationship found in various parts of the world is the tendency to use the same term to apply to both members of a pair of related individuals relatively to each other. This type of relationship term may be called "reciprocal." In English pure reciprocal terms are not found except in the case of "cousin." On the other hand, "brother" and "sister" are reciprocal only in the case of identity of sex of the two individuals; the "brother" of a woman calls her "sister," whereas a reciprocal relationship would demand that they call each other by the same name. Such reciprocal types of brother-sister relationship naturally occur in other languages. A reciprocal relationship may subsist between those related by blood or by marriage; in either case the pair of individuals may be related in the direct or collateral lines. A good example of reciprocal relationship among blood relatives in the direct line is afforded by the Takelma terms for "grandparents" and "grandchildren." Thus, *wi-gamd̥l*<sup>1</sup> denotes both "my (male's or female's) paternal grandparent (father's mother, father's father)" and "my (male's or female's) son's child (male or female)";<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See phonetic note at end.

<sup>2</sup> See Sapir, Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., 9, 1907, p. 268.

*avvlesi* denotes both "my (male's or female's) maternal grandparent (mother's mother, mother's father)" and "my (male's or female's) daughter's child (male or female)."

Another widespread tendency in systems of relationship is the use of diminutive suffixes to express tender years, relative juniority, or, most commonly perhaps, endearment. Terms so modified may either remain essentially unchanged in meaning or take on a specialized significance. The former is the case with German *Mütterchen* as compared with *Mutter*; the latter with Latin *avunculus* as compared with *avus*.

The reciprocal classification of terms of relationship may become associated with the use of the diminutive suffix, the most intelligible form of the association being the restriction of diminutive forms to the younger individual or later generation of a reciprocally related pair. This is what takes place in Tewa, where, according to J. P. Harrington,<sup>1</sup> the diminutive element 'ε (also used as independent noun, "offspring, son, daughter"), when "postjoined to any term denoting blood-relationship . . . , gives what the younger of two relatives by descent calls the elder by descent." The reciprocal sets of terms found in Tewa are: grandfather—grandchild of male; grandmother—grandchild of female; great-grandfather—great-grandchild of male; great-grandmother—great-grandchild of female; uncle—nephew or niece of male; aunt—nephew or niece of female; stepfather—stepchild of male; stepmother—stepchild of female; and step-relationships of types corresponding to preceding pairs. It is instructive to note that the Tewa 'ε may also be used with the terms for "father" and "mother" to denote endearment, not the reciprocally related "father's child" and "mother's child"; further, the diminutive form of "male first cousin" has the meaning of "male cousin second removed."<sup>2</sup> These examples indicate that the association in Tewa of the reciprocal system with the use of the diminutive is indeed secondary.

In regard to the Tewa use of 'ε in reciprocal terms, Harrington states: "It appears that nothing like it has been discovered in any other Southwestern language."<sup>3</sup> If the Shoshonean languages of the Ute-Chemehuevi group, spoken by tribes inhabiting large territories in Colorado, Utah, Nevada, California, Arizona, and New Mexico, are to be considered Southwestern, this statement needs to be qualified, for material obtained by the writer in 1909 from the Uintah Ute of northern

<sup>1</sup> See Harrington, Tewa Relationship Terms, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., 14, 1912, pp. 472-498.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 479, 480, 488. The term *sa'ε* "daughter-in-law" is perhaps an irregular diminutive of *sa'i'*<sup>4</sup> "bride" (p. 489).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 472.

Utah<sup>1</sup> and from the Kaibab Paiute of southwestern Utah and northwestern Arizona,<sup>2</sup> shows that these tribes make use of a group of reciprocal terms strikingly similar in plan to those recorded by Harrington for the Tewa. The Kaibab Paiute terms here concerned may be conveniently arranged in the form of a table. The suffixed *-tsi-* (as absolute ending, *-tsi*) is the regular diminutive ending, which, however, unlike the parallel Tewa element *'ε*, does not occur as an independent word.<sup>3</sup> The ending *-n'* is the first person singular possessive, "my."

TERM	MEANING	RECIPROCAL TERM	MEANING
<i>toXó-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's or female's paternal or maternal grandfather	<i>toXó-t-si-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's grandchild (son's or daughter's child of either sex)
<i>qāXú-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's or female's paternal or maternal grandmother	<i>qāXú-t-si-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	female's grandchild (son's or daughter's child of either sex)
<i>qunú-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's or female's great-grandfather	<i>qunú-t-si-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's great-grandchild
<i>'w'łsi-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's or female's great-grandmother	<i>'w'łsi-t si-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	female's great-grandchild
<i>đi-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's or female's paternal or maternal uncle	<i>đi-t-si-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's fraternal or sororal nephew or niece
<i>pāá-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's or female's paternal or maternal aunt	<i>pāá-t-si-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	female's fraternal or sororal nephew or niece
<i>ciná-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's older <sup>4</sup> male cousin (perhaps also: female's older female cousin)	<i>ciná-t-si-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's younger male cousin (perhaps also: female's younger female cousin)
<i>mānwú'i-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	male's older <sup>4</sup> female cousin (perhaps also: female's older male cousin)	<i>mānwú'i-t si-n'</i> <sup>4</sup>	female's younger male cousin (perhaps also: male's younger female cousin)

In the case of the first five pairs of terms of relationship the range of meaning covered by each term was determined by reference to the genealogy of the informant; in the case of the sixth pair (*pāá-*), the genealogical data had reference only to the paternal (reciprocally,

<sup>1</sup> Informant, Charlie Mack.

<sup>2</sup> Informant, Tony Tillohash.

<sup>3</sup> More strictly parallel in this regard to Tewa *'ε* is the Tewa possessive *tsi-ε* "son, daughter, young (of animal)," which, as the second member of a compound noun, often plays the part of a diminutive suffix.

<sup>4</sup> Individually older, no reference being had to relative ages of cousins' parents.

fraternal) type of relationship involved, though the true range of usage can be safely inferred from analogy. It will be observed that the first six pairs of Kaibab Paiute terms correspond in every way to the first six Tewa pairs given above—in reciprocity, use of diminutive suffix, and range of usage of each term. Obviously the Kaibab Paiute and Tewa systems of relationship are cast in the same mold.

The corresponding Uintah Ute terms follow, on the whole, the same lines, but exhibit significant differences. They are given in tabulated form.

TERM	MEANING	RECIPROCAL TERM	MEANING
<i>toγú-n'í</i>	male's or female's maternal grandfather	<i>toγú-t-ci-n'í</i>	male's daughter's child
<i>qönú-n'í</i>	male's or female's paternal grandfather	<i>qönú-ntci-n'í</i>	male's son's child
<i>qaγú-n'í</i>	male's or female's maternal grandmother	<i>qaγú-t-ci-n'í</i>	female's daughter's child
<i>'wí'ltci-n'í</i>	male's or female's paternal grandmother	<i>'wí'ltci-t-ci-n'í</i>	female's son's child
<i>ái-t-ci-n'í</i>	male's or female's father's younger brother	<i>ái-t-ci-n'í</i>	male's older brother's child
<i>qún'-n'í</i>	male's or female's father's older brother	<i>qún'-ltci-n'í</i>	male's younger brother's child
<i>cinÁ-ntci-n'í</i>	male's or female's mothers' younger brother	<i>cinÁ-ntci-n'í</i>	male's older sister's child
<i>'azqúí-n'í</i>	male's or female's mother's older brother	<i>'azqúí-t-ci-n'í</i>	male's younger sister's child
<i>pā'-n'í</i>	male's or female's father's (older or younger) sister	<i>pā'-t-ci-n'í</i>	female's (older or younger) brother's child
<i>māwún'-n'í</i>	male's or female's mother's older sister	<i>māwún'-ltci-n'í</i>	female's younger sister's child
<i>nimbüía-n'í</i>	male's or female's mother's younger sister	<i>nimbüía-t-ci-n'í</i>	female's older sister's child

In comparing the Uintah Ute and Kaibab Paiute systems, we find that the former, like so many American Indian languages, distinguishes, in contrast to the latter, between maternal and paternal grandparents (reciprocally, son's and daughter's children); the Paiute terms for "grandfather" and "grandmother" (reciprocally, "male's grandchild"



and "female's grandchild") are identical with the Ute "maternal grandfather" and "maternal grandmother" respectively (reciprocally, "male's daughter's child" and "female's daughter's child"). On the other hand, the Ute terms for "paternal grandfather" and "paternal grandmother" (reciprocally, "male's son's child" and "female's son's child") are identical with the Paiute terms for "great-grandfather" and "great-grandmother" respectively (reciprocally, "male's great-grandchild" and "female's great-grandchild"). Unfortunately the Ute terms for great-grandparents and great-grandchildren are not available for further comparison.

The Ute terms for "uncle" and "aunt" (reciprocally, "nephew or niece") are far more explicit than the corresponding terms of Paiute, which number only two, *ai-* "uncle" and *pāa-* "aunt." Ute has a distinct term for each of the four possible kinds of "uncle," regard being had to whether the "uncle" is related through the mother's or the father's side and whether he is older or younger than the parent. For "aunt" Ute has only three terms, the distinction between father's older and younger sister not being made. Thus, Ute has seven distinct terms corresponding to the two of Paiute. As far as the element of reciprocity is concerned, however, Ute and Paiute are strictly parallel: to each term for "uncle" or "aunt" there is a corresponding one for "nephew or niece."

It is worth noting that the diminutive suffix (*-t-ci-*, *-ntci-*) is present in the Ute terms for "father's younger brother" and "mother's younger brother" as well as in the corresponding reciprocal terms "male's older brother's child" and "male's older sister's child." This is evidence for the only secondary character of the association between the diminutive suffix and the younger of two reciprocal relationships, just as we have seen evidence of the same sort to exist in Tewa. In the case of non-reciprocal terms of relationship the diminutive suffix is often used in Ute and Paiute to indicate youth or affection. Thus, in Ute, *patci-* "daughter" is apt to be more used in reference to a grown-up daughter; *patci-t-ci-* to a young child, though not exclusively so. It seems reasonable, then, to suppose that originally the two members of a reciprocally related pair of individuals were referred to by exactly the same term, as in the case of the Takelma examples cited at the beginning of this note, but that the tendency to use the diminutive element with such terms led to a specialization of usage.

Comparing the seven Ute terms for "uncle" or "aunt" with cognate Paiute terms, we find that Ute *ai-t-ci-* "father's younger brother"

is identical in stem with Paiute *ai*- "uncle (in general)," and that Ute *pā*- "father's sister" is identical with Paiute *pāa*- "aunt (in general)." Ute *cinA-nlci*- "mother's younger brother, male's older sister's child" and *māwu*- "mother's older sister" (reciprocally, *māwun'-lci*- "female's younger sister's child") are respectively cognate with Paiute *cina*-(*t-si*)- "male cousin of male" and *māwun'i*-(*t-si*)- "male's older female cousin" (reciprocally, "female's younger male cousin"). Charlie Mack, the Ute informant, stated that cousins called each other brother and sister. If this is strictly accurate, it is interesting to observe in Paiute the use of terms for the cousin relationship which in Ute are set aside for certain uncle (aunt)-nephew or niece relationships (compare German *Vetter* "cousin" with its Judeo-German use for "uncle").

The significance of the resemblances in relationship-scheme between Tewa and Southern Paiute where the latter differs from Ute is heightened by the correspondence, in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relationships, of Ute with Shoshone (the Shoshone forms here given were obtained from Charlie Mack, who speaks both Ute and Shoshone). The cognate Ute-Shoshone terms are as follows:

TERM	UTE	SHOSHONE
mother's father	<i>toγú-n'<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>ni-róγq'<sup>1</sup></i>
father's father	<i>qónú-n'<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>ne-gónu'</i>
mother's mother	<i>qaγú-n'<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>ni-gā'gu'</i>
father's mother	<i>'wí'lcí-n'<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>na-út'ci'</i>

The Shoshone pronominal prefix *ni*- (*ne*-, *na*-) "my" corresponds to the Ute suffix *-n'<sup>i</sup>*. It is interesting that in this matter of relationship terms two such closely related dialects as Ute and Southern Paiute differ on a point on which they respectively agree with a neighboring Shoshonean and with a non-Shoshonean language. Here, as so often, a cultural dividing line runs clear across a homogeneous linguistic group.

A very peculiar system of reciprocal relationships associated with the use of a diminutivizing process is found in Wishram (Upper Chinookan). The cases in point are:

TERM	MEANING	RECIPROCAL TERM	MEANING
<i>-k!acu-c</i>	paternal grandfather	<i>-qc-En</i> (vocative <i>gácu</i> )	male's son's child
<i>-gak!u-c</i>	maternal grandfather	<i>-gak-an</i> (vocative <i>gágu</i> )	male's daughter's child
<i>-k!i-c</i>	paternal grandmother	<i>-gi-an</i>	female's son's child

<sup>1</sup> *-rōγq'* from *-lōγq'*.

The suffixed elements *-c* and *-an* (*-En*) are evidently characteristic of the terms for the older and younger generations. Eliminating these elements, we find that the stems for the pairs of reciprocal relationship terms are in every case identical (in the first two pairs the vocative forms give a clearer point of departure), except for the fact that the *q* (*g*) or *k* (*g*) of the terms for the younger generations is replaced by *k'* in the terms for the older. This change is characteristic in Wishram of diminutive forms.<sup>1</sup> What is so peculiar about these forms is the fact that the diminutive consonantism is found in the terms for the older generation, not, as analogy with Tewa and Ute and Paiute would lead one to expect, in those for the younger.

#### Phonetic Note

*o*, short and open; *ø*, short and close; *i* and *u*, short and open; *ō* (Ute), short, about as in German *Götter*; *ū* (Ute), rather obscure, about as in German *Mütze*; *ā*, long as in German *Kahn*; *û*, long as in German *Grau*; *ʊ*, high back wide, very slightly inner-rounded (Sweet's terminology); *A*, as in English *but*; *E*, obscure vowel of undefined quality; *ε* (Tewa), short and open, as in English *met*; superior vowels and *w*, *n*, preceded by ' (sign of aspiration) are voiceless; other superior vowels are glides (after ', murmured); *ɿ* indicates nasalization.

' , glottal stop; *ŋ*, ng of English *sing*; *q*, voiceless velar stop; *g*, voiced velar stop; *ɣ*, voiced velar spirant; *r*, frontal and slightly trilled; *c*, as in English *she*; *tc*, as in English *church*; *kl*, "fortis" or glottalized *k*; *g* and *d* are intermediate (as to voice) in Takelma, elsewhere sonant; *·* indicates long consonant.

' , main stress; ' (Takelma), raised pitch on short vowels.

<sup>1</sup> See Sapir, Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Wishram, in Boas, *Chinook* (Handbook of American Indian Languages, *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 40, pt. 1, 1911), p. 639.

## Editorial Note

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Review of  
Erich von Hornbostel, *Über ein akustisches Kriterium  
für Kulturzusammenhänge*

“Über ein akustisches Kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge.” By Erich von Hornbostel. (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 43 [1911], 601 – 615.)

This is but an article of barely fifteen pages, but it has a significance beyond that of the descriptive data it makes use of, or, let us hasten to add, that of most of the methodological business to which Graebner et al. have of late treated the ethnological public. In this paper tangible evidence, as brutally convincing as bedrock, is given of cultural relationship, of a musical nature, between distant peoples not generally thought of as in any way connected. This evidence, fortunately, is not “supported” by straggling waifs from “boomerang,” “two-class,” or “Melanesian bow” cultures, but rests solidly on its own feet and is carefully worked out according to its own principles. Many who, like myself, have found Graebner’s attempts (including his interesting paper on crutch-paddles) historically to connect South American with South Sea cultures far-fetched or, at best, inconclusive, will find themselves forced by von Hornbostel’s findings, in spite of themselves, to admit not merely the possibility but the actuality of at least certain points of contact between these remote areas.

Pp. 601 – 604 are devoted to fundamentals of method in dealing with the comparison of culture data for historical purposes. In order to make it feasible so to use a culture trait, von Hornbostel finds it must possess “exact determination” (the degree of exactness depending on the nature of the datum studied), “absence of purpose” (i. e., all characteristics technically necessitated by the use or purpose of the datum must be ruled out as incapable of affording proof of cultural connection), and “variability.”

In pp. 604 – 610 von Hornbostel discusses the validity of a set of absolute musical pitches for culture-comparative purposes. Scales, that is, series of tones fixed by certain interval relations, may arise in many [70] different ways, several of which lead to practically identical results (psychologically, if not acoustically); hence similarities between scales

as such may often be suspected to be due to convergent evolution, in other words, are not always as convincing objects for culture reconstruction as might be wished. On the other hand, a set of absolute pitches fulfils all the requirements given above. The possibility of determining the rate of vibration of any given tone satisfies the first requirement, that of "exact determination." Moreover, the absolute pitch of a tone is, musically speaking, an irrelevant matter, the essential thing being always the intervallic relations between the tones. Thus, while intervals and scales are "constitutive" or technically essential factors, absolute pitches are "accessory" and fulfil the second requirement of "absence of purpose." As for the third requirement, that of "variability," it is clear that pitches are infinitely variable, theoretically. Practically a large number of pitches can be differentiated. Ruling out all pitches whose rate of vibration is above or below that of the compass of pitches in ordinary use and allowing an error of six vibrations for each, we find that no less than 500 pitches can be distinguished. If we reduce all of these within the compass of a single octave (the equivalence of tones one or more octaves apart is a universal psychic fact), we have about 70 tones to operate with, a number that is several times larger than the number of steps in any scale so far discovered. It is clear that absolute pitch fulfils the three requirements set by von Hornbostel.

We have seen that two scales that are closely similar need not for that reason be historically connected. If, however, to similarity or identity of scale is added practical identity of pitch of the homologous tones of the scales, it becomes impossible or, at least, exceedingly difficult to believe that they are independent in origin. And if, lastly, parallel scales of practically identical pitches are found associated with musical instruments of nearly identical construction, the certainty of historical connection is indeed beyond reasonable doubt. In pp. 610–615 von Hornbostel applies these principles to two historical problems, arriving in each case at positive and startling results. These are a comparison of the xylophones of Burma with those of Africa and a comparison of the pan-pipes of Melanesia (Solomon Islands) with those of Brazil. Both xylophones and pan-pipes, it may be noted, are well fitted, because of their fixed tuning ("feste Stimmung"), for such comparative study.

For the first of these problems von Hornbostel compares the tones of four Burmese xylophones (one of which is in the South Kensington Museum in London, one in the United States National Museum, and [71] two in the Royal Ethnographical Museum at Berlin) with those of two African xylophones from remote parts of the continent, a Bavenda one from southeastern Africa (kept in the Royal Ethnographical Mu-



seum at Berlin) and a Mandingo one from the western Soudan (in the ethnographical museum at Hamburg). As the ranges (number of distinctly pitched staves) of these six xylophones differ, all that is necessary to do is to compare the corresponding tones of a selected octave (two or somewhat less are computed for the African instruments), embracing the seven tones that make up the scale peculiar to these instruments (the octave selected is that which is in the best state of preservation or the pitches of the tones of which can be most accurately measured). The tonometric results are presented in tabular form, the figures expressing the vibration rates being all reduced to the compass of a single octave (that is, multiplied or divided by powers of 2, where necessary), for convenience of comparison. The mean figures for the four Burmese xylophones are also given. The scale thus worked out is peculiar to several of the culture peoples of Indonesia and Farther India (Javanese, Siamese, Burmese); it consists of an octave of seven tones at equidistant intervals, a scale no interval of which is strictly possible to European ears. The mean values differ quite inconsiderably from the theoretical vibration rates, which are also given by von Hornbostel; the variations are well within what may be called the psychological unit range. It is astonishing how closely the pitches of the African xylophones correspond to these figures. Thus, the mean Burmese, the theoretical, and the Bavenda figures (vibrations per second) for the first four tones of the scale are respectively 672, 669, 675; 738.5, 739, 735; 408, 408, 408; 450, 450, 453 (the last two groups of figures are, properly speaking, to be multiplied by 2). Where type of instrument, character of scale, and absolute pitch coincide as here, he must be a hardened sceptic indeed who refuses to infer historical interdependence. What gives peculiar zest to the Burmese-African parallel is that the xylophone seems to be unknown in Madagascar.

Of still greater interest, particularly to Americanists, is the relation of the Melanesian pan-pipes to those of northwestern Brazil. The scale construction of the latter has been thoroughly studied by von Hornbostel in an interesting, though somewhat technical, paper entitled "Über einige Panpfeifen aus Nordwestbrasilien" (pp. 378-391 of T. Koch-Grünberg's *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianen*, vol. 2). The scale exemplified in these pan-pipes is a highly peculiar one, being constructed with the aid of overtones, which in this case, it may be noted, are rather easy [72] to obtain by over-blowing. The next tone but one after the first is such that its third partial tone (first tone produced by over-blowing, an octave plus a fifth above the fundamental) is identical, allowing for the

difference of register with the first. The fifth tone of the scale is related to the third as the third to the first, and so on for the odd numbers of the scale. In this way a set of tones is produced which are a fourth removed from each other (a "circle of fourths" parallel in formation to the Pythagorean "circle of fifths"). The tone between the first and third is obtained by halving the interval of a fourth that separates them; in this way an interval about midway between our second and minor third is produced. The even tones of the scale are built up from the second according to the principle of the "circle of fourths." The peculiar scale thus resulting is, strangely enough, closely duplicated by the scale of two pan-pipes from Bambatana on the west coast of Choiseul, Solomon Islands (now in the Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin); indeed, the figures for the latter agree even better with those of the theoretical scale constructed as described than those for the Brazilian pipes (Uanána Indians of Rio Caiary-Uaupés; specimens now in the Royal Ethnographical Museum) from which the scale was worked out by von Hornbostel, thus suggesting that the Melanesian pipes represent an older or more carefully preserved tradition. The Brazilian pipes are plausibly derived, as von Hornbostel has shown in the second paper above referred to, from old Peruvian models. To cap the climax, not only do the Melanesian and Brazilian pipes illustrate the same type of scale, but the absolute pitches correspond in a remarkable manner. Thus, the Brazilian, theoretical, and Melanesian figures for four successive tones are respectively 560.5, 559.6, 557; 651.3, 650.4, 651; 374.5, 378, 379.3; 439.5, 439.2, 440 (the last two groups of figures are, properly speaking, to be multiplied by 2). What more can the severest critic demand?

Result — the pan-pipes of Melanesia and South America *are* historically connected, not merely because they are pan-pipes, but because their detailed musical construction is too closely alike to be explained by convergent evolution. Here, at last, we have clear evidence of a cultural contact between these two parts of the world. Whether such contact was in any way far-reaching or was limited to the borrowing of only a comparatively small number of cultural traits is another matter. The simple fact remains that von Hornbostel has demonstrated such contact for at least one culture element.

### Editorial Note

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## Terms of Relationship and the Levirate

REVIVED interest has been manifested of late in the relation which exists between systems of consanguinity and affinity on the one hand, and specific types or features of social organization on the other. It is to Rivers that we chiefly owe this revival of interest and it is he who, by discussion and example based chiefly on Melanesian material, has conclusively shown that many groupings of kinship terms are best understood as expressive of particular types of marriage. True, many of Rivers' inferences seem far-fetched and there is no necessity of following him in detail, but his main argument is certainly sound.<sup>1</sup>

A widespread marriage custom among American Indians, and other peoples as well, is that of the levirate, in other words the custom by which a man has the privilege or, more often, duty of marrying the widow of his deceased brother and of bringing up the offspring

<sup>1</sup> Lowie has tried to show that Rivers' line of argument is in many cases too exclusive in character, that he has explained by a specific form of marriage what would equally well result from a more general feature, that of group exogamy. It seems to me, however, that Lowie's own arguments are in part invalidated by his failure to show why only certain relationships covered by the same exogamic rule are included under a single term. In not at the same time defining the reasons for specific delimitation he may prove too much. Personally I believe that the factors governing kinship nomenclature are very complex and only in part capable of explanation on purely sociological grounds. In any event, I do not seriously believe that thoroughly satisfactory results can be secured without linguistic analysis of kinship terms. Moreover, for the proper historical perspective we must have some feeling for the lack of strict accord between linguistic and cultural change. This means that an existing nomenclature may be retained, at least for a time, in the face of sociological developments requiring its modification. Direct sociological interpretation of descriptive kinship data may be as unhistorical as any other mode of direct interpretation of descriptive cultural facts. However, the purpose of this brief paper is not a polemic or broadly methodological one. It aims merely to call attention to a specific type of marriage as determining part of the kinship nomenclature. Some of the facts instanced in the text are instructive because, without other evidence, one might have inferred from them the actual or former existence of group exogamy. This inference, fortunately, we know to be impossible for the Yana and Chinook.

of their union in his own household. Correlative to this is the custom by which a man has the privilege or duty of marrying the as yet unmarried sister of his deceased wife. For convenience we shall consider these two customs as different forms of the levirate. How can the levirate form of marriage find expression in kinship nomenclature? Obviously in two distinct ways. We may look upon the levirate as an accomplished fact, in which case it remains to define step-relationship in terms of the nepotic relationship, *i. e.*, step-father as uncle, step-mother as aunt, step-child as nephew or niece. A reflection of the levirate in nomenclature naturally demands the identification of the step-father and step-mother with the paternal uncle and maternal aunt respectively in such tribes as possess distinct terms for paternal and maternal uncle, and paternal and maternal aunt; correlatively, in those tribes that distinguish between brother's and sister's children we must look for an identification of the step-child with the man's brother's child and the woman's sister's child. Or, secondly, we may look upon the levirate as a potential fact, in which case it remains to define certain nepotic and ensuing relationships in terms of the filial (and fraternal) relationship, *i. e.*, paternal uncle as father, maternal aunt as mother, man's brother's child as son and daughter, woman's sister's child as son and daughter, children of father's brother and mother's sister as brothers and sisters (as distinguished from "real" cousins, *i. e.*, cross-cousins). We may also expect to find a man's sister-in-law and a woman's brother-in-law referred to as wife and husband respectively. I propose to show that such peculiarities of kinship nomenclature actually follow, as consequences of the levirate, among the Upper Chinook<sup>1</sup> and the Yahi or Southern Yana.<sup>2</sup>

The identification of step-relationship with the nepotic relationship is complete among the Upper Chinook. The nepotic relationships recognized by these Indians are as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> Wishram tribe, in Southern Washington. Data taken from as yet unpublished material secured at Yakima reserve in 1905. For orthography of Wishram terms see my "Wishram Texts," *Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. 2, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> In northern California. Data taken from material recently (summer of 1915) obtained from Ishi, the last known survivor of the tribe. Data, as yet unpublished, on the kinship terms of the Northern and Central Yana were obtained in 1907. For orthography of Yana see my "Yana Texts," *Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn.* Vol. 9, 1910.

*i-mul*<sup>1</sup> "paternal uncle" (vocative *amul*).

*i-lɛm* "maternal uncle"<sup>2</sup> (vocative *alɛm*).

*a-lak*<sup>1</sup> "paternal aunt" (vocative *alak*).

*a-gulx* "maternal aunt" (vocative *agulx* or *agxōda*).

*i-wulx* "man's brother's son; woman's sister's son" (vocative *qxēwulx*)

*a-wulx*<sup>3</sup> "man's brother's daughter; woman's sister's daughter" (vocative *qxēwulx*).

*i-latxan* "man's sister's son" (vocative *qxēlatxən*).

*a-latxan*<sup>3</sup> "man's sister's daughter" (vocative *qxēlatxən*).

*i-tkiu* "woman's brother's son."

*a-tkiu*<sup>3</sup> "woman's brother's daughter."

The step-relationships which are identical with certain of these terms are:—

*i-mul* "step-father."

*a-gulx* "step-mother."

*i-wulx* "(man's or woman's) step-son."

*a-wulx*<sup>3</sup> "(man's or woman's) step-daughter."

These facts speak for themselves. Their dependence on the levirate is too obvious to call for extended discussion. I need only add that the levirate itself is known to have been in force among most or all of the tribes of Washington and Oregon. We may infer with some degree of plausibility, for the Upper Chinook, that it was the very custom of the levirate, more specifically the fact that both the man's brother's child and the woman's sister's child were alike potentially the step-children, that was responsible for the grouping of these two relationships under a single term in contrast to the distinctive terms for the man's sister's child and the woman's brother's child.

Fully as instructive are the Yahi data.<sup>4</sup> They are all the more

<sup>1</sup> *i-* is masculine prefix, *a-* is feminine prefix. In actual usage the terms are practically always provided with possessive elements, e.g., *i-ya-mul* "his paternal uncle," *a-ga-wulx* "her sister's daughter."

<sup>2</sup> Boas gives *i-tata* for this relationship in Lower Chinook. In Wishram this term is used by little children for "(older) brother."

<sup>3</sup> These terms are identical, differing only in the gender prefix.

<sup>4</sup> Ishi, the informant, spoke very little English, but I consider the full data on kinship terms that I obtained from him, aside from a few doubtful points, as thoroughly reliable. This is due to the fact that the terms were collected very slowly and with the utmost care and circumspection, with repeated checking-up whenever opportunity was offered; further to the fact that data already obtained from the Northern Yana

significant in that the informant made it perfectly clear that he himself looked upon the facts that we are about to consider as simply another way of saying that it was customary for the widow to marry her former husband's brother and for the widower to marry his former wife's sister. The Yahi terms for parents and children, in so far as they are necessary for our argument, are:—

*galsi* "father" (vocative *galsinā*, *galsī*<sup>1</sup>).

*ganna* "mother" (vocative *gannā*).

*'i'sip!a* "son" (literally "little man") or *'i'sip!ai'amauyāhi* (literally "person who is little man").

*mari'mip!a* "daughter" (literally "little woman") or *mari'mip!ai'amauyāhi* (literally "person who is little woman").

The terms involving the nepotic relationship are:—

*galsi* "paternal uncle" (vocative *galsinā*, *galsī*).

*u'dji'yauna* "maternal uncle" (vocative *u'dji'yaunā*, *u'dji'yau*).<sup>2</sup>

*mucdi* "paternal aunt" (vocative *mucdī*).

*ganna* "maternal aunt" (vocative *gannā*).

*'i'sip!a* "man's brother's son; woman's sister's son" (vocative *'i'sip!anā*, *'i'sip!ā*).

*mari'mip!a* "man's brother's daughter; woman's sister's daughter" (vocative *mari'mip!anā*, *mari'mip!ā*).

*u'dji'yauna* "man's sister's son" (vocative *u'dji'yaunā*); "man's sister's daughter" (vocative *u'dji'yau*).

*mucdi* "woman's brother's son, daughter" (vocative *mucdī*).

These lists show that the paternal uncle, as a potential father, is termed father; and the maternal aunt, as a potential mother, mother. As a necessary correlate of this we find that the man's brother's son and daughter, and the woman's sister's son and daughter, as potential children, are termed son and daughter. On the

helped me to follow the informant. The many agreements in nomenclature between the Yahi and Northern Yana systems are in no case due to suggestion on my part. The work was rendered possible by the use of counters, differing in appearance for males and females, arranged in the form of a genealogical tree; this device put the whole investigation on a directly visible footing. My familiarity with Northern and Central Yana (by that time also of Yahi) naturally also helped, though the language of the discussion itself was a crude jargon composed of English, quasi-English, and Yahi.

<sup>1</sup> The vocative in *-nā* is used by males, that in a final lengthened vowel (or diphthong) by females. This applies to all other cases in which two vocative forms are given.

<sup>2</sup> Related to *u'dji-* "to be old."



other hand, the maternal uncle and the paternal aunt are designated by distinctive terms, the correlative nephew or niece being in each case designated by the same term. In other words, the kinship terms involved in the nepotic relation fall into two very distinct groups: such as, through the custom of the levirate, have become identified with the filial relation and recognize the difference of generation, and such as enter into reciprocal pairs in which the difference of generation is not recognized. The latter type of kinship term also includes the terms for grandparents and grandchildren.

There is, furthermore, a specific term applied to the man's brother's son or daughter, *wa'dāt'imauna* (plural *yēidāt'imauna*). The analysis of this term, however, would seem again to show dependence on the levirate. *wa'*-, to which *yēi*- corresponds as plural, is a verb stem meaning "to sit" but apparently also, when followed by an incorporated noun stem, conveying the idea of "to have, consider as"; *dāt'i* is a term for "child," regardless of sex; *-mauna* is participial. The term would therefore seem to mean "had, considered as own child," *i. e.*, potential son or daughter according to the levirate. The Northern Yana term for the man's brother's son is the cognate *wadāt'imauna*, for the man's brother's daughter *wadāt'imaumari'mi*, which is the same term compounded with the word for woman, *mari'mi*. A division into two kin groups of necessity prevails also in the cousin relationship. Cross-cousins, *i. e.*, cousins related through parents of opposite sex, are designated by special terms (*'ō'yanmauna* and *'a'yansiya*; their exact definition does not concern us here), while cousins related through parents of like sex are brothers and sisters. In other words, if my paternal uncle and maternal aunt are my potential father and mother, their children must be my potential brothers and sisters. The nomenclature for the fraternal relationship, including its application to cousins, is as follows:—

*dul'yauna* "man's older brother" (vocative *dul'yaunā*; also "paternal uncle's son older than male self, maternal aunt's son older than male self.")

*!et'yauna* "man's younger brother" (vocative *!et'yaunā*); also "paternal uncle's son younger than male self, maternal aunt's son younger than male self."

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*mari'mi'yauna* "man's sister" (vocative *mari'mi'yau*); also "man's paternal uncle's daughter, man's maternal aunt's daughter."

*'i'si'yauna* "woman's brother" (vocative *'i'si'yau*); also "woman's paternal uncle's son, woman's maternal aunt's son."

*du'mari'mi* "woman's older sister" (vocative *du'mari'mi*); also "paternal uncle's daughter older than female self, maternal aunt's daughter older than female self."

*!et'womāri'mi* "woman's younger sister" (vocative *!et'womāri'mi*); also "paternal uncle's daughter younger than female self, maternal aunt's daughter younger than female self."

As indicated in detail, the terms "older" and "younger" refer to the relative ages of the parties directly involved in the fraternal relationship, not to the relative ages of their parents.<sup>1</sup>

The levirate is further reflected in the Yahi kinship system in the terms for the wife's sister and the husband's brother, which, as applying to potential wife and husband, are identical with the terms for these:—

*'i'si* "husband" (literally "man, male"); also "husband's brother."

*mari'mi* "wife" (literally "woman"); also "wife's sister."

Whether these terms also apply to the woman's sister's husband and the man's brother's wife respectively I do not know, as I have no data on this point, but it seems quite likely from the general analogies of the Yahi system that this is the case. This would be further confirmed by the fact that in Northern Yana a single term (*u'nai-yāna*) is used for the wife's sister, the man's brother's wife, the husband's brother, and the woman's sister's husband; this term would thus seem to be about equivalent to "potential spouse." On the other hand, the wife's brother, the man's sister's husband, the husband's sister, and the woman's brother's wife are each designated, in both Northern Yana and Yahi, by a distinctive term; these terms differ only phonetically in the two dialects.

The influence of the levirate on Yahi kinship nomenclature may be still further pursued in certain other terms of affinity. The paternal uncle's wife and the maternal aunt's husband are not

<sup>1</sup> As is the case in other kinship systems, e.g., that of the Takelma and Nootka. Thus, among the Nootka, the older brother's or older sister's son A is the "older brother" of his or her younger brother's or younger sister's son B, whether A is actually older or younger than B.

typical potential mother and father respectively, but the former, as the potential father's wife, may become a step-mother (or better perhaps co-mother); while the latter, on the death of one's brotherless father, may take the widow to wife and thus become a step-father. However, the terms "mother" and "father" are not respectively used for the paternal uncle's wife and the maternal aunt's husband. The special terms in use for these relationships are:—

*p'êmo'o* "paternal uncle's wife" (vocative *p'êmo'onā*, *p'êmo'ô*).

*'āp'dju'wīyauna* "maternal aunt's husband" (vocative *'āp'dju'wīyaunā*).

The significance of the term *p'êmo'o* for our problem will become apparent in a moment. While the *'āp'dju'wīyauna* himself is not named so as to refer to the levirate, it is highly significant as indicative of this custom that he was said by Ishi to address his wife's children as his own children, thus implying a potential fatherhood in himself.<sup>1</sup> Equally significant is the term applied by a woman to her husband's brother's child, *dāt'ip'la* (vocative *dāt'ip'lā*), for this is simply the diminutive of *dāt'i* "child." In other words, as the potential step-mother (or co-mother, for we are dealing with a polygamous society), she addresses her husband's brother's children as her children.<sup>2</sup>

We may now take up the Yahi terms for the step-relationship. They are:—

*wa'nīmāsi* "step-father; man's step-child" (vocative *wa'nīmāsinā*, *wa'nīmāsī*).

*p'êmo'o* "step-mother" (vocative *p'êmo'onā*, *p'êmo'ô*).

*dāt'ip'la* "woman's step-child" (vocative *dāt'ip'lā*).

The last term, in spite of its literal meaning ("little child"), is used by a woman even for a grown-up step-child. The most striking point about this step-nomenclature is the identity of the step-mother-step-child relation with that of the paternal uncle's wife

<sup>1</sup> I must hasten to add, however, that Ishi's statements on this point were not such as to leave absolutely no doubt as to his true meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Whether *dāt'ip'la* is an inclusive term for *'i'sip'la* "son" and *mar'imip'la* "daughter," as its etymology implies, or is restricted in use to this and the step-relation mentioned further on, I do not know. In Northern and Central Yana *dāt'i* is the regular term for "child," but Ishi considered this word, without the diminutive suffix, as peculiar to those dialects.

to the husband's brother's child, a clear indication of one form of levirate marriage. The term *wa'nimāsi*, which is used reciprocally, finds no parallel, so far as my data go, in the Yahi kinship system, but comparison with Northern Yana demonstrates that it too is symptomatic of the levirate—and in a manner, indeed, directly comparable to the Upper Chinook usage. Its Northern Yana cognate is *un'ima* (vocative *un'imanā*), which means "paternal uncle." This correspondence is of course indicative of the direct and most typical form of levirate, the marriage by a man of his brother's widow. It further implies the former use in Yahi of *wa'nimāsi* for the paternal uncle, its displacement, under the influence of the levirate, by the term for "father," and its survival in a specialized sense ("step-father").

This leads us to a point of considerable interest, the geographical distribution of the kinship terms implying the levirate. For some reason which I am at present unable to give, the identification of the paternal uncle with the father and of the maternal aunt with the mother is peculiar to Yahi, while the Northern and Central Yana have distinct terms for each of the four types of uncle and aunt. The Northern Yana terms are:—

*un'ima* "paternal uncle."

*udji'auna* "maternal uncle" (cf. Yahi *u'dji'yauna*).

*muxdi* "paternal aunt" (cf. Yahi *mucdi*).

*garaina* "maternal aunt."

The terms *un'ima* and *garaina* are not capable of analysis and must therefore be of very considerable antiquity. Moreover there was good internal evidence in Yahi, as we saw, pointing to the former existence in that dialect of *wa'nimāsi* in the sense of "paternal uncle." From these facts we conclude that the Yahi peculiarities of terminology are secondary and that the influence upon it of the levirate was not on the wane, but on the increase. It would be highly interesting to have the Northern Maidu kinship system available for comparison in order to determine whether this emphasis on the levirate is due to a southern influence, but unfortunately such material has not been made accessible.

The influence of the levirate on kinship terminology is doubtless



traceable in other systems, and perhaps much of what has been explained with reference to other causes is ascribable to it. I should certainly not be disposed to hold, for instance, that the merging of lineal and collateral lines of descent necessarily points to the custom of group exogamy. The levirate may no doubt not infrequently be examined as an equally or more plausible determining influence.<sup>1</sup> Various features of a kinship system may be interpreted as symptomatic of the levirate, but care must always be taken to see whether in any specific case other explanations may not be more appropriate. One such symptomatic feature is the classification of cousins related through parents of like sex as brothers and sisters. The classification of all cousins as brothers and sisters, as among the Nootka, is naturally of no significance in connection with the levirate. A typical instance of the former mode of cousin classification I find among the Takelma, a tribe of southern Oregon. Among these Indians the term for "younger brother" (*wā<sup>a</sup>-xa*) was also applied to the father's younger brother's son and to the mother's younger sister's son; the term for "older brother" (*op-xa*) also to the father's older brother's son and to the mother's older sister's son; the term for "younger sister" (*t'awd<sup>a</sup>-xa*) also to the father's younger brother's daughter and to the mother's younger sister's daughter; and the term for "older sister" (*t'op-xa*) also to the father's older brother's daughter and to the mother's older sister's daughter. The cross-cousins, on the other hand, are classed partly with the paternal uncle and maternal aunt and partly under a distinctive kinship term. It may well be significant in connection with these facts that the levirate was obligatory among the Takelma.

The identification in nomenclature of the wife's sister or man's brother's wife with the wife, and of the husband's brother or woman's sister's husband with the husband, is also good presumptive evidence of the presence of the levirate. Thus, for the Tlingit, Swanton expressly states: "A woman's sister's husband was called

<sup>1</sup> To avoid misconception, I wish expressly to state that I do not consider the explanation here given of certain features of kinship terminology to hold generally, but only in the two groups of cases specifically dealt with. Other possible applications of my line of argument must be examined on their merits.

husband; and a wife's sister, wife, because in case of the wife's death, the widower had a right to marry her sister."<sup>1</sup> That this "right" was really a duty and that both forms of levirate marriage are customary among the Tlingit is indicated by the following quotation from a recent work on the tribe:—<sup>2</sup>

The levirate custom regulates many marriages; that is, when a brother dies some one of his surviving brothers must take his widow to wife. . . . On the other hand, if the wife dies, then a sister of the deceased, or a close relative, must be given to the surviving husband for a wife.

How much a matter of course the levirate is with the Tlingit may be gathered from further remarks of the author:—

In levirate marriages no presents are passed from the man's people to the people of the woman he takes to wife, for this is only making good his loss. The surviving husband has the right even to select a married sister of his deceased wife. If this is done, she must leave her husband and become the widower's wife. Or the widow has the right to select even a married brother of her deceased husband. And if this is done, the husband must leave his wife and children and become the widow's husband.<sup>3</sup> The writer is acquainted with more cases than one of this kind.<sup>4</sup>

In several Shoshonean languages there are similar examples of nomenclature. Thus, in Shoshone the term *neg-wi'* "my husband; my wife," means also "my brother's wife" (male speaking) and "my husband's brother."<sup>5</sup> Further, in Southern Paiute the terms *naiŋ-quma-n'i* "my sister's husband; my husband's brother" (female speaking) and *naim-piŋwa-n'i* "my brother's wife; my wife's sister" (male speaking) are evidently derivative forms of *quma-n'i* "my husband" and *piŋwa-n'i* "my wife" respectively and probably signify something like "my co-husband, my co-wife," or "my possible husband, wife." Many other examples could doubtless be found in America of this type of nomenclature. Among the Shoshonean tribes of the Plateau, aside from the Hopi, there

<sup>1</sup> See J. R. Swanton, "Tlingit, Handbook of American Indian Languages," *Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin 40, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> See Livingston F. Jones, *A Study of the Thlingets of Alaska*, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1914, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably not in earlier days, when polygamy was practised. E. S.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 130.

<sup>5</sup> Information obtained at Uintah Reserve, Utah, from Charlie Mack, summer of 1909.

can be no talk of group exogamy. The levirate is ready to hand as a plausible explanation.

Terms denoting step-relationship are also peculiarly apt to be symptomatic of the levirate, as we have seen. I believe that this brief study has served to accentuate the special importance in a study of the relation between kinship and social organization of considering the nomenclature of step-relationship.

### Editorial Note

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## Percy Grainger and Primitive Music

I have often thought that one of the surest tests of a true musical instinct is the ability to sense melody and rhythm in the music of primitive peoples. The frequent presence of such disturbing elements as unfamiliar intonations, a too forceful handling of the voice, loud and monotonous drum or rattle accompaniments, and interspersed whoops prevent many a supposed lover of music, many an individual blessed with all the endowments of "musicianship" from perceiving the pure gold that lies buried only a little below the surface. In the measure that spontaneous esthetic appreciation is independent of the bias determined by the conventional garb of art must such appreciation be deemed sincere and sound. Thousands of "art lovers" accept without question second and third rate productions, provided they be dressed in the usual accoutrements of art, who would shrink from a masterpiece treated in a totally different style. Hence it is not, as a rule, the musical amateur, learned or unlearned, who is the most ready to acknowledge the profoundly musical quality of much of the music of primitive folk, but rather the musical creator, the composer, whose musical learning does not sit so heavily on him as to crush his instinctive appreciation of the beautiful wherever and however it may be found. The case in music is precisely analogous to that in primitive plastic art. The layman who talks glibly of Rembrandts and Dürers would fain have us believe his soul is being constantly bathed in art, yet he finds some exquisite bit of West Coast Indian art merely "interesting" (generally a pretentious way of saying "funny") where the genuine artist frankly says "beautiful" or "great."

And so we need not be surprised to find a Debussy rejoicing in the exotic fragrance of Javanese music or, to come nearer home, a MacDowell or Cadman finding frank inspiration in the tunes of the American Indian. There is, however, a gap between such esthetic appreciation and the laborious field and laboratory study of primitive music undertaken by the musical ethnologist. The interest of a MacDowell and of a von Hornbostel do not readily or, at any rate, frequently combine. Hence my keen gratification at coming across an example of this

potentially rare bird only recently, in looking through the July, 1915, number (vol. 1, no. 3) of *The Musical Quarterly* (published by G. Schirmer, New York [593] and London). The purpose of this note is to call the attention of ethnologists who are interested in primitive music to a paper by the Australian composer Percy Grainger on "The Impress of Personality in Unwritten Music" (pp. 416–435). Grainger is well known in the musical world both as pianist and as orchestral composer; he is particularly noteworthy for his daring and extensive use in his orchestral scores of such unusual instruments as the guitar and xylophone. In the article referred to Grainger shows himself to be not merely a cultivated musician who is half-condescendingly disposed to take from the storehouse of folk and primitive music a hint or two for his own purposes but, on the contrary, an enthusiastic and painstaking collector of such music who freely acknowledges the complexity of the problem, and is convinced of the necessity of studying with all seriousness the subtleties of intonation and rhythm which such music presents. Grainger's ideal falls nowise short of that of the scientific ethnologist. And his sympathetic understanding of the primitive background again creates a common bond with the professed student of primitive culture. I shall be content, for the rest, to let Grainger speak for himself, so as to give the reader of the *American Anthropologist* some idea of how a topic near to him strikes one of the foremost of English-speaking composers.

Symptomatic of the general attitude of the musical routineer towards the objective study of all music but that of the academy is the following (p. 433):

Experience of primitive music is not in any way thrust upon the budding musician. When I was a boy in Frankfort my teacher wanted me to enter for (I think it was) the Mendelssohn Prize for piano playing, and I remember asking him: "If I should win, would they let me study Chinese music in China with the money?" And his reply: "No, they don't give prizes to idiots."

The most enthusiastic interpreter of primitive life could hardly do greater justice than Grainger to the superior possibility of individual participation in art among primitive communities than in our own. He says (p. 418):

With regard to music, our modern Western civilization produces, broadly speaking, two main types of educated men. On the one hand the professional musician or leisured amateur-enthusiast who spends the bulk of his waking hours making music, and on the other hand all those many millions of men and women whose lives are far too overworked and arduous, or too completely immersed in the ambitions and labyrinths of our material civilization, to be able to devote any reasonable proportion of their time to music or artistic expression of any kind at all. How different from either of

these types is the bulk of uneducated and [594] "uncivilized" humanity of every race and color, with whom natural musical expression may be said to be a universal, highly prized habit that seldom, if ever, degenerates into the drudgery of a mere means of livelihood. ... Now primitive modes of living, however terrible some of them may appear to some educated and refined people, are seldom so barren of "mental leisure" as the bulk of our civilized careers.

Of the complexity of "unwritten" music and of the incapacity of the general public, through sheer ignorance, to fathom and enjoy this complexity, Grainger remarks (p. 417):

While so many of the greatest musical geniuses listen spellbound to the unconscious, effortless musical utterances of primitive man, the general educated public, on the other hand, though willing enough to applaud adaptations of folk songs by popular composers, shows little or no appreciation of such art in its unembellished original state, when, indeed, it generally is far too complex (as regards rhythm, dynamics, and scales) to appeal to listeners whose ears have not been subjected to the ultra-refining influence of close association with the subtle developments of our latest Western art-music. ... As a rule folk-music finds its way to the hearts of the general public and of the less erudite musicians only after it has been "simplified" (generally in the process of notation by well-meaning collectors ignorant of those more ornate subtleties of our notation alone fitted for the task) out of all resemblance to its original self.

The following is of interest to the folk-psychologist, though personally I am inclined to believe that Grainger may go too far in his generalization (p. 423):

The whole art [of folk and primitive music] is in a constant state of flux, new details being continually added while the old ones are abandoned. These general conditions prevail wherever unwritten music is found, and though I may never have heard Greenland or Red Indian music I feel pretty confident that as long as it is not too strongly influenced by the written music of our Western civilization it will evince on inspection much the same general symptoms as those displayed by the folk-music of British, Russian or Scandinavian peasants, or by natives of the South Seas, and we may always be sure that the singing of (let us say) an unsophisticated Lincolnshire agriculturalist of the old school will in essentials approximate more closely to that of Hottentots or other savages than it will to the art-music of an educated member of his own race living in a neighboring town.

My own experience would lead me rather to emphasize the quite definite stylistic peculiarities of the folk-music of different tribes and peoples. However, much depends on the perspective adopted. The measuring rod of the musician must needs be differently graduated from that of the ethnologist. [595]

For the following breath of fresh air let us be duly thankful (pp. 427–430):

What life is to the writer, and nature to the painter, unwritten music is to many a composer: a kind of mirror of genuineness and naturalness. Through it alone can we



come to know something of the incalculable variety of man's instincts for musical expression. From it alone can we glean some insight into what suggests itself as being "vocal" to natural singers whose technique has never been exposed to the influence of arbitrary "methods." In the reiterated physical actions of marching, rowing, reaping, dancing, cradle-rocking, etc., that called its work-songs, dance-music, ballads and lullabies into life, we see before our very eyes the origin of the regular rhythms of our art-music and of poetic meters, and are also able to note how quickly these once so rigid rhythms give place to rich and wayward irregularities of every kind as soon as these bodily movements and gestures are abandoned and the music which originally existed but as an accompaniment to them continues independently as art for art's sake. In such examples as the Polynesian part-songs we can trace the early promptings of polyphony and the habits of concerted improvisation to their very source, and, since all composing is little else than "frozen inspiration," surely this latter experience is of supreme importance: the more so, if there again should dawn an age in which the bulk of civilized men and women will come to again possess sufficient mental leisure in their lives to enable them to devote themselves to artistic pleasures on so large a scale as do the members of uncivilized communities.

Then the spectacle of one composer producing music for thousands of musical drones (totally uncreative themselves and hence comparatively out of touch with the whole phenomenon of artistic creation) will no longer seem normal or desirable, and then the present gulf between the mentality of composers and performers will be bridged.

The fact that art-music has been written down instead of improvised has divided musical creators and executants into two quite separate classes; the former autocratic and the latter comparatively slavish. It has grown to be an important part of the office of the modern composer to leave as few loopholes as possible in his works for the idiosyncrasies of the performer. The considerable increase of exactness in our modes of notation and tempo and expression marks has all been directed toward this end, and though the state of things obtaining among trained musicians for several centuries has been productive of isolated geniuses of an exceptional greatness unthinkable under primitive conditions, it seems to me that it has done so at the expense of the artistry of millions of performers, and to the destruction of natural sympathy and understanding between them and the creative giants.

Perhaps it would not be amiss to examine the possible reason for the ancient tendency of cultured musicians gradually to discontinue improvisation, and seek some explanation for the lack of variety with regard to scales, rhythms and dynamics displayed by our western art-music when compared with the resources of [596] more primitive men in these directions. I believe the birth of harmony in Europe to have been accountable for much; and truly, the acquisition of this most transcendental and soul-reaching of all our means of musical expression has been worth any and every sacrifice. We know how few combinations of intervals sounded euphonious to the pioneers of harmonic consciousness, and can imagine what concentration they must have brought to bear upon accuracies of notation and reliability of matters of pitch in ensemble; possibly to the exclusion of any very vital interest in individualistic traits in performances or in the more subtle possibilities of dynamics, color and irregular rhythms.

With the gradual growth of the all-engrossing chord-sense the power of deep emotional expression through the medium of an unaccompanied single melodic line would likewise tend to atrophy; which perhaps explains why many of those conversant with



the strictly solo performances of some branches of unwritten music miss in the melodic invention of the greatest classical geniuses — passionately as they may adore their masterliness in other directions — the presence of a certain satisfying completeness (from the standpoint of pure line) that may often be noticed in the humblest folk-song.

It always seems to me strange that modern composers, with the examples of Bach's Chaconne and Violin and 'Cello Sonatas as well as of much primitive music before them, do not more often feel tempted to express themselves extensively in single line or unison without harmonic accompaniment of any kind. I have found this a particularly delightful and inspiring medium to work in, and very refreshing after much preoccupation with richly polyphonic styles. Now that we have grown so skilful in our treatment of harmony that this side of our art often tends to outweigh all our other creative accomplishments, some of us feel the need of replenishing our somewhat impoverished resources of melody, rhythm and color, and accordingly turn, and seldom in vain, for inspiration and guidance to those untutored branches of our art that have never ceased to place their chief reliance in these elements. I have already referred to the possibilities of "inexact unison" evinced by Maori and Egyptian music. Similar rich and varied lessons might be learned from Red Indian, East Indian, Javanese, Burmese, and many other Far Eastern musics.

Being, moreover, the fortunate heirs to the results of those centuries of harmonic experiments in which ever more and more discordant combinations of intervals came to be regarded as concordant, we are now at last in a position from which we can approach such music as the Rarotongan part-songs and similar music of a highly complex discordant nature with that broad-minded toleration and enthusiastic appreciation which our painters and writers brought to bear on the arts of non-Europeans so many generations before our musicians could boast of an equally humble, cultured and detached attitude.

A broad-minded tolerance and an enthusiasm for the esthetic value of all that is genuine and distinctive in art, whether or not countenanced by academic sanction, are here united with a sure sense of history that, on the whole, seems rather uncommon among creative musicians. [597]

I cannot close this already lengthy note without quoting from the last pages of the paper (pp. 433 — 434):

I believe the time will soon be ripe for the formation of a world-wide International Musical Society for the purpose of making all the world's music known to all the world by means of imported performances, phonograph and gramophone records and adequate notations. Quite small but representative troupes of peasant and native musicians, dancers, etc., could be set in motion on "world tours" to perform in the subscription concerts of such a society in the art-centers of all lands. One program might consist of Norwegian fiddling, pipe-playing, cattle-calls, peasant dances and ballad singing, another of various types of African drumming, marimba and zanze playing, choral songs and war dances, and yet another evening filled out with the teeming varieties of modes of singing and playing upon plucked string instruments indigenous to British India, and so on, until music lovers everywhere could form some accurate conception of the as yet but dimly guessed multitudinous beauties of the world's contemporaneous total output of music.

Quite apart from the pleasure and veneration such exotic arts inspire purely for their own sake, those of us who are genuinely convinced that many of the greatest modern composers . . . owe much to their contact with one kind or other of unwritten music, must, if we wish to behave with any generosity toward the future, face the fact that coming generations will not enjoy a first-hand experience of primitive music such as those amongst us can still obtain who are gifted with means, leisure or fighting enthusiasm. Let us therefore not neglect to provide composers and students to come with the best *second-hand* material we can. Fortunes might be spent, and well spent, in having good gramophone and phonograph records taken of music from everywhere, and in having the contents of these records noted down by brilliant yet painstaking musicians; men capable of responding to unexpected novelties and eager to seize upon and preserve *in their full strangeness and otherness* just those elements that have least in common with our own music. We see on all hands the victorious on-march of our ruthless western civilization (so destructively intolerant in its colonial phase) and the distressing spectacle of the gentle but complex native arts wilting before its irresistible simplicity.

Grainger's enthusiastic proposal doubtless meets with little more than a humorous smile from the average musician. To the ethnologist it opens up a vista full of interest and profit.

### Editorial Note

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Review of James A. Montgomery (ed.),  
*Religions of the Past and Present*

*Religions of the Past and Present.* A Series of Lectures delivered by Members of the Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania. Edited by James A. Montgomery. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1917.

This volume, in spite of its bulk (425 pages), is far from constituting a systematic introduction to the study of comparative religion. There is nowhere given a clear formulation of the essential nature and of the secondary ramifications of the concept "religion," nor is there any attempt made to cover all of the historically important religions known to us. Thus not a word is devoted to the two great indigenous religions of China, Confucianism and Taoism; while even the third religious system of the great republic, Buddhism, is treated not in terms of its present distribution and significance but almost entirely from the standpoint of its Hindu canonical literature. Nor do we learn of the Shinto of Japan. We have a lecture on the religion of the ancient Teutons (really a summary, for the most part, of the cosmology of the early Scandinavians as revealed in the Older Edda) but nothing is said of the beliefs of the heathen Celts or Slavs.

Of the tremendous variety of religious belief and ceremonial covered, or rather disguised, by the meaningless term "primitive religions" we get hardly an inkling. This is rather a pity, as we have stored up in the ethnological literature far more adequate presentations of the religious systems of a number of tribes than it seems possible to obtain of those of Greece and Rome. While the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries can only be viewed as through a glass, darkly, we are in a position to appreciate, directly and vividly, something of the nature of the ecstatic or Dionysian note of religion in the accounts that ethnologists have given us of the so-called "secret societies" of the West Coast Indians. The general public might also have profited from a fairly explicit account of the complexity and impressiveness of the ritual systems prevailing among such tribes as the Aranda of Australia or the Hopi and Navaho of the desert Southwest. Instead of a live utilization of the stores of



valuable data which the field ethnologists have gathered for us, we have to content ourselves with a purely schematic chewing the cud of generalities on animism, totemism, fetishism, taboo, and the rest — generalities that have become exceedingly tiresome to ethnologists and laymen alike. This is not necessarily to find fault with the lecturer on "Primitive [15] Religion," who has done about as well as might have been expected with a thankless and essentially impossible task. A sympathetic treatment of two or three specific tribal religions, or even of one, would have been at once more illuminating and less tedious.

But it is in connection with the "religions of the present" that we have most reason to be disappointed. Indeed, aside from the treatment of Hinduism and sundry incidental remarks on modern Zoroastrianism and Mohammedanism, the volume takes a "snakes in Ireland" attitude towards this part of its theme. Not the least alluring implication of the title of the volume is a promise of insight into the development and psychology of modern and recent religious movements. As it is, we get no nearer to the Protestant revolt and to the long series of individualistic, anti-institutional manifestations of the religious impulse that make up the history of nonconformism and revivalism than a lecture on medieval Christianity. Even this is little more than a sketch of the institutional aspects of medieval Roman Catholicism; we are not so much as told of the existence of an Eastern Christian tradition. Judaism is represented solely by a chapter on the early Hebrew religion, the fiercely tribal cult, the local monotheism, of Yahwe. Of the petrification of the Jewish religion in medieval and modern times into the mechanical routine of prayer and dull ritual we are hardly informed, nor do we learn of the lightening of the burden of orthodoxy that goes by the name of Jewish Reform. It would have been of the greatest psychological interest to have had pointed out to us and analyzed two of the recent drifts that attest spiritual dissatisfaction with current religious forms, standardized and desiccated. On the one hand, such phenomena as the rise and spread of the Salvation Army and the amazing popularity of Billy Sunday seem symptomatic of a yearning for the emotional intensification of religious experience, of a revolt against ethical self-satisfaction and lukewarm acceptance of the minimal requirements of religion. On the other hand, a mystical or occultistic craving is curiously apparent in the vogue of Christian Science, theosophy, and other pseudo-philosophical cults, a craving which implies dissatisfaction with the tepid rationalizations of orthodox Protestantism no less than fear of the bleak certainties and ignorances of scientific faith.



In brief, what generally happens when a symposium, a series of talks on selected subjects, is reduced to book form and provided with a title in lieu of inner coherence, has happened here. The editor has tried to forestall criticism with the remark that "it was left to each man to set forth his subject according to his own ideas of matter and proportion — the result is the bracing individuality of each chapter, and the spontaneity of the whole." It is only fair to the university lecturers to remark that as soon as we adopt the standpoint of judging each lecture as a detached essay on a selected topic of religious history, we get a far more favorable impression of the whole. As might have been expected from a series that seems to have been but little planned with reference to a central conception, the lecturers lay very different stresses on the varying aspects of their theme. The historical background is treated with needless fulness in the disproportionately long study on the religion of Greece. In the chapter on Buddhism it is the ethical correlates of religious belief that chiefly engage our attention. Ritual is considerably to the fore in the chapter on Roman religion; mythological conceptions would seem to have been the chief religious stock in trade of the Teutons; while the functions of the gods appear to be matters of prime importance in Babylon and in Egypt.

The most successful expository chapters in the book are probably the three devoted to the religions of India. Dr. Franklin Edgerton has in these succeeded particularly well in placing religious belief, ritual, and morality in their proper social setting; the historical perspective is clearly presented, yet without undue emphasis; and most gratifying of all, a discriminating sympathy is accorded modern Hinduism, too often dismissed in disparaging terms. Prof. Morris Jastrow gives us scholarly résumés of doctrine and cult in Babylonia and Assyria and of the spread of Islam. These two lectures, however, like perhaps the greater part of the volume, are informed by that cool, academic spirit of objectivity that often makes one wonder why the study of religion makes an appeal to the scholarly mind at all. It is only in two of the chapters that one feels, or almost feels, that such a study is animated by a genuine religious responsiveness, that to the subject of religion may be brought an emotional interest differing somewhat from the orderly scientific curiosity which it is customary to expend on paleoliths or the orbits of comets. Both Dr. [16] Montgomery in his lecture on the Hebrew religion and Dr. W. R. Newbold in his treatment of early Christianity do, for a few moments, take us out of the arid wastes of dogma and cult into the fresher atmosphere of intense spiritual experience. Only out of their

pages does the psychology of religion curtsy, somewhat timidly, to the reader.

When we have laid by the book and allowed the whole phantasmagoria of gods, spirits, ethical abstractions, mystic dogmas, ritual observances, sacrifices, prayers, heavens, and hells to recede into the recesses out of which the University faculty had once again summoned them for the troubling of our peace of mind, we face a stubborn query. Why has religion survived? Why, more than a hundred years after the onslaughts of the French Enlightenment, does it still, in one form or another, kick a vigorous pair of heels? Why do even the most radical of us, who foresee the doom of capitalism, the disappearance of the political-economic state, the disintegration of the family, know in our heart of hearts that when in a light-hearted burst of scornful laughter we turn our back on religion, its ghost, smiling with an irony tempered by more than a touch of dogged good humor, is destined to meet us again at some crossroads ages hence? The persistence of religion cannot be altogether explained by the forces of cultural inertia, by the fetters of social tradition and institution, for its life has never been continuous. It has had as many rebirths as deaths. The glamor of ritual, the easy rationalization of the riddles of existence, the craving for an absolute sanction of an ethical code that would otherwise hang in the void — these and a hundred other contributing factors there are. We shall have to dig deeper for a securer base, into the dark soil of the psychology of the unconscious. As long as man is the prey of an indifferent cosmos and the prisoner confined within the walls of his own powerlessness, certain temperaments, rising in the might of their own generous resentment, will build themselves a splendid compensation and transform the ecstasy of despair into an austere passion of religious faith. These are the strong, less strong than those who can be happy in their despair. As for the rest, they are indifferent with the profound indifference of preoccupation. Or, in a burst of envy and fear, they ape those that have conquered despair.

### Editorial Note

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## Review of Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*

*The American Indian, an Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World.* By Clark Wissler. New York: Douglas C. McMurtrie, 1917.

The American Indian is strangely unknown to us. He stalks romantically and a little absurdly through the pages of the Leatherstocking Tales and Hiawatha. If he appears at all in our more recent fiction and art, it is generally to gaze in a noble resignation at the setting sun, a self-conscious last man, or, with tom-tom, war-paint, and similar accessories, to whip up local color for youthful enthusiasm or for jaded appetites. Fleeting memories of a swastika purchased from a Navajo silversmith at the Albuquerque railroad station, a glimpse of an Indian basket-maker or two somewhere in California, a repellent image of a "Siwash" slouching in the streets of Seattle — of such fragments is compounded our frail notion of the Indian. Dribblets of Indian music reach us, in half-disguise, at the concert hall, where they faint-heartedly aim to help build up a national school of music and where they are received with mild interest and a profounder scepticism. Some of us live near an Indian reservation and may claim to know the Indian. Even if such conquer the aloofness of frank dislike, they are not likely to get very far beyond a patronizing jocularly, a slap on the shoulder bred of friendly insolence and ignorance. To the vast remainder of us the Indian is unreal, anaemic.

In the midst of all this ignorance, apathy and futile sentimentalism, a steadily growing body of enthusiasts and students have, within the past few decades, been tending a vigorous plant, the detailed and patient study "in the field" of tribe after tribe and of one archaeological site after another. They have made accessible the results of their minute and indefatigable researches in a vast number of monographs and special papers and have lodged their ethnographical collections in our museums. Already the literature on the American Indian is too vast for the mastery of even the closest students. The inquiring outsider, intelligently interested in fundamentals and generalities, finds this literature snugly, too



snugly, tucked away in government reports, technical journals, and the publications of scientific institutions, and bristling with endless particularities. If he clutches at an isolated handbook or so, say Brinton's *American Race*, he is warned off by the insider with the assurance that the book is unreliable or antiquated and is told to plunge into the monographic literature. This he obviously cannot do. It is small wonder that the historian or sociologist, eager to absorb something of the spirit of modern anthropology, is so often compelled to put up with hasty and convenient generalizations long discarded by the anthropologists themselves, or, if he is more meticulous, with a dip into a selected portion of specialist literature that gives him a sense of first-hand contact but leaves him at sea as to perspective. It is not too much to say that there is hardly an anthropologist who does not in some degree suffer from this very lack of a proper perspective.

Dr. Wissler's handbook comes as a well documented, well illustrated and altogether authoritative answer to the demands of the general public that desires a trustworthy and humanly interesting introduction to a none too accessible subject; of the students of culture-history and social science that desire a compact presentation of the latest in anthropological fact and theory touching the New World; and of the anthropological public that has so long, so resignedly, yearned for an adequate synthesis of the whole [190] subject of American Indian anthropology. It is probably the latter classes that will have reason to be most completely satisfied. For the former one might have desired a more sedulous avoidance of anthropological terminology, possibly also a somewhat more picturesque treatment, stylistically and in selection of subject-matter. These shortcomings, if such they can be termed, are but the weaker ingredient of the book's outstanding merit, its finely-balanced common-sense, its sobriety of tone, its irreproachable honesty and scientific humility. Dr. Wissler refuses to make any concession to the journalistic spirit that has insidiously wormed its way into so much of our semi-popular scientific writing. Nor has he much patience with those many flashingly plausible theories that litter the path of the history of anthropology and that to so many constitute the very warp and woof of the science. This does not mean that he is safe, sane, and conservatively inept. He does indulge in theoretical constructions where the perspective of his subject so warrants, but the evidence, slight or weighty, is invariably presented for what it is worth; the theory is never rammed down the reader's throat.



A word as to Dr. Wissler's method. He might have chosen to give us a purely descriptive account of a number of selected Indian cultures, attempting to set the various features of each of these typical cultures into their mutual relations; to give us, in short, some idea of the spirit and dynamics of aboriginal life in the New World. This interpretative or descriptive method has its obvious advantages, but it has its no less serious drawbacks. It would have led almost inevitably into exaggerated emphasis and subjectivism; above all, it would have made a proportionate treatment of the whole subject impossible within the limitations of reasonable space. There is room for a handbook conceived in this interpretative and necessarily selective spirit. It is not the spirit that has animated Dr. Wissler. The "classical" method of evolutionary psychology, the usual method of psychologists (like Wundt or Freud) or of sociologists (like Westermarck or Durkheim) when handling anthropological data, has been even more carefully avoided by the author, who, like most of the recent school of American anthropologists, is unsympathetic to the concept of a universal and typical cultural evolution into which it is possible to fit with some nicety the particular data of a given culture. Dr. Wissler's problem is conceived in a strictly historical, geographic-chronological, spirit. Here are a perplexingly large array of tribes in North and South America which it is possible to group into a number of geographically extended and well localized cultural, linguistic, and physical units. To confine ourselves to the cultural units (the other two are treated more summarily by Dr. Wissler), what are the basic features of these "culture areas?" Where precisely has each of these features originated? How far has it spread within or outside of its proper area? What intercrossings of streams of influence have there been? What evidence as to time sequence (direct or inferential) can be produced for the first appearance of any cultural "element" or "complex" or for its later appearance in an area removed from its historical "centre" of distribution? What, if any, are the fundamental, historically primitive, features underlying all American Indian culture? What historical connections can be plausibly made out with Old World cultures and physical types? These are some of the questions that Dr. Wissler asks and answers, to the best of his ability. It is the concrete where and when that chiefly interest us in *The American Indian*. The what is necessarily stated, but when it leads to no significant geographical or chronological problem, it tends to be glossed over. The how of culture is, for the most part, treated by Dr. Wissler as lying outside the scope of his book.

Obviously, Dr. Wissler is primarily interested not in tribes as such or even in cultures as organisms, but in the determination of the various geographical centres from which significant influences have radiated and in the historical fate of the cultural features themselves. One can read the book and arrive at only the haziest notion of what the Blackfoot Indians are or were like, but he will have to be inattentive indeed if he is to escape a coherent understanding of the general distribution and centre of dispersion of such selected features of the Blackfoot Indian's life as his food habits, his type of house, his style of art or his ceremonial organization. Owing to the paucity of direct chronological evidence, the historical point of view in American culture resolves itself largely into a careful study of distributions and the inferential translation of these distributions into the terms of historical sequence (chronology is nearly always relative, rarely absolute). The reader is plunged in medias res with the first chapter, *The Food Areas of the New World*. The study and mapping of further distributions is pursued in succeeding chapters, which take up the domestication of animals, methods of transportation, the textile arts, pottery, decorative designs, architecture, stone and metal work, special inventions, the fine arts, social grouping and regulation, ritual, and mythology. We are then given the definition and a rapid characterization of the large culture areas of America on the basis of both ethnological and archaeological evidence. Some attempt, inevitably imperfect in our present state of knowledge, is then made to discuss the cultural evidence chronologically. The following two chapters treat of the linguistic and physical classification of the American Indian; of these, the former is much the least competent in the book, the latter, on the other hand, affords a satisfactory insight into a highly technical branch of American anthropology. The last chapters take up certain more general and theoretical problems; the possible correlation of cultural, linguistic and physical classifications in America; the theoretical groundwork of the author's method; and hypotheses as to New World origins. These are likely to prove the most immediately interesting in the book for students of the social sciences, but they need to be read in the light of the concrete data that precede. Useful for purposes of reference are an appended list of linguistic stocks and tribes and a selected bibliography.

Two major impressions remain with the reader. In the first place, the essential unity and independence of American Indian race and culture are borne in upon one again. That the American Indian is an offshoot of an older Mongolian-American racial prototype is certain, but it seems

no less certain that he diverged at a quite remote period, underwent a specialized and fairly homogeneous development, and worked out his distinctive cultures in the New World in relative isolation from outside influences. The culture that he carried with him from Asia must have been primitive in the extreme; comparatively few of the historical Indian cultural elements can be safely assumed to go back to a proto-American period. It is clear that certain Asiatic influences continued to ray out, up to the present, across the Bering Straits, but it does not seem that these influences materially assisted in the growth of the higher attainments of aboriginal American culture. Many of these, such as pottery, agriculture, masonry, work in metals, the calendar, ideographic writing and political administration, parallel Old World achievements but owe nothing, [191] so far as we can read the evidence, to Old World stimulus. The second impression that is conveyed is of the futility of clinging to the skirts of a generalized theory of cultural evolution. Culture-history has many surprises, perhaps nowhere so many as in aboriginal America. Who, on general principles, would have imagined it historically plausible that a people capable of refined astronomic observation, of massive stone architecture, and of the mathematical conception and notation of zero, only twice evolved in the history of the world, had yet never hit upon or borrowed the simple mechanical device of the wheel, so conspicuously absent in aboriginal America? Analogous instances might be given almost without end. It will prove to be not the least of the merits of Dr. Wissler's *American Indian* that it gives pause to our ever-ready schematizers of stages of cultural evolution, that it tends to instill a wholesome respect for the importance in the history of man of unique historical developments and cultural conceptions.

### Editorial Note

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## Review of Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*

*Primitive Society*. By Robert H. Lowie. New York: Boni and Live-right, 1920.

How exhilarating are the words "primitive man!" The natural man, free from the fine-spun intellectual entanglements and the deadening inhibitions of a maturer, sadder world, the man bent on the satisfaction of every clean, strong-flowing impulse — savage, if you like, cruel, perhaps gloriously run amok! What of that, if only he be free, if only he breathe? Or, if this rhapsodical prelude suit not the reader's temperament, how depressing, dark, sinister are the words "primitive man!" For do not evolutionary anthropology and social psychology, double-headed Cerberus to the study of man, teach us that the individual is as naught in the pristine strata of human society, that he is but the unresisting sport of such tyrannical social compulsions as we of the mild to-day hardly dream of, that he and his society are but a drop in the powerful current of evolutionary law that does duty for man's earliest history? Here are two splendid superstitions for a critic's lance. Of course field ethnologists, Indian agents, and artists resident in Tahiti have long known that savages are very mild-mannered, comfortable people indeed. To be sure, one might have his skull broken in by a spiked club. This is not nice. But, then, there is such a thing as getting caught and mangled to death in the running gear of a machine, or getting yourself incarcerated in an evil-smelling "institution" for any one of several thousand reasons. Even European wars are known to happen.

Were it not for science, we should have naively supposed that there was no such thing as "primitive" man in the sense of a fundamentally distinct psychological variety of this animal species. We would still have recognized, of course, that the specific patterns of social life, the concrete cultural elements that fashion the warp and woof of daily living, the extent to which effective scientific knowledge has been gained and utilized by the social group — that all these differ enormously as we

pass from civilized to primitive societies. But do they not differ just as truly, in however less [529] degree, as we pass from Zion, Illinois, to New York, and from New York to Peking — nay, from Chelsea to the Back Bay precincts? What need had we of positing a specifically primitive mentality, a peculiar mode of apprehending the universe, a radically distinct type of behaviour? As I have indicated, anthropological science would not have it so. Evolution was in the air. Everybody felt that it would be perfectly splendid if we could find a primitive stage of thought from which we had “evolved.” Perhaps we could even find stages and play the game of the stratigraphic geologist. Of course we could not get hold of “primitive” man in the chronological sense of the term. Of his mentality we knew rather less than of the introspective psychology of the anthropoid apes. But there was nothing to prevent our identifying this hoary primitive with his present-day “survivals.” We could study or theorize about the South-African Bushman, the Andaman Islander, and the Eskimo, and in this easy and thoroughly scientific manner we could gradually build a really dignified structure of evolutionary social law. The classical school of anthropology grew up and alternately bewildered and delighted a public that was at first inclined to be a little skeptical but that is now so accustomed to the idea of archaic stages of human psychology and of correlated stages of social evolution that the new variety of the game known as the Freudian interpretation of primitive custom is played with quite becoming seriousness. Laws of social psychology and evolutionary schemes have been desperately hard at work. Rousseau’s state of nature, with which we could at least sympathize most pleasantly, has been snowed under by a perfect fury of strange forces, with the strangest, the most unlooked for consequences in their wake. Primitive man became painfully unfamiliar and aloof, with a maddening Frankenstein-like tendency to play the ghost of civilized humanity’s regrettable past.

Things finally came to such a pass that certain anthropologists grew nervous — especially such as had seen primitive man from a closer vantage-point than the ivied seclusion of Oxford. They set about the task of testing out the laws. At first they made humble suggestions for revision, then they questioned the validity of the particular laws that had been “discovered” from time to time, now they are actually going to the length of denying the possibility of arriving at any laws, psychological or evolutionary, that would explain [530] primitive culture. For the culture of a primitive people, they tell us, is a historical datum, a thing of time, of place, of contiguity, of that divine accident that results

from the intertwining of thousands of antecedent factors that are themselves of time, of place, of contiguity, of that divine accident. In short, primitive culture is history, and history knows no laws that are not either irrelevant platitudes or myths. And this, as I understand Primitive Society, is where Dr. Lowie stands. His book brushes away, not cap-tiously but with all the sweeping power of theoretical argument and accumulation of descriptive fact, the whole cobweb screen of anthro-pological law. Primitive humanity now stands revealed as what we had always sneakingly felt it was — simply ourselves, caught in the net of other geographical and historical circumstances. Its psychology is our psychology, no more archaic and no less variable. And, furthermore, neither its psychology nor our psychology nor any psychology “ex-plains” just that grandiose pageant in the sequence of things that we call the history of man, any more than all the laws of physics and chemistry “explain” just what takes place in the woods of Quebec on a certain day in June, 1920. Anthropology, to put it technically, is not a conceptualizing “science,” it is merely (but why “merely”?) a conven-iently abbreviated record of what really takes place and has taken place in more or less arbitrarily selected societies. The principle of selection is of no philosophic profundity. Anthropology merely treats those so-cieties that are not sophisticated enough to have drawn the specialized attention of local students of culture history, such, say, as study the Renaissance or classical Greece. If the horrified reader, loving his neatly labelled sciences, thinks this too flippant a characterization, let him set to and find a better.

The principle of selection being essentially arbitrary and quantitative, it follows that “primitive man” is no absolutely valid historic concept. There is this “primitive” society and there is that one, and the only real justification for grouping them at all would be a possible historical connection that research may establish to have obtained between them. Failing this, they are to be studied as utterly distinct historic entities. But the historical connection referred to is of course equally possible between a civilized society and a primitive one. This means that, his-torically considered, the line of demarcation running between, say, European civilized societies [531] and African primitive societies on the one hand and aboriginal American societies on the other may be of antecedent importance to that which separates the two Old World groups of societies. The theoretical instance is here also an actual one. Europe and Africa share a host of cultural features — the iron-smith’s art, the cultivation of certain cereals, the tendency to monarchy, the



development of elaborate judicial procedure, the proverb and the narrative with a moral point, stringed instruments — which are unknown in aboriginal America. It is safe to say that as our study of primitive societies becomes more clearly animated by the historical point of view, the very notion of "primitive societies" as such will be abandoned as but a temporarily convenient *omnium gatherum*. Social psychology may go blithely forward, but it need have no expectation of getting anything of exclusive significance out of the doings of primitive folk.

As one passes, in Dr. Lowie's reviews of the parallel or contrasting features in the social organizations of various primitive communities, from continent to continent and from tribe to tribe, one gets a cumulative sense of the essential effectiveness of human life at any level of sophistication. Primitive folk suffer from no greater handicaps than their "more fortunate" brethren of civilized communities. What they actually possess and enjoy in the way of cultural goods is a thousandfold surrogate for what they have not and have never heard of. If they have no alphabet, they have impassioned oratory and orally transmitted folk-literature none the less. If they have not the steamboat, they have some other way of getting down stream or over to a distant island, and once there, they are pretty certain to engage in some activity that is culturally at least as significant as the pursuits of excursionists or business agents. There is no sentimentality in all this. The layman does not begin to grasp to what an extent any society is moulded by historical inertia, by conventions. There is not a feature in primitive society, be it human sacrifice or cannibalism, that can not be shown by historical analysis to be a perfectly intelligible phenomenon, that may not in the consciousness of the folk be raised to the status of a rigid necessity, an ideal.

The insight into primitive societies thus gained reacts, it goes without saying, on our evaluation of the fundamental elements in our own culture. Here also the ways are thick-strewn with [532] convention. There is barely an institution, a usage, a belief, an ideal that has not about it the stigmata of convention, of historic accident. A moderately well-read student of comparative culture could suggest a dozen satisfactory alternates for any of them. It makes little difference how necessary we feel them to be, how unthinkable we regard their absence. Such a book as *Primitive Society* opens our eyes, if only by implication, to the overwhelmingly "artificial" cast of our lives; it does much to dispel our secure rationalism about ourselves and our institutions. Nothing can be taken for granted. If anthropology shows the most absurd of beliefs, the most revolting of practices, to have an explicable historical



background, to form part and parcel of the unquestioned cultural legacy of those very estimable people who hold such beliefs and practice such enormities, if, in other words, to the anthropologist's eye they assume a cultural dignity comparable to the beliefs and practices of civilized communities, it conversely enables us to see as "primitive," as irrational and halting, hundreds of warmly cherished elements in our own social lives. It is all a matter of point of view. The important thing to remember is always this — that there is no psychological necessity about any of these cultural features, whether we find them in primitive societies or in our own levels. The psychological necessities of man are capable of an infinitely multiform solution. The truth is that culture is not a psychologically determined response to the basic needs of life, it is something much more elusive and satisfying than that. It is the fine art of living, enshrined in the heritage of generation to generation.

There is something ironical about the history of anthropological points of view. The early anthropologists, adopting psychological determinism and evolution as their guiding principles, were distrusted by the conservative historians of their day. These were regarded, by way of return of the compliment, as moss-backs incapable of assimilating the powerful methods that biological evolution was opening up. If an Egyptologist hesitated to label as totemic survivals the peculiar animal cults of ancient Egypt, he was likely to be accused of hopeless unfamiliarity with the new historical methods and interpretations due to anthropology. Now historians and sociologists have become pretty thoroughly anthropologized. Every sociological whipper-snapper bandies about the [533] clan and the totem. Unfortunately for the camp-followers of anthropology, anthropology itself is now elaborately back-watering. It is itself rapidly drifting to the anti-evolutionary, historical method that it at one time affected to despise as an amateurish plaything. Of course the circle is not a closed one. The course traversed by anthropology may more aptly be described as one upward turn of a spiral staircase. Anthropology is back with history, but the constant preoccupation with large issues and comparative data has given it a perspective and a technique that it could never have gained from the old history.

Dr. Lowie's book may be recommended as the most informative, lucid, and keenly critical introduction to the study of primitive social organizations that the reviewer is aware of. It deserves the most careful study. Fortunately for the non-professional reader, *Primitive Society* is an eminently readable book. The style is crisp and rapid. It has none

of that stodgy long-windedness in which the writers of books on social science seem to delight. The reader will also be grateful for the occasional gleams of humour and irony that enliven Dr. Lowie's pages. They do not in the least detract from the book's level of high seriousness.

### Editorial Note

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## Review of Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*

Primitive society has been a favourite subject of discourse with closet philosophers — the more closeted the philosopher, the more primitive the society he has discoursed on. Hence it has come about that the ready generalities on social origins, the rapid readers of many monographic works on primitive societies in pursuit of the one unifying idea, have had it very largely their own way. This speculative school of anthropological theory was given its peculiar twist of evolutionary determinism by a number of Victorian writers — McLennan, Spencer, Maine. It received an authoritative, dogmatic formulation in the work of an American, Morgan, and a gracious literary embodiment in the books of such writers as Lang and Frazer. If we are now gradually recognizing what fallacies and illusions went to the building of the imposing structures of the classical school of anthropology, we owe it in no small measure to the new school of American anthropologists, dominated by the sympathetic yet acidly critical spirit of Prof. F. Boas. This school has not been insensible to the charm of an over-simplified formulation, and it has known the classical glamour of an all too symmetrical solution of its problems. But it has fought free of these things. It has been saturated by the sobering influences of field work among the American aborigines. Time and time again the dilemma presented itself: plausible, not to say obviously convincing theory, or rocky fact? And the rocky facts accumulated with such insistence that the classical point of view in time ceased to command the respect that is still accorded it in lay circles. Unfortunately, the philosophy, or perhaps we had better say the spirit, that animates American anthropological research and, to an increasingly large extent, anthropological research elsewhere, has never been so expressed as to strike to the heart of the lay consciousness. It is either enshrined in inaccessible papers or lives as a guiding implication between the lines of special monographic studies.

The chief significance of Dr. Lowie's book on "Primitive Society" lies in this: it is the first work of major scope in its field, of those intended



for a wider than strictly anthropological public, that breaks definitely with the classical evolutionist tradition. It deserves recognition, within its own special sphere, as the clearest and most balanced expression we yet possess of the present temper of American anthropology. What chiefly commands our confidence in his interpretations and the progress of his argument is a certain easy, common-sense judgment, an immediately convincing humanness of attitude. These qualities contrast favourably with that anxious air that social theorists have so commonly exhibited of proving it all one way, down to the last iota. Dr. Lowie's humanness is simply a reflection of his human contacts with primitive folk. For years he has made careful field studies of a number of American Indian tribes, notably of the Crow Indians of Montana. His special researches into the development of certain social institutions among the whole group of Plains Indians rank among the outstanding labours of the new school of American anthropologists.

"Primitive Society" is a true representative of the American school in that it is, first and foremost, a [378] non-psychological interpretation of social phenomena. In the higher levels of culture the presence of a vast body of intractable documentary evidence, the importance of external cultural contacts, the directive force of more or less accidental historical antecedents — these factors have consistently served as a deterrent of purely psychological interpretations. While attempts have, indeed, been made to explain such phenomena as the growth of the Roman Empire, feudalism, the crusades, the Renaissance, the Reformation, as inevitable resultants of psychological determinants, few historians have taken them seriously. The historian really knows better. No one that has watched the gradual, tortuous emergence of a social institution from the warp and woof of circumstance can feel it in his heart to say that he is but beholding the determinate unfolding of an impulse, a group will, a temperamental flaw, or whatever psychological concept be accepted for guidance.

This same reluctance to psychologize history has not been nearly so much in evidence in the interpretation of the lower levels of culture. It has been all too lightly assumed that primitive society knows no complicating history, that its form and its cultural content alike are but the ordained reflexes of certain supposed traits of primitive mentality. This attitude is as persistent in the Freudian explanations of folk-belief and usage as in the social psychology of Wundt or the mechanical determinism of Spencer. It is a perfectly intelligible attitude. It is but the untiring effort of the naively scientific mind, to seek unity, consistent



principle, in the vast flux of social history. Where there is no documentary history to guide us, it is not difficult to assume that there is no need for it, to take the surface of primitive life not as the mere pattern thrown up by a complex interweaving of unknown or but partly inferred historical threads, but as a psychological formula seen in picturesque operation. But what if a widespread social feature, say a particular type of mother clan or a form of "totemism," can be shown by a more careful reading of the perspective and of the geographical evidence to be not the immediate and universal psychological response that we would have it, but an originally unique, local phenomenon that has gradually spread by cultural borrowing over a continuous area? Such is precisely the sort of criticism that Dr. Lowie is able to apply, and with destructive success, to practically all the psychological generalizations that have been made in the study of primitive society. It comes then to this: that the mother clan of one area or the judicial procedure of another area are limited, historical phenomena in precisely the same sense as the feudalism of mediaeval Europe or the humanism of the sixteenth century. Once this insight is clearly experienced — and Dr. Lowie allows us no escape from it — we cease to pursue the psychological formula in its protean transformations; we learn to see a given primitive society as the much more intricate and baffling historical phenomenon that it really is, as a complex of historical processes that is only to be unraveled, and then in insignificant degree, through a minute weighing of the concrete, interacting features of that society and through the patient following out of the numerous threads that inevitably bind it to its geographical neighbors.

With the psychological falls also the evolutionary point of view. The latter, applied to the social sphere, is really but an extension or corollary of the former. It adds to the principle of psychological determinism in the history of society the further principle of necessary sequence. A certain institution or belief is not only held to be directly traceable to a universal psychological determinant but to have followed inevitably, or typically, a certain other institution or belief, itself due to some psychological determinant that is supposed to flow naturally from a still more primitive type of mentality. And so the sequences in the "natural history" of human society have been built up with an easy plausibility. The pages of the speculative anthropologists are filled with unilinear schemes of social development. One anthropologist finds that a state of primal sexual promiscuity was followed by polyandry, which was itself necessarily followed by polygamy, and that the monogamy of

modern society is unthinkable except as the result of a progressive limitation of the polygamy natural to a more archaic stage of social development. Another anthropologist finds that the family, as we ordinarily understand the term, is a very late comer indeed in human affairs, that it grew out of the clan or "gens" of patrilineal descent, and that this type of social unit in turn is but the successor of the matrilineal (or even "matriarchal") clan. In the old days, when primitive woman consorted with many males, it was not easy to establish an individual's paternity, whence it follows, with the iron necessity of a sociological "law," that the earliest recognized group of kindred could not be other than a unit composed of individuals descended from a common female ancestor through female lines of descent!

Like the sociological schemes are other evolutionary theories of cultural development — theories of religion, of decorative design, of music, of economic forms, of technical progress. One and all, these theories break down, as Dr. Lowie shows in the social sphere, as soon as they are subjected to a close descriptive, historical and geographical scrutiny. Only one who is lacking in the historical sense can take them for anything but the naive interpretation of human culture by a mentality rigidly moulded in the school of organic evolution. This mentality is as characteristic of the latter half of the nineteenth century as have been Oriental mysticism, ideal rationalism, scholasticism, formal intellectualism at other times and in other places. Evolutionism as an interpretative principle of culture is merely a passing phase in the history of thought, the exegetic gospel according to Herbert Spencer. His famous "application" of Darwinian principles to social phenomena is but a misleading metaphor.

If I have stressed the theoretical basis of Dr. Lowie's book, it is because I believe that its chief importance, at the present time, consists in the remoulding influences it is likely to have on anthropological thought as hitherto assimilated by the sociologist, the economist, the psychologist, the legal student, and, indeed, the great public that is concerned with more than the bare, descriptive facts of limited ethnographic fields. It would be unjust to infer that Dr. Lowie is theoretical rather than specific. As a matter of fact, the book blends in the most skilful manner, the concrete presentation of selected features of primitive societies, the discussion of the larger, theoretic aspects of these features, and the still wider bearing of the facts and discussions on his philosophy of social development. Some of the ethnographic surveys and accompanying discussions bring new facts, or old facts made new by originality

of treatment or by an unconventional emphasis. Such, for example, are his insistence on the universality and permanence of the family, the discussions of the relation [379] between kinship nomenclature and social forms and usage, his especially admirable discussion of the property concepts of primitive peoples — the chapter on property is one that no comparative jurist can afford to miss — and the long and valuable treatment of primitive associations founded on other principles than that of kinship. It would be indeed surprising if “Primitive Society” did not win for itself the position of an indispensable guide in a difficult domain.

### Editorial Notes

Originally published in *The Freeman* 1, 377–379 (1920). Sapir’s manuscript corrections have been incorporated in this reprinting.

Sapir’s typescript contains a passage omitted here in the published version: “Of the strictly theoretic literature bearing on his theme Dr. Lowie is not less master than of its ethnographic substance. The earlier authorities are frequently discussed, and if their arguments are not generally left intact, it is from no flippant sense of modernity on Dr. Lowie’s part.”





## Review of Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*

If anyone is looking for a psychological formula or an evolutionary shibboleth, let him steer clear of this book. He will see the "primitive" here not as ammunition for a formidable theory of early man, not as a luckily preserved specimen of what we ourselves once looked like, but as an individual entitled to live a perfectly intelligible life of his own, with a perfectly real and tangled set of historical antecedents, with an actual place in a geographical world. Mr. Lowie's robust sense of history and quite tyrannical insistence on geographical fact will rudely shock the speculative sociologist, the social psychologist, the evolutionary anthropologist, and their like. He believes that it is vain to seek in uniform psychological causation the explanation of the course of cultural history; that superficially comparable institutions have often arisen in totally distinct ways; that there are no valid evolutionary schemes that may guide us in the history of human society; that, in short, the "laws" of anthropology are a snare and a delusion. If these contentions are correct — the present reviewer believes they are unanswerable — it means that the old classical anthropology, still current, is not a science but a pseudo-science like medieval alchemy. The brand-new Freudian interpretations of cultural history, incidentally, are horses of the old color. Possibly they will be antiquated before they become classical.

What Mr. Lowie demands of the student of a primitive society is that he study it not as a particular instance of a shadowy rule, but as having grown out of individual and more or less unique circumstances of a historical and geographical order. It is not permissible to lift a social feature bodily out of its living cultural matrix and compare it with a feature similarly lifted from the antipodes. Such comparative exercises may be good fun for doctors' theses, but they do not materially advance our understanding of the history of primitive institutions. If Mr. Lowie thus takes his stand solidly with the historians, he is not guilty of the provincial rationalism which has been as common with historians as with the folk, the tendency to explain every complex institution as a purely local development evolved out of the special genius and cultural

characteristics of its carriers. The careful study of thousands of cultural features in primitive levels has taught us that they are generally distributed over wide areas. These cultural areas do not necessarily coincide for different features. Thus, we may find that a myth is spread among the North American aborigines from Atlantic to Pacific and that cognate forms of it occur even in eastern Siberia and Japan, while a technological feature like maize-culture may be distributed over an area that coincides with a portion of the former range, yet takes in, in addition, large territories lying to the south. Such facts of distribution [47] can mean only one thing. Institutions, beliefs, implements — in short, cultural elements of whatever sort — arise in circumscribed territorial limits but tend by cultural contact to spread over vaster and vaster areas. Now if we feel in the light of geographical analysis that there is not one chance in a hundred that the origin of a given cultural feature is to be sought in the particular milieu in which it is being studied, what becomes of the mode of interpretation which assumes it as a fixed datum in statu quo?

The now fashionable doctrine of economic determinism is not as definitely assailed by Mr. Lowie as is psychological causation or evolutionism. Yet he takes some telling shots at it. As a universal interpretative principle it is no more valid than the others. In the most primitive levels of society there are ideals of conduct, aesthetic impulses, social usages that, so far from being traceable to an economic root, actually fly in the face of economic reason. In dealing with the question of rank among primitive communities, Mr. Lowie shows how social compulsion may even operate in the direction of economic suicide.

Armed with an unusually keen critical attitude toward prevalent philosophies, Mr. Lowie applies his geographic-historical method of analysis to the main aspects of primitive life. He begins with the family, taking up in order the various types of marriage, the nature of polygamous institutions, the family as a social unit, and the relation between social usage and kinship terminology. There follows an extended discussion of the enlarged kinship group, the clan or "sib," as Mr. Lowie prefers to call it. An interesting interlude on the position of women is followed by what is perhaps the most valuable chapter of the book, a discussion of primitive notions of property, material and immaterial. The next two chapters are a descriptive and theoretical treatment of "associations," social units based not on kinship, but on privileged initiation. Associations include all those clubs, age classes, secret societies, and other organizations which play a leading part in the ceremonial

or honorific life of primitive peoples. The last chapters constitute a kind of primitive theory of the body politic. They treat of the closely interwoven themes of rank, government, and justice.

It is strange how many intrinsically unpalatable theories have been put forward by the classical anthropologists, how eagerly they have been accepted by social scientists generally, and how tenaciously they are still being held. It would not be surprising to learn that the great vogue of some theories is due simply to a sublimated desire for sex gossip seeking shelter and justification in the high temple of science. There is, for instance, the theory of ancient sexual communism, so blithely accepted by the Spencers and the Morgans. Mr. Lowie disposes of this in short order. The nearest apparent approach to a state of promiscuity is the "group marriage" of the Todas in India. Analysis shows that this institution is not sexual communism at all, but a carefully regulated special form of polygamy. Moreover, it is clearly a secondary social development, not the survival of a supposedly primitive sex status. The much deplored inferiority of woman in primitive levels is also shown by Mr. Lowie to be either a myth outright or to rest on sentimental expectations that even our own society does not fulfil. The matriarchate, or rule by women, is a myth which probably owes its popularity in no small measure to memories of the antique Amazons. By a quaint confusion of thought the matrilineal mode of reckoning descent has been frequently identified with the notion of a matriarchate. There is, of course, no necessary connection between the reckoning of descent through the mother and the status of woman as such. The hoary antiquity of the extended kinship group, the sib, and the necessary priority of the matrilineal to the patrilineal sib, are two especially favored dogmas. The English anthropologists are still quite loath to part with them. But the facts, as adduced by Mr. Lowie, are clearly opposed. In aboriginal North America, for instance, the most primitive tribes, such as the Central Eskimo and the Shoshonean tribes of the desert plateaus, are not organized into sibs at all, while those tribes which are culturally furthest advanced, like the Iroquois, the Pueblos, and the West Coast Indians of southern Alaska and the northern coast of British Columbia, have matrilineal sibs. Still another currently assumed hypothesis is the recent origin of the family, which is supposed to have emerged from the wider sib. This notion is shown to be quite unfounded. The family is recognized universally among the lowliest savages as among ourselves. The clan excludes it nowhere, but coexists with it.



Mr. Lowie indicates clearly how complex is the actual texture of primitive society. Gradations of rank are all but universal, and among some "primitive" peoples, such as the Polynesians and the West Coast Indians, there is great elaboration of the concepts of caste and social status. The notion of immaterial property, comparable to our patents, copyrights, and privileges of title, is quite exuberantly developed in many primitive societies. Indeed, the property notion is frequently extended to features that we should hardly suspect to be capable of definition as property, such as the use of certain names or the right of singing such and such songs. As regards governance and political organization, it is made perfectly clear by Mr. Lowie that the kin group, whether in its narrower sense or in its enlarged form as a sib, is not the be-all and end-all of primitive organization, but that this type of social unit is usually supplemented or transcended by the village or territorial group as a political entity. All in all, Mr. Lowie's book will do much to render more life-like and substantial our current conceptions of a primitive community.

#### Editorial Note

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Review of  
Hartley Burr Alexander, *The Mythology of All Races*  
Volume XI: Latin-American

*The Mythology of All Races, Volume XI, Latin-American*. By Hartley Burr Alexander. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1920.

This handsome and well-illustrated book is a companion volume to Professor Alexander's work on American mythology north of Mexico, which appeared in the same series a number of years ago. It covers the whole of Mexico, Central America, and South America in ten readable chapters, all carefully documented. Nowhere can one obtain so connected and so dependable a survey of the religious beliefs and practices and of the more important myths of aboriginal Latin America. The author has not trusted himself to elaborate theories of diffusion or of psychological genesis. He is satisfied with a sober, summary record of the facts to be gleaned from the old Spanish writers and from the more recent ethnological sources. Here and there he indulges in a bit of psychological or ethical inference — a little naively perhaps, as when a Fuegian taboo against the killing of young ducks is thus commented on: "Primitive as they are, here are moral ideas — whether one explain, reconditely, the sparing of the young of game as an instinctive conservation of the food supply, or, simply, as due to a natural and chivalrous pity for the helpless young." I doubt if what we know of the nature and history of irrational beliefs lends color to such rationalizing interpretations as these.

The general public will be particularly thankful to Mr. Alexander for his ethnological backgrounds. Thus, in treating of the gods and myths of old Mexico, he is careful to give us an idea of the somber setting of human sacrifice and of the complicated calendric reckoning, here, as elsewhere, closely associated with the course of ceremonial observances. The book might almost be called an introduction to the native culture of Latin America through the gateway of mythology. It would be too much to expect infallible accuracy of the author. Not marshaling the evidence at first hand, he necessarily falls at times into over-statement

or under-statement. In speaking, for instance, of the Piman group of languages, spoken in southern Arizona and in the northern half of Mexico, he remarks that "it forms a possible connexion between the Shoshonean to the north and the Nahuatlan nations of the Aztec world." The "possible" is rather discomfiting at this late day. It has been quite conclusively demonstrated not merely that Piman is a linguistic link between Shoshonean and Aztec but that definite phonetic laws may be formulated connecting Aztec with the outermost Shoshonean dialects of Idaho and Wyoming, laws that operate with the same tyrannical exactness as we look for in a comparison of Latin and Sanskrit. However, environing ethnological and linguistic details are of lesser moment in a volume of this sort.

The psychoanalysts latterly have pushed myth, primitive taboo, and other spiritual vagaries of the folk into the foreground of attention. This is therefore as good an opportunity as any of touching upon some of the fundamental points at issue. What shall we make of all these myths? Are these plumed serpents, swallowing monsters, virginal births, and deluges of no other than casual significance? Why do so many of these conceptions persist with an almost obsessive tenacity and why are so many of them world-wide in their distribution?

There are two methods of approach, the psychological and the historical. The psychologist takes a given myth pretty much for granted as a reasonably self-consistent psychic formation. It does not readily occur to him, for instance, to question whether character and incident have always been associated or whether the grouping of incidents is not a cumulative growth, a pastiche of elements that originally existed in independent form. If once he allowed himself to entertain destructive notions of this sort, he would gradually have his data slipping from under his hand. His psychological formulas of interpretation might be ever so [890] relevant, but they would be helpless salt for the tails of mythic birds. Just as biblical mythology fitted into a neat exegetical frame until the advent of a higher criticism, so the successful application of these psychological formulas, Wundtian or Freudian, to any myth structure tacitly depends on the withholding of a preliminary historical critique. We can only begin to interpret when we have come to the end of our analysis.

The historical student of myth insists on destructive analysis. He is not content to take a myth as it is. He finds that it is generally a synthesis of several elements, each of which has its own historical antecedents, its independent affiliations. The same element may occur

in the most diverse settings, pointing to mutually irreconcilable significances. Over and above, or rather beneath, the geographical distribution of myths as such he can work out the more pervasive distribution of the elements, the materials that are assembled into an endless variety of myth patterns. To the interpretative psychologist he can always put the question: How do you know that this myth or even this fragmentary episode is in any true sense a single psychic creation? How can you establish a psychic sequence underlying the myth when the association of its elements is historically fortuitous?

The crux is not sharp because historian and psychologist fall somewhat foul of each other. Obviously, history and psychology are not born enemies, they are such only in action. They could come to terms if they came truly to grips instead of scolding at each other over a barrier of misunderstanding. The historian too often believes that he has exhausted the significance of a phenomenon when he has established its place in a sequence, worked out its external relations, and indicated its lease of life. He dismisses the psychologist's fancies as irrelevant to the historical process, though he may enjoy them as projections of an imaginative mind. To the charge that his history gives no ultimate explanation of the rise and development of a myth or of any other socialized notion or institution, he is likely to answer that it is none of history's business to ferret out the buried psychological determinants of the significant elements of a culture, that these determinants are at last analysis highly variable phenomena of individual psychology, that it is hopeless to disentangle them at a remove of hundreds or thousands of years.

All this does not and should not silence the psychologist who looks for a specifically psychological motivation and content in mythology. Before he fastens upon these, however, he should more clearly apprehend the difficulties in his way. Two problems in particular must be faced. At what point in the analysis of a myth does the psychological mode of interpretation become possible or even hopeful? And, secondly, how can we advance from the known psychology of the individual to that diffused psychological content that inheres or seems to inhere in the myth as a socially transmitted entity? What, precisely, does it mean that certain myths, historical growths of the "folk mind," exhibit analogies to individual dreams or to the deranged fancies of abnormal minds? Have they — as history, as institutions — necessarily the same unconscious psychic significance that they may possess as dream or as psychotic symptom? Does the history of the cross as an art motif run strictly parallel to the history of the cross as a religious symbol? Does



either history fully contain or explain the other, or are they not rather independent, though intertwined? And is the psychic significance of the cross the same to all minds, even to all believing minds? To ask these parallel questions is, I believe, to see the psychology of myth in a fresher and more fruitful light.

The psychologist is right to seek psychology in myth, but his interpretations may be none the less misleading because of his historical naivete. The truth would seem to be that there is not one psychology of mythology but that there are at least two such psychologies. One of these is concerned with the ultimate psychic determinants of cultural form. This is at bottom the same selective and creative psychology as operates in the history of art. Myths are not isolated formations. They differ characteristically for different times and places largely because they tend to conform to certain typical patterns. To assume that these characteristic differences are directly due to deep-seated differences of psychology of the myth-making folk is too naive for serious consideration. The cumulative psychology of myth as a particular social pattern is the kind of psychology that the historian of myth would most need to know about, yet it is the one that the psychologist is least able to render an account of. It is the psychology which will some day underlie the study of all culture-history, for it manifests itself across the generations in a persistent striving for and perfecting of form, eventually in the disintegration and replacement of this form. To capture the very citadel of the psychoanalysts, we may say that the first requisite of a psychological understanding of mythology — of other phases of culture as well — is the discovery of a social psychology of “form-libido.” Psychology is still too weak to know how to go about the task. In the beginning a science is qualitative, almost exclusively concerned with subject matter; only later does it envisage its problems mathematically and apprehend quantities, direction, form.

The second psychology of myth deals with the psychic significance, conscious or unconscious, of the single elements of mythology. Now if the history of culture teaches us anything, it is that while forms tend to persist, the psychic significance of these forms varies tremendously from age to age and from individual to individual. There is no permanency of psychic content. This content may diminish or increase in intensity or it may become completely transformed. It may be transferred from one form to another, and it is the psychoanalysts who should know this best of all. I believe that to reason from the “latent psychic content” of certain dreams or neurotic symptoms to the psychic motivation of



formally analogous myths is loose thinking. Symbols, like other accepted forms, are ready to receive whatever psychic content the individual psychology or the social psychology of a given time and place is prepared to put into them. Myths may or may not have been motivated by certain unconscious psychic trends, but it is difficult to understand how they could indefinitely keep their significance as symbols of these trends. It seems much more reasonable to suppose that there is in myth no such constancy of symbolic significance as many of the psychoanalytic school assume but that the history of myth can be chiefly understood from the standpoint of the more general psychology of form-trends. Sexual or other symbolisms are likely, of course, to arise as secondary interpretations or unconscious contributory potencies in the mind of an individual or, by suggestion, of a society. Origin is not to be lightly inferred from the mere fact of unconscious association.

### Editorial Note

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Review of  
*The Mythology of All Races,*  
Volumes III, XI, and XII

*The Mythology of All Races, Volume XII, Egyptian.* By W. Max Müller. *Indo-Chinese.* By Sir James George Scott. 1918. *Volume III, Celtic.* By John Arnott Macculloch. *Slavic.* By Jan Machal. 1920. *Volume XI, Latin-American.* By Hartley Burr Alexander. 1920. Boston: Marshall Jones.

There is something fascinating about the study of extinct mythologies. Their obscurities are intriguing. If one is an impressionist, he may take pleasure in the savour of their particularities, he may sample the beetle-god Khepri of Egypt, the three-headed god of the Gauls, the American Indian Thunderbird, with the same delight in the uniqueness of experience with which the poet treasures his variegated bits of sunlight and rain and wind. Or the mythologist may be a student, he may discover in the jungle of fancies called mythology certain trails that seem to head for a realm of ultimates, a generalized folk-psychology. Or, more modestly, he may be satisfied with glimpses of the weary road the human mind and heart have travelled down the ages. All the same, the honest student will not too carefully keep to the trails; he will have an eye and an ear for the passing nymphs and prowling monsters of the woods. He will, honest childlike soul that he should be, chase many a wild goose, prepared, if halted by the overseer of the jungle, to produce his psychological and culture-historical passports. For an absurd tale of glamorous other-worlds is as a haunting tune and the patina of the ages is as the red of old wine. And if there are ears that are deaf to these tunes, throats that are not friendly to this wine, their possessors should keep off and walk up and down the ruled avenues of that other mythological domain called science.

Mythology, like religion and social organization and art and language, like all of human culture, poses many more problems than are ever solved or ever likely to be solved. No easy interpretative formula takes us safely through its mazes, it is not a [108] puzzle which can be read

cold and pure by the help of a cipher code. In their day the euhemerists reduced the vagaries of mythology to sober historical fact, distorted by the exaggerative fancy of the folk. Echoes of this interpretative principle are still heard; it can even be shown to have some validity. As a major interpretative principle it is inadequate. At a later day Max Müller, the Oxford Sanskritist and comparative philologist, wrote an interesting essay introducing what may be termed a linguistic theory of mythology. His scholarly reputation and brilliant style gave his theory a vogue that it hardly merited on intrinsic grounds. His attempts to explain mythological incidents as folk misunderstandings of archaic and metaphorical modes of expression have been definitely abandoned. Yet even this theory of Max Müller's of mythology as a "disease of language" has a limited validity. Mixed up with it was another theory which in its present form may be described as an attempt to understand mythology as a philosophy of nature, particularly of nature in its more grandiose and cosmic aspects. Primitive man was supposed to be eternally concerned with sun and moon and stars, to be perennially puzzled by the cycle of the seasons. He constructed myths to account for these majestically encompassing phenomena and, in the course of time, these myths degenerated into unintelligible god-tales and hero-tales. Even now one reads much of sun-myths, occasionally of dawn-maidens. It is undeniably true that there is more than a sprinkling of validity in this theory of mythology, so far from unpopular, but its ridiculous abuse has tended to put it into disfavour with the general run of anthropologists. On the whole, anthropologists fight shy, and with reason, of all interpretations of mythology as an "explanation" of anything; it is not difficult to prove that explanatory features in mythology are frequently secondary accretions. Today the psychoanalysts are trying to storm the defences of the anthropologists with their formidable array of psycho-sexual symbolisms. Myths are transformations of the Libido. Unfortunately, psychoanalysts are notably lacking in the historical sense; the historical sense is something that anthropologists, having but lately acquired it, are very proud of; hence to the anthropologists the psychoanalysts are as fools who rush in where angels fear to tread. Can we expect of the anthropologists that they bow to idols carven [109] in the cruder likeness of images they have themselves so recently destroyed?

Few anthropologists and culture-historians of today would be satisfied with any one formula of cultural interpretation. Mythology, like every other domain of culture-history, is recognized as a historical growth of incredible complexity. It is rooted in the psychology of the



folk, concerning which we know little, but once a mythological feature has taken form, it is subject to many historical influences, to many unforeseeable and uncontrollable "accidents," whether of local development, degeneration, reinterpretation, diffusion, or fertilization with foreign ideas. Any attempt to apply a set of psychological principles or any other one-sided set of interpretative principles leads to artificialities of conception, perhaps to intellectual disaster. Mythology, in other words, represents a complicated detritus of cultural processes, not a consistent folk development easily formulated in simple principles. Such an attitude is disappointing to conceptualists. Conceptualists are always unhappy when confronted by the concrete processes of history, that most precious anthology of "accidents."

These remarks have been prompted by the appearance of three further volumes of a series which, with all its unevennesses of merit, forms a valuable guide to both student and general reader. Of the five monographs, Müller's is easily the most scholarly and authoritative. It is the work of perhaps our foremost American Egyptologist, recently deceased, and shows an admirable control of the difficult documentary material.

The most remarkable characteristic of the mythology of Egypt, certainly the feature that most excited the mingled wonder and amusement of the classical world, was the frequent identification of the gods with animals. In close connection with this was the belief in sacred animals, embracing either whole species, like the ibis, or particular animals worshipped within the temple precincts. More extensive ethnological knowledge has reconciled us to the notion of the divinity or supernatural power inhering in the animal world. The animal gods of Egypt, while still constituting a specialized theological development, need no longer affect us as bizarre creations of the human fantasy. The most peculiar feature of Egyptian animal-god worship would seem to be the plastic method of their representation. It is a moot point whether [110] the representation of the animal gods as animal-headed human beings reflected a psychological attitude or was in origin merely a stylistic device that in turn reacted on the Egyptian conception of divinity. Similar questions present themselves in the mythology of the West Coast Indians.

The case of Egypt shows clearly that a very considerable advance in material civilization may be coupled with a relatively low type of religion. In this respect Egypt offers a strange and instructive contrast to Judea. The material civilization of Judea must always have seemed a crude affair to the Egyptians, yet its inhabitants early developed a

type of religious thinking that was infinitely neater than the best that Egypt could offer in its latest and most philosophical period. It is worth remarking on this incongruity as an example of an historical truth that is generally overlooked. The advance of culture is by no means of like rapidity, nor is a culture at a given time of like profundity in all of its aspects.

The monograph on Indo-Chinese mythology is a right readable but superficial and amateurish treatment of an unusually complex problem. The scientific study of Indo-Chinese mythology, that is, on the mythologies of Burma, Siam, Cochin-China, and Annam, demands a wide range of specialist knowledge and the careful segregation of the mythological material into the older strata and the borrowed influences from India and China. Of a full grasp of these problems there is little indication in Sir James' book.

Of a much higher order of scholarship is Macculloch's Celtic Mythology. It is regrettable that a certain dryness of treatment and a not altogether natural division of the subject matter make the reading of this book more of a task than it might have been expected to be. It is difficult to get a connected idea of the whole of Celtic mythology. The continental Gallic evidence, the Irish documents, and the Brythonic records hardly make up a unified picture. The Gallic evidence is too remote in time to link up easily with the later insular records. On the other hand, the abundant Irish and Welsh literary sources fail to give the old mythological beliefs and legends in their pristine form. The destructive influence of Christianity had set in early; in these sources the older gods generally appear in degraded forms as heroes and demons. The general spirit of Celtic mythology is pervaded by a romantic and childlike extravagance of fancy. The supernaturalism of this mythology has little of the august and austere; it [111] seems rather to revel in the heaping up of exaggerated details, that are beautiful only at times. The great figures of Celtic mythology have not the gracious quality of the gods and heroes of classical antiquity, at least as seen through the medium of a humanizing literary translation.

The writer of the Slavic section has made the most of a scanty theme. With Slavic mythology we have no great body of native literature to serve as a guide, but are thrown almost entirely on the resources of modern folk-lore and folk-practices and on the brief and incidental accounts preserved in the writings of German and Arabic mediaeval travellers. The author takes up first the different types of genii, which occupy a remarkably prominent place in Slavic folk-belief, proceeds to

the extinct deities of the Elbe-Slavs and the pagan Russians, and concludes with a summary of Slavic cults and modern festivals containing pagan survivals.

The Latin-American volume is far more than a mere compilation from all the available sources. It is, so far as I know, the first serious attempt that has been made to give a connected account of the native American mythologies from Mexico and the Antilles clear south to Tierra del Fuego. This vast region includes the most civilized aboriginal peoples of the continent, the ancient Mayas and Peruvians, and tribes that are reckoned among the most primitive we know, such as the Fuegians and the woodland tribes of Brazil. The material is therefore not all of a piece. Further, our information is exceedingly scanty for large portions of the region. Where it is abundant, or relatively so, it comes to us only partly as direct native testimony; the bulk of it is a Hispanicized rehash. Even for this we have every reason to be thankful, for the *padres* that followed in the wake of Cortez and Pizarro were more interested in catechisms and in bonfires of heathen codices than in punctilious accuracy concerning the absurd gods, tales, and rites of the Devil's American children. Professor Alexander has done well not to confine his treatment to mythology proper, but to take in the adjacent fields of religion and ceremonialism as well. The manner of the treatment is business-like and descriptive, little attempt being made to interpret the myths psychologically or historically. This is perhaps as it should be for the present. We are still not far removed from the brick-gathering stage in the study of primitive religion and myth. Edifices up to date are flimsy.

### Editorial Note

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## Review of Elsie C. Parsons (ed.), *American Indian Life*

*American Indian Life*. By Several of its Students, Edited by Elsie Clews Parsons. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1922.

To the making of this sumptuous volume have gone twenty-three tribes of North America, twenty-three American anthropologists, an Indian, and an illustrator. Its appearance may mean one of two things. These anthropologists may have become a little wearied of their admirable devotion to technical problems and of their zeal in composing valuable but little read monographs; they may have suddenly come to see how intensely alive and human is the core of their subject-matter after all, have taken their courage in their hands, and determined that the great public outside, good-natured and unaware, be given some idea of the strange yet always intelligible life of our natives. Or it may be that just such a volume as this has long been in silent demand and that the editor has but read on the lips of the public its desire for guidance into an exotic field. It would not be strange if both of these motives had found each other and made the book.

*American Indian Life* is not devoid of the usual defects of a symposium. The sketches differ widely in merit and there is a greater monotony than the varied styles of treatment would have led one to expect. A little pruning here and there would have helped the volume; two or three of the sketches might have been omitted by a less kindly editor. And yet, all in all, the editor and her collaborators have succeeded in accomplishing their difficult task. While the book is something less than a brilliant achievement, it is a great deal more than a merely creditable one. The reader does get a sense of the reality of native life, the universally human shines through in hundreds of passages, and even the strangest of beliefs and customs are so presented as to arouse a wondering sympathy rather than incredulity or derision. If there are a few dull or flippant or self-conscious pages, many more are fascinating with their revelation of the turns of human sentiment and the beauty of human conduct. Above all, the scientific competence of the writers

has automatically weeded out the sentimentality that clings to the Indian [569] of the literary shop. It is well to submit to a little boredom of sobriety for the sake of escaping from the far more terrible boredom of unction and bombast.

Each writer has set himself the task of telling an Indian story, not, as a rule, for the sake of the intrinsic interest of the narrative, but to thread, pleasantly, a number of significant facts about the old tribal life. Most of these narratives are biographical in form. A warrior, a hunter, a medicine-man, a singer, a trader, a maiden — each is born, grows up, and ages. The reader is not asked to work his way systematically through the cultural patterns of the tribe, but by the time he is through with a biographical sketch he has obtained some insight into the material background, the social customs, the religious ideas, and the general cultural tone of the tribe. Some of the stories are rather generalized in content, being hardly more than sugar-coated ethnological summaries. Such are Mr. Swanton's account of the Creek Indians, Mrs. Parsons' sketch of Zuñi Pueblo, the reviewer's study of the Nootka, and Mr. Boas' Eskimo Winter. They are confessedly didactic rather than literary. It is possible that their very timidity, or scientific *bonhomie*, will give them safe conduct through the gauntlet of literary critics.

In another group the episodes are more tightly woven into a personal narrative, though the writer's eye is still fixed on the essentials of tribal custom. A notably successful instance is Mr. Wissler's biography of a Blackfoot medicine-man. This has in it much of the dignity and measured sentiment of the Indians of the Plains. Mr. Lowie's sketches of Crow life are somewhat more skilfully composed, but suffer a little, it seems to me, from a straining for climactic effect. In *Earth-Tongue*, a Mohave, Mr. Kroeber has succeeded, somewhat elusively, in giving the reader an intimate participation in the nuances of native feeling. This story reveals a markedly aesthetic sensibility. With such a flair for the curve and *tempo* of Indian life and with a surer literary technique one could do much to make the exotic glow. Most adventures into the exotic capture the mere glitter.

The more self-consciously literary narratives are somewhat disappointing, with one or at most two exceptions. Mr. Lowie's Chipewyan tale of the dispossessed husband and his gradual transformation into a terrifying "Windigo" is excellently told. Mr. Speck's Montagnais episode is interesting for its evocation of the stark background of Indian life in northern Quebec, but is marred in spots by [570] a faulty sense of words. As for the rest, Mr. Spinden essays a magniloquent mysticism, Mr.

Spier a jotty impressionism, Mr. Waterman a devilish humour. All in vain.

From the strictly literary standpoint, the volume would probably have to be rated a *succès d'estime*, but the volume neither deserves nor demands a strictly literary rating. It poses an interesting question: To what extent can we penetrate into the vitals of primitive life and fashion for ourselves satisfying pictures on its own level of reality? Can the conscious knowledge of the ethnologist be fused with the intuitions of the artist? It is difficult to think oneself into the tacit assumptions of so alien a mode of life as was that of an American Indian tribe. It is not that its patterns are elusive or unintelligible, for they are not, but that the attempt to sink these visible patterns into an atmosphere which is as unobtrusive as it is colourful demands an imagination of a peculiarly tolerant kind. Few artists possess so impassioned an indifference to the external forms of conduct as to absorb an exotic *milieu* only to dim its high visibility and to make room for those tracks of the individual consciousness which are the only true concern of literary art. It is precisely because the exotic is easily mistaken for subject, where it should be worked as texture, that much agreeable writing on glamorous quarters of the globe so readily surfeits a reader who possesses not merely an eye, but what used to be called a soul. There is always something sentimental and unelemental about a tapestry. Many literary travellers have taken their eyes with them and stitched their impressions into skilful embroideries; few have had the intensity to penetrate to those currents of life which make all backgrounds commonplace and acceptable. A favourite method of approach is to leave one's domestic morality behind. This is helpful so far as it goes, but perhaps the truest understanding would come from the donning of new and more tyrannous moralities.

From such a volume as *American Indian Life*, disarming in its modesty, we cannot fairly expect samples of the perfection that I have counseled and to which not even the exotic elements in *Lord Jim* and *The Heart of Darkness* have attained. And yet out of its pages there comes more than a hint of how compelling an imaginative treatment of primitive life might be. It would almost seem that the bare recital of the details of any mode of life that human beings have actually lived has a hidden power that transcends the skill or the awkwardness of the teller. There are passages in the [571] book that suggest that a great deal might be done to capture the spirit of the primitive by adhering, so far as is possible, to its letter — in other words, by transcribing,



either literally or in simple paraphrase, personal experiences and other texts that have been written down or dictated by natives. In any event, the accent of authentic documents always reveals a significant, if intangible, something about native mentality that is over and above their content.

I should like to quote a couple of unpretentious passages to illustrate what I mean. How Meskwakwi Children Should be Brought Up is Mr. Michelson's rendition of a Fox text. There is little in its morality that is other than the white man's commonplace, but various turns of phrase and odd kinks of motivation keep it fresh throughout. Take its opening sentences:

"When a boy becomes old enough to be intelligent, his parents begin to teach him how to take care of himself and act righteously. They usually tell him not to do a good many things. Children are taught not to be naughty. They are told that if they are naughty, people will have nothing to do with them. They are told that if they are naughty, people will talk about them. And children are told not to steal anything from their neighbors. Moreover, children are taught not to talk to people. If they see any one going by their place, they should hold their tongues, nor should they laugh. And they also tell children not to visit other people too often. 'Every time they see you going anywhere they would say that you are looking for something good to eat, if you go visiting too often,' is what children are told."<sup>[1]</sup>

The illustrations are a disappointment. They seem to be a cross of divers purposes. They illustrate the narratives, they are decked out with strangely meaningless borders, and they aim to do with ethnological specimens what museums are more successfully in the habit of doing. In other words, they lack unity. Worst of all, they seldom capture more than the barest hint of the native style of the decorative material that they vainly refashion. The pleasing colour work does not reconcile us to their insensitive construction.

### Editorial Notes

Originally published in *The Dial* 73, 568 – 571 (1922). Originally titled "A Symposium of the Exotic."

1. Sapir's second illustrative passage, omitted in the publication, is found in his typescript as follows: "Again, take this from 'Cries-for-



Salmon, a Ten'a Woman,' which is a series of impressions of a young Indian from the Yukon, set down most skilfully by Mrs. Parsons: 'I recall a visit up river I paid to Shagruk where lives my mother's sister. "My grandmother," I said to her. "Whose blood is this addressing me?" she asked. When she knew me, she began to wail, looking to the North — she was recalling my mother: "My sister, my sister, and here is my blood come again to me!"' One is transported to a scene out of folk balladry or out of Synge."



## Archaeology and Ethnology

### [An Annotated Bibliography]

ADAM, LEONHARD. *Nordwest-Amerikanische Indianerkunst*. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth & Co. 1923. Pp. 44.

Reviewed on p. 363.<sup>[1]</sup>

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Indian days in the Canadian Rockies*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. 1923. Pp. 208.

Reviewed on p. 362.

— *An artist among the Northwest Indians* (Arts and Decoration, May, 1923, pp. 26–27, 95).

Comments intended to serve as background for a number of sketches of the Nootka, Kootenay, and Stony Indians by W. Langdon Kihn.

BENEDICT, RUTH FULTON. *The concept of the guardian spirit in North America*. (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, no. 29.) 1923. Pp. 97.

A well-documented and carefully reasoned treatment of the "manitou" in aboriginal North America, much of the material and all of the argument being of interest to Canadian anthropology. Mrs. Benedict discusses the various types of guardian spirit experience, the element which they all have in common, and the relation of the manitou idea to other cultural features, of an economic, social, or religious order, with which it becomes associated. It is clearly demonstrated that such associations as those with puberty ceremonials, with totemism, with secret societies, with inherited rank, or with black magic are in no sense psychologically inevitable, but are the resultants of specific historical processes, each peculiar to its time and place.

BILBY, JULIAN W. *Among unknown Eskimo*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1923. Pp. 280.

A very readable picture of native life in Baffin Island in the days before contact with the whites had changed the native culture. The material of the volume is based partly on the author's own information, partly on the classic memoir by Boas on *The Central Eskimo*.

There is little new for the ethnologist, but the book will please a public that is not too insistent on scientific accuracy.

- BOGORAS, WALDEMAR. *Chukchee*. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40, "Handbook of American Indian Languages," Part 2, edited by FRANZ BOAS.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1922. Pp. 631—903. [375]

An important study of the Chukchee language of northeastern Siberia and of the closely related Koryak and Kamchadal. This work, though not coming strictly within the scope of a Canadian bibliography, deserves mention here because of a possible genetic relationship between Chukchee and Eskimo-Aleut. Though it is too early to speak definitely, one can even now see certain important formal analogies between the two groups as well as striking differences. If these analogies should prove significant on close study, the question of the prehistory of the Eskimo is at once put on a new basis.

- BOURASSA, MR. (FORT VERMILION). *How the Beaver Indians regained summer* (Thirty-third Annual Archaeological Report, 1921—22, being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario: Toronto, 1922, pp. 100—101).

A tale of the Beaver Indians, an Athabaskan tribe of the Peace River country.

- BURKHOLDER, MABEL. *Before the white man came: Indian legends and stories*. Illustrated by C. M. MANLY. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1923. Pp. 317.

An assortment of Indian tales from all parts of the Dominion, good reading for children. Most of the stories centre around topographical features, such as Iroquois Falls or the Fairy Cave at Banff. Needless to say, the purely scientific value of the collection is almost nil, but it is only fair to add that the author makes no claim to presenting her material from the folk-lorist's standpoint. An acknowledgment of the sources used, however, would not have been amiss.

- BUSCHAN, GEORG (ed.). *Illustrierte Völkerkunde*. In zwei Bänder. I: *Vergleichende Völkerkunde, Amerika, Afrika*. By DR. RICHARD LASCH, DR. WALTER KRICKEBERG, DR. ARTUR HABERLANDT. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder. 1922. Pp. 686.

A reprint of the second, greatly enlarged edition of Volume I of a work which, in its present form, is probably the best descriptive book on general ethnography. Pp. 52—427, the work of Dr. Krick-



eberg, take up the aborigines of the entire American continent. The treatment is compact and adequate; the maps and illustrations are greatly to the point.

CAMERON, JOHN. *Osteology of the western and central Eskimos*. Including a special report upon the dentition by S. G. RITCHIE and J. STANLEY BAGNALL (Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913—18, Vol. XII, Part C; Ottawa, 1923, pp. 79).

A detailed study of a series of crania and other skeletal remains of the Eskimo of Victoria Island, Baillie Island and adjoining points, and Port Clarence, Barter Island, and Collinson Point, Alaska. Of the crania, eleven male and fifteen female specimens were well enough preserved to be available for study. Mr. Cameron puts forward the theory that the type of mastication adopted by the Eskimo has contributed its effect in producing his characteristic type of cranium. The mandibles are massive, and they too seem to show certain effects of the unusually vigorous chewing habits of the Eskimo. Seven of the plates which accompany the paper are beautiful reproductions of selected crania and a mandible.

DUCHAUSOIS, R. Père, O.M.I. *Aux glaces polaires. Indiens et Esquimaux*. Ottawa: L'Association de Marie Immaculée. 1921. Pp. 476.

Narratives of missionary labours of the Oblate Fathers in the Mackenzie Valley. The tribes covered are chiefly the Chipewyan, Caribou Eaters, Beavers, Yellow Knives, Dogribs, Slaves, Hares, Loucheux, Cree, and Eskimo. There are many vivid little sketches of native life and character scattered in this volume.

EMMONS, GEORGE T. *Jade in British Columbia and Alaska, and its use by the natives*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. 1923. Pp. 53.

Descriptions, with beautifully coloured illustrations, of a number of Indian and Eskimo jade objects, for the most part collected by the author himself. [376]

HAEBERLIN, HERMANN K. *Notes on the composition of the verbal complex in Haida* (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 2, nos. 3 and 4, Jan., 1923, New York, G. E. Stechert and Co., pp. 159—162).

Gives evidence to indicate that Swanton's analysis of Haida composition in verb complexes needs a rather fundamental revision.

HARRIS, Very Rev. W. R. *Parent lands of our Algonquians and Hurons* (Thirty-third Annual Archaeological Report, 1921—22, being Part

of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario: Toronto, 1922, pp. 41—54).

An attempt to show that the Iroquoian and Algonkian tribes of Canada are an offshoot of the more highly civilized peoples of Mexico and Yucatan.

JENNESS, D. *Origin of the Copper Eskimos and their copper culture* (Geographical Review, vol. XIII, no. 4, 1923, pp. 540—551).

An able discussion of the archaeological, ethnological, and linguistic evidence bearing on the problem of the former and recent occupation of the region of Coronation Gulf. The writer concludes that the older inhabitants, who used pottery and very little copper, and who made sod and wood houses, belonged to the Western Eskimos and were closely affiliated to the natives of the Mackenzie Delta. The present "Copper Eskimo", on the other hand, are probably an offshoot of the people living in the barren interior west of Hudson Bay. A good case is made for the theory that they learned the use of copper from the Athabaskan Indians to the south. The movements of population discussed in this paper may be an episode in the series of larger movements of the various Eskimo groups, but Mr. Jenness does not attempt to link them up with the ultimate problem of the centre of dispersion of the Eskimo as a whole.

— *Physical characteristics of the Copper Eskimo* (Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913—18, Vol. XII, Part B: Ottawa, 1923, pp. 89).

A careful descriptive and anthropometric study of 82 males and 44 females of the Copper Eskimo, 2 males from Hudson Bay, 5 individuals from the Mackenzie Delta, and 14 males from Alaska. In a second section are taken up the general descriptive features of the groups examined and a statistical and graphic treatment of the various measurements. Among the conclusions reached are the fact that the Copper Eskimo show more resemblance to the eastern Eskimos than to those of Alaska, where there has been a good deal of Indian admixture. Mr. Jenness finds that there is no indication of European admixture among the Copper Eskimos. Reproductions of photographs of upwards of twenty-five Eskimo men and women, taken by various members of the Canadian Arctic expedition, close the paper.

KROEBER, A. L. *American culture and the Northwest Coast* (American Anthropologist, N.S., January-March, 1923, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 1—20).

An unusually stimulating paper on the fundamental elements of West Coast culture and of their possible genetic relationship to allied features in the rest of aboriginal America and Asia. Mr. Kroeber first discusses the various components of American culture under the headings of "original common American culture traits", "elements developed in America and widely spread beyond their point of origin", "elements of local American origin and remaining locally restricted", and "elements imported into America since the dawn of history in the Old World." For the West Coast area he then discusses the primitive stratum, the curious absence of certain generic American culture traits (such as bark canoes, moccasins, shields), the only superficial American parallels, the elements of local origin, and the possible Asiatic relations. A number of specific Asiatic parallels is discussed (such as armour, spindle whorl, wearing of hats). On the whole, [377] Mr. Kroeber finds that the case for an essentially Asiatic origin of West Coast culture is weaker than might be anticipated from its geographical position. Independent local development seems alone to account for the major features of this most specialized of all the cultural areas of North America. Most American anthropologists will be disposed to agree with this view.

LAIDLAW, Col. G. E. *Ojibwa myths and tales, 6th paper* (Thirty-third Annual Archaeological Report, 1921-22, being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario: Toronto, 1922, pp. 84-99).

A further instalment of Col. Laidlaw's valuable series of Ojibwa tales from various reserves of Ontario.

LOWIE, ROBERT H. *The buffalo drive and an old-world hunting practice* (Natural History, The Journal of the American Museum, New York, May-June, 1923, vol. XXI, no. 3, pp. 280-282).

An interesting parallel between the Plains Indian method of impounding buffalo and the old Lapp method of impounding reindeer described by Tornaeus (1672). Mr. Lowie argues for an historical connection between the two.

MUNN, Capt. H. T. *Tales of the Eskimo. II. Where the Rumbone ends* (Chambers's Journal, July 1, 1922, pp. 425-428).

- *Tales of the Eskimo. III. A Man-Child of the Arctic* (*Ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1922, pp. 534-537, 553-555).

- *Tales of the Eskimo. IV. A Law of the North* (*Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1922, pp. 668-672, 681-683).



Popular narratives of life among the Eskimo of the west coast of Hudson Bay.

NIPPGEN, JOSEPH. *Le folklore des Eskimos, ses caractères généraux* (Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions Populaires, no. 14, Paris, 1923, pp. 189—192).

Notes based on Eskimo tales collected by Knud Rasmussen.

— *La maladie, la mort et les coutumes funéraires chez les Eskimos du Cuivre*. 1923. Pp. 12.

Notes chiefly based on Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimo*.

ORR, ROLAND B. *The Hurons* (Thirty-third Annual Archaeological Report. 1921—22, being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario: Toronto, 1922, pp. 8—23).

A résumé, with two maps, of the boundaries of the Huron tribes, the physical features of their territory, their inland trails through the forests, the various accounts and estimates of Huron population, the evidences for their former migrations, the outstanding features of Huron village sites, and their burial customs.

— *Algonquin subtribes and clans of Ontario* (*Ibid.*, pp. 24—31).

Historical notes on a number of the less well-known tribes or tribal subdivisions of the Algonquins of Ontario.

— *The masks or false faces of our Ontario Indians* (*Ibid.*, pp. 32—37).

Notes on the wooden and corn-husk masks of the Iroquois Indians of Ontario.

— *Red paint burial in Ontario* (*Ibid.*, pp. 38—40).

Discusses a parallel in Ontario to the well-known "Red Paint" burial sites of Maine.

SAPIR, E. *A note on Sarcee pottery* (American Anthropologist, N.S., April-June, 1923, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 247—253).

Gives evidence, based on native tradition, for the former use of pottery by the Sarcee, an Athabaskan tribe of the western plains. Certain far-reaching historical possibilities are glanced at.

— *A type of Athabaskan relative* (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 2, nos. 3 and 4, Jan., 1923, pp. 136—142).

Discusses certain Athabaskan noun forms which throw a new light on the fundamental nature of the verb stem in this curiously specialized group of American languages.

— *The phonetics of Haida* (*Ibid.*, pp. 143—158).

A survey of the rather complex sound system of Haida. Swanton's data are supplemented and to a large extent corrected.



SHAW, BEATRICE M. HAY. *The vanishing folklore of Nova Scotia* (Dalhousie Review, October, 1923, pp. 342—349).

An appeal for a more intensive study of the folk-lore of Nova Scotia. Incidental remarks on Micmac legends.

SMITH, HARLAN I. *An album of prehistoric Canadian art* (Victoria Memorial Museum, Bulletin no. 37, Anthropological Series no. 8, Ottawa, 1923, pp. 195).

A richly illustrated album of eighty-four plates, valuable both to the student of native culture and to lovers of art. All parts of the Dominion, except the Eskimo area, are covered in this publication. There is a brief introduction and a full bibliography of the subject of aboriginal Canadian art. One of the chief objects of the author in preparing the volume has been to stimulate Canadian artists and designers to use aboriginal motifs. There is no doubt that the skilful, but never slavish, utilization of Indian decorative elements can lead, and has already led, to interesting artistic results. Particularly in Canada, where the cultural tradition is not very vigorous, it would seem decidedly worth while to bring to the public consciousness the rapidly disappearing Indian background, with its elements of the picturesque and beautiful.

SPECK, F. G. *Algonkian influence upon Iroquois social organization* (American Anthropologist, N.S., April-June, 1923, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 219—227).

Discusses the influence of the Algonquin Indians, formerly domiciled at Oka, upon their Iroquois neighbours in the matter of inheritance of hunting territories and agricultural holdings. The old matrilineal inheritance so characteristic of the Iroquois seems here to have yielded to a patrilineal system.

TEIT, J. A. *Tahltan tales, continued* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXXIV, 1921, pp. 335—356).

The third and last instalment (nos. 57 to 79) of the late Mr. J. A. Teit's series of Tahltan tales, originally collected for the Division of Anthropology of the Canadian Government.

THOMSON, WILLIAM J. *Art of the Canadian Indians* (Thirty-third Annual Archaeological Report, 1921—22, being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario: Toronto, 1922, pp. 75—82).

An enthusiastic appreciation of various types of Indian design and decoration.

WISSLER, CLARK. *Man and culture*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1923. Pp. 371.

Though this book is not explicitly devoted to Canada either in whole or in part, it is of the greatest interest to all anthropologists and to all who are concerned with anthropological methods. It may be recommended as a sound and readable introduction to the anthropological point of view, developed by Boas and his school. This school attaches great importance to the historical process as such and relatively little to supposed racial differences of an innate sort. Dr. Wissler's book is divided into three parts. The first deals with "the meaning of culture", the second with "the form and the content of culture", the third with "the relation of culture to man".

### Editorial Notes

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1. Sapir's page references in the text are to sections of the bibliography by other authors.

## Prefatory Note to Harlan I. Smith, *An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art*

Occidental artists are no longer content to confine themselves to the traditional legacy of what may be designated the highroad of European art. The exotic note has been struck in recent days quite frequently. At first, the more highly finished types of exotic art — more especially the decorative and pictorial art of China and Japan — were laid under tribute, partly by direct imitation or adaptation, partly, and even more fruitfully by the suggestion of new forms and more subtle nuances. Later, the exotic art of primitive peoples — of Polynesians, Peruvians, West Coast Indians — made accessible in museums and published illustrations, or directly studied in their home environment, opened up new and suggestive vistas to artists of a progressive temperament. What this art lacks in mechanical finish or execution is often more than made up by boldness of conception or an instinctive feeling for form and line. Industrial art, following in the wake of non-utilitarian art, has also felt the revivifying influence of exotic ideas. Primitive motives have already yielded gratifying results in the field of industrial application, though the possibilities of their utilization have as yet been barely tapped. This is due not so much to the inaccessibility of suitable material (museums and ethnological publications are crowded with valuable aesthetic suggestions) as to sheer inertia on the part of the industrial world and its failure to realize the fruitful possibilities that are inherent in so much of primitive art. The scientific students of primitive culture are no less to blame. They have been almost exclusively concerned with the purely scientific aspects of the study of primitive art. Paradoxically enough, they even seem to have forgotten that primitive art is art as well as ethnological material and have neglected the latent possibilities of suggestion and the invigorating influence of this primitive art on our own decorative art, which has so frequently been degraded to lifeless clichés.

Aboriginal art in Canada, as the author points out, is by no means confined to the prehistoric remains. An even greater wealth of artistic material lies ready to hand in the decorated handicrafts of the living Indians. Although a certain proportion of this has undoubtedly been

subjected to the influence of the whites, the greater part is still astonishingly true to aboriginal style and spirit and readily capable of industrial utilization along the lines laid down by Mr. Smith. Should the reception accorded the present volume warrant further publications of the same nature, it is the intention of the Division of Anthropology to prepare a series of albums dealing with what might be called the living art of the five great culture areas ordinarily recognized in aboriginal Canada.

### Editorial Note

Originally published in Smith, Harlan I. *An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art* (Bulletin 37, Anthropological Series 8, iii, Victoria Memorial Museum, Department of Mines, Canada; Ottawa, 1923).



## Anthropology at the Toronto Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1924

The ninety-fourth annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science was held in Toronto from August 7th to August 13th, 1924. The meetings of Section II (Anthropology) were held in the Anatomy Building of the University of Toronto and were very well attended. Among the British anthropologists present were Ashby, Balfour, Buxton, Fallaize, Miss Fleming, Haddon, Low, Peake, Rose, and Shrubsall; American anthropologists included Goldenweiser, Gregory, Hrdlicka, Laughlin, Miss Mead, Oettking, Mrs. Spier, Todd, and Wallis; while Canada was represented by Ami, Barbeau, Currelly, Hill-Tout, Jenness, McIlwraith, Rhoades, Sapir, and Wintemberg.

The papers read were:

- A. C. Haddon: *A Suggested Arrangement of the Races of Man*
- C. Hill-Tout: *New Trends in Anthropology*
- F. C. Shrubsall: Presidential Address on *Health and Physique through the Centuries*
- T. W. Todd: *The Relation of Industry and Social Conditions to Cranial Types in Cleveland*
- T. Ashby: *Recent Discoveries in Italy*
- T. Ashby: *The Roman Road System as a Means for the Spread of Roman Military Power, Trade, and Civilization*
- H. Balfour: *The Art of Stencilling in the Fiji Islands and the Question of its Origin*
- A. Goldenweiser: *The Historical School of Ethnology in America*
- W. D. Wallis: *Diffusion as a Criterion of Age*
- H. J. Rose: *The Bride of Hades*
- Mrs. E. G. Spier: *An Analysis of the Ceremony of the First Salmon on the Pacific Coast*
- W. J. Wintemberg: *A Tentative Characterisation of Iroquoian Cultures in Ontario and Quebec, as Determined from Archaeological Remains*
- G. E. Rhoades: *Composition in the Art of the North-West Coast Indians*
- H. M. Ami: *Recent Discoveries in Prehistory*
- A. Hrdlicka: *The Antiquity of Man in America in the Light of Recent Discoveries*

- B. Oetteking: *The Santa Barbara Skeletal Remains*  
 W. K. Gregory and M. Hellman: *The Dentition of Dryopithecus and the Origin of Man*  
 L. H. D. Buxton: *Skulls from the Valley of Mexico*  
 C. G. Seligman: *A Pseudo-Mongolian Type in Central Africa*  
 Dr. Laughlin: *Some of the Racial Characteristics Emerging from America's Study of Her Immigrants*  
 D. Jenness: *The Ancient Education of a Carrier Indian*  
 T. F. Mcllwraith: *Some Aspects of the Potlatch in Bella Coola*  
 E. Sapir: *The Privilege Concept among the Nootka Indians*  
 C. M. Barbeau: *The Crests of a Tsimshian Family: a Study in Native Heraldry*  
 H. Balfour: *The Welfare of Primitive Peoples*  
 A. Low: *The Processes of Growth in Infants*  
 Miss R. M. Fleming: *The Influence on Growth of Some Race and Sex Characters*  
 L. H. D. Buxton: *Physical Observations on Navajo Children*  
 Miss M. Mead: *Rank in Polynesia*

Papers read by title were:

- C. Wissler: *The Segregation of Racial Characters in a Population*  
 Mrs. R. F. Benedict: *Religious Complexes of the North American Indian*  
 W. K. Moorehead: *The Red Paint People of Maine*  
 H. I. Smith: *Trephined Aboriginal Skulls from British Columbia and Washington*  
 F. G. Speck: *Some Tribal Boundaries of the Montagnais and Naskapi of the Labrador Peninsula*  
 Mrs. Z. Nuttall: *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in the Valley of Mexico*  
 Miss I. Gordon: *Cultural Stability among the Mountain Whites of Tennessee*  
 G. E. Laidlaw: *Some Ojibwa Nature Stories*

On the afternoon of August 11th Section H held a joint meeting with Section J (Psychology) for a discussion on "Racial Mental Differences." The discussion was introduced by W. McDougall, the psychologist. Others who took part were C. S. Myers, A. Goldenweiser, F. C. Shrub-sall, W. D. Wallis, H. J. E. Peake, and E. Sapir: abstracts were also read of the views of C. Wissler and J. R. Swanton. The opinions expressed by the various psychologists and anthropologists were strikingly diverse.

Dr. Marsh, the discoverer of the "White Indians" of Darien, addressed a number of the anthropologists on the subject of his travels; at the end

of the meeting he presented his case at a public session. Drs. Haddon and Shrubbsall and Mr. Buxton, who saw the three "White Indian" children near Prescott, Ont., were of the opinion that they might fairly be considered as coming within the range of the term "albino." Dr. Christie, the pathologist, dissented from this view and seemed inclined to explain the whiteness of the skin as a progressive pathological condition.

Special features of interest to the members of the Section were a visit to the Royal Ontario Museum, where Mr. Currelly showed them the splendid Chinese collections installed under his care, and a series of three selected Canadian Indian exhibits, illustrating art, copper, and pottery, which had been sent down from the National Museum at Ottawa. The exchanges, both scientific and personal, between the British, American, and Canadian anthropologists were cordial and stimulating. It seemed to be the general consensus of opinion that the sectional meeting was a decided success.

### Editorial Note

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## Review of A. Hyatt Verrill, *The American Indian*

*The American Indian: North, South, and Central America.* By A. Hyatt Verrill. New York: Appleton & Co., 1927.

This is a book which stands midway between Clark Wissler's technical work, similarly entitled *The American Indian*, and a book which still remains to be written and which Mr. Verrill's book fails to be. The general public has long been interested in the American Indian and has long been "fed up" with the thoroughly incompetent, sentimentalizing literature that popular writers have been giving us on our aborigines, but it has not yet learned to enjoy the interminable monographic material of the anthropologists. The way is clearly indicated for a well-written and compact presentation of the main facts and theories of American Indian culture, race, and language, a book which is not ashamed of being literary but which refuses to be a whit less scientific than the most unreadable of the monographs themselves.

Mr. Verrill's book misses being this desideratum because it is both too scientific and too little scientific. If it is "scientific" to present an endless array of specific facts without the guiding line of a general point of view or without integrating these facts with broader human interests, then this book is eminently scientific. Indeed, an inventory of its contents would probably disclose the fact that it contains two or three or four times as many ethnographic items as are to be found in Wissler's more authoritative volume. Somebody should have applied ruthless editorial scissors during the composition of the volume and condemned the writer to content himself with perhaps no more than a third of the factual material which he presents, in the hope that the vacant space thus left at his disposal might have quickened his synthetic imagination.

But for all the accumulation of well-authenticated facts, the book is essentially unscientific in temper. There is no indication that the writer has the spirit of either history or of psychology, or, for that matter, of social science in general, with which to whip his materials into significant contours. What theoretical interest he possesses is naive. His general

historical competence may be gauged by the following passage: "After all, why should we attempt to account for the American Indian by theories of his ancestors' migrating from the Old World? If man evolved from some lower form, or was created, in Asia, Europe, or Africa, if he has always been indigenous to any or all of those countries why should he not have originated in America as well? Is there any valid reason to assume that, if man originated or developed under certain conditions and favorable environment in the Old World, he might not have done the [295] same in the New World under similar conditions?" Extended comment is not necessary. Anyone who can go through the overwhelming variety of cultural material that Mr. Verrill is obviously familiar with and rest content with the naivest of Monroe doctrines for historical viewpoint is obviously not in a position to introduce the waiting public to the reconstructive historical thinking that has become well-nigh inseparable from the notion of anthropology.

Justice demands that something be said of what the book is, as well as of what it is not. It is simply and convincingly written, though the endless listing of facts is constantly threatening to throttle both writer and reader. The student who uses the book will be particularly grateful for the material that Mr. Verrill has gathered on the South American tribes, which are not given due attention by Dr. Wissler. It seems that Mr. Verrill has had some personal experience with the Indians of South America, and this helps to give the book what little personal quality it possesses.

### Editorial Note

Originally published in *American Journal of Sociology* 33, 295—296 (1927). Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

## Review of Paul Radin, *Crashing Thunder*

*Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of an American Indian*. Edited by Paul Radin. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1926.

Students of the social sciences have long been familiar with an excellent anthropological monograph by Paul Radin entitled "The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian," tucked away in the volumes of the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*. It was an excellent idea of the author and his publisher to reissue this little classic in a more popular and considerably enlarged form. The change of title also was wise, for there is nothing which so effectively deters the general reader from looking into a book than finding an unfamiliar name on its cover. The change of title is justifiable, too, for a deeper reason, for while all the facts and incidents recounted in this volume are specifically Winnebago, most of them could be paralleled from a large number of other tribes. So far as the public is concerned, the emphasis is rightly on the American Indian; particularly, by implication, on the American Indian of the eastern woodlands and plains regions.

The new material in this book consists chiefly of myths and ethnological descriptions translated from Winnebago texts recorded by Dr. Radin. These insertions in the original narrative somewhat hinder its flow, but they are so packed with interesting data that we can readily pardon the writer for sacrificing something of the literary form of his document. As a matter of fact, there are many implications and allusions in the text of the narrative that require just such supplementary material as *Crashing Thunder* presents.

The peculiar merit of this book, which is likely to become as popular in non-scientific as it has long been in scientific circles, is that it lets the American Indian speak for himself. What comment Dr. Radin has to make is confined to an introduction that adds little to the narrative and might perhaps have been better omitted. The intensely religious atmosphere in which *Crashing Thunder* was brought up, and from which he

never escaped, is conveyed to us in a perfectly matter-of-fact way. It is the very casualness of the Indian's treatment of the religious theme that speaks volumes for its inescapable significance to the Indians of the old time. This is what is significant about the book: that while its hero, if he may be so called, seems to be always reveling in the chance allurements of the senses, he is in effect miles removed from that aimless intellectualized sensationalism which has become so much of a cult today. Crashing Thunder's life is stormy and confused, but through it all [304] runs a mystic thread of loyalty which is not the sentimental creation of an individual but the heartfelt need of a whole culture; it is a "road of life," to borrow the Winnebago phrase.

### Editorial Note

Originally published in *American Journal of Sociology* 33, 303–304 (1927). Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.



Review of  
James Weldon Johnson,  
*The Book of American Negro Spirituals*

*The Book of American Negro Spirituals*. Edited with an Introduction by James Weldon Johnson. Musical arrangements by J. Rosamond Johnson. Additional numbers by Lawrence Brown. New York, The Viking Press, 1925.

*The Book of American Negro Spirituals* has now been before the public for several years and a *Second Book* has come to prove the popularity of the first. It is a deserved popularity, not wholly due to the present vogue of the spiritual on the concert stage but to the intrinsic merits of the book itself. Mr. Johnson is not a scientific student of music, he is an enthusiast who is fired with the desire to proclaim the beauties of Negro religious poetry and music to a white public sentimentally disposed, more or less, to agree with him. A laborious analysis and qualification of his views, expressed in a long and rather unnecessary preface, is hardly warranted, for the book is essentially an anthology, not a monograph.

That Mr. Johnson is a better lover of his folk than a dispassionate critic of its verse is evident. Consider the following passage (pp. 15, 16): "The white people among whom the slaves lived did not originate anything comparable even to the mere titles of the Spirituals. In truth, the power to frame the poetic phrases that make the titles of so many of the Spirituals betokens the power to create the songs. Consider the sheer magic of [ten selected titles of spirituals] and confess that none but an artistically endowed people could have evolved it." Yet what could be more threadbare in the English poetic tradition than such titles — to quote but two of those that Mr. Johnson cites — as "Singing with a Sword in my Hand" or "Death's Goin' to Lay His Cold, Icy Hand on Me?" Does not Mr. Johnson know that death has been "laying his cold, icy hand" on generations of unfortunate whites? And if the point of the second title lies in the charm and naiveté of the "goin' to" and "on me," what is that but a point of silent conspiracy on the part of

the whites to give the negro idiom the benefit of a charming and naive interpretation?

Mr. Johnson's enthusiasm also gets the better of his judgment when he says: "Among those who know about art it is generally recognized that the modern school of painting and sculpture in Europe and America is almost entirely the result of the direct influence of African art, following the discovery that it was art." I do not know how far back Mr. Johnson would date "the modern school of painting and sculpture in Europe and America," but surely even the most up-to-date interpretation of the phrase would hardly justify one in attributing to African wood-carving more than a part influence in the moulding of modern art tendencies. It is not necessary to overstate a case.

And so with Mr. Johnson's analysis of American Negro music. That the Negroes have a wonderful musical gift — or, what probably comes to the same thing in a practical sense, a rich musical tradition that goes back to the pre-slave days in Africa — is doubted by none. That a group of Jewish or Irish or Italian slaves, living in conditions precisely parallel to those in which [173] the Africans evolved their Americanized culture, could have developed the spirituals and blues is all but inconceivable. It does not follow, as Mr. Johnson seems to think, that American Negro music is merely a carry-over of a specifically African tradition, that it owes little or nothing to the white man's musical stock in trade. The truth would seem to be far from simple and not at all easy to state either historically or psychologically. No doubt the African tradition as such was entirely lost, or nearly so, but in adapting themselves to the new environment the Negroes could not take over the hymnology of their masters without allowing certain deep-seated habits of musical delivery to ring through. In spirit Mr. Johnson may be essentially sound but his formulation is certainly far too specific. It is simply not true, for instance, that the rhythms of American Negro music are African rhythms. The most that one can say is that they are European-American rhythms unconsciously modified by habits which require for their explanation a soil of forgotten African rhythms. In this, as in countless other cultural cases of a similarly complex nature, one may speak of a "predisposition," provided one is prudent enough to steer clear of commitments on the score of racial inheritance in a biological sense.

But I shall not rest content with stating my own opinion, which is perhaps only a bias. There has just come to hand, opportunely enough, an excellent article on *African Negro Music* in the first number of a

new journal, edited by Diedrich Westermann, entitled *Africa, Journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures* (January 1928; pp. 30–62). This article is by Erich M. von Hornbostel, probably the most competent authority on primitive music that we have. As for the African background, the following citation will be significant: "In African music, three features stand out above all others, and have been noticed and stressed accordingly by all those who have heard Negroes sing: antiphony (here understood to be the alternate singing of solo and chorus), part-singing, and highly developed rhythm." But as for the supposed continuity (I mean culturally, not merely psychologically) of American Negro with African Negro music, this is what von Hornbostel has to say: "The African Negroes are uncommonly gifted for music – probably, on an average, more so than the white race. This is clear not only from the high development of African music, especially as regards polyphony and rhythm, but a very curious fact, unparalleled, perhaps, in history, makes it even more evident: namely, the fact that the negro slaves in America and their descendants, abandoning their original musical style, have adapted themselves to that of their white masters and produced a new kind of folk-music in that style. Presumably no other people would have accomplished this. (In fact the plantation songs and spirituals, and also the blues and rag-times which have launched or helped to launch our modern dance-music, are the only remarkable kinds of music brought forth in America by immigrants.) At the same time this shows how readily the Negro abandons his own style of music for that of the European."

In another passage von Hornbostel states that "the gulf between" African and European music "has proved to be so wide that any attempt at bridging it is out of the question. African, like any other non-European music, is founded on melody, European music on harmony ... African rhythm springs from the drummer's motions and has far outstripped European [174] rhythm, which does not depend on motion but on the ear." Possibly there is something about the American Negro's swaying of head and body and the irregular balance of the right-hand beat against that of the left, which Mr. Johnson says is so essential to the production of the "swing" characteristic of the spirituals, that is derivative of the habits of the African drummer and dancer dominated by the spirit of the drum. If this is so – and it would require a pretty piece of research to prove it – we would have between African and American Negro music a connection on the plane of socialized motor habit, a far deeper and more elusive plane than that of specific cultural



patterning. It would not be difficult to find analogies. Thus, in the speech of thousands of New Yorkers, not necessarily themselves Jewish, a sensitive ear may readily detect melodic contours that are plainly derivative of some of the cadences peculiar to Yiddish, a language which may be utterly unknown to the speaker.

It is a great pleasure to turn to the songs themselves. Many of them, needless to say, are beautiful. It is hardly necessary in a review of this sort to do more than point to the nobility of feeling manifested in such songs as "Go down Moses" or "Swing low sweet chariot" or "Up on de mountain," which, simple and austere, is in the reviewer's opinion the most wonderful song in the book. Mr. Johnson would probably pick out "Go down Moses" as his especial favorite — and not without reason, though its melodic curve is of a more obviously acceptable nobility than the strangely elusive, long-breathed line of "Up on de mountain." Often the nobility of the songs is relieved by a delicately toying spirit, as in the case of "Somebody's knockin' at yo' do'" or, with more abandon, "Who'll be a witness for my Lord?" or "Lit'le David play on yo' harp." This spirit never degenerates into the vulgarity of jazz.

The settings, most of which are by J. Rosamond Johnson, are excellent. In the case of a number of the songs, such as "Somebody's knockin' at yo' do'," the musician has introduced just enough counter-rhythm in the accompaniment to bring out the latent rhythmic feeling of the song itself. But always with discretion. The settings hold close to the essential rhythmic quality of the songs and are done with a fine, musicianly tact.

### Editorial Note

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Review of  
Ruth L. Bunzel, *The Pueblo Potter*

*The Pueblo Potter, A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art*  
By Ruth L. Bunzel. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927

This beautifully printed and excellently written study of contemporary Pueblo art in pottery is the eighth volume of the "Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology," edited by Franz Boas. It is another product of the long-continued and fruitful interest which Dr. Boas has shown in primitive art and which in his own case has given us his marvelous study of the decorative motifs in carvings, paintings and textiles of the West Coast tribes and his recently published general work on "Primitive Art." Of all the students who have helped to create the Boas tradition in the scientific study of primitive design, Miss Bunzel is easily the most brilliant. This tradition is notable for its thoroughgoing analysis of design elements, for its interest in the geographical distribution and the historical development of these elements and their combinations, for its insistence on the problems of artistic individuality within the framework of a carefully defined communal style, and for the sobriety with which the question of symbolism is handled. In this tradition there is no room for easy-going cultural evolutionism, still less for subjective symbol interpretation.

Many students of primitive art come to the data with no other equipment than some familiarity with the art of the Old World civilization and with a poignant desire to escape from the trammels of their knowledge into a larger air of spontaneous self-expression. Miss Bunzel studies her technique, her forms and her designs against the unimpaired background of a superb mastery of the whole content of Pueblo culture, especially the culture of Zuñi, and with knowledge of the older stages of Pueblo pottery which antedates the somewhat degenerated art of the present. But she is not strangled by her knowledge. Without making a romantic nuisance of herself, she is alert to catch every promise of the individual enrichment of tribal pattern, sensitive to every turn of style, to the formal excellences or shortcomings of all her materials, she is

sympathetic to every phase of the potter's art, from the molding and firing of the clay to the planning of the layout of painted patterns on the finished surface of the vessel. Over and over again she distinguishes deftly between what is tribal substratum, borrowing from another Pueblo, and the happy invention of the individual mind. A single pot, thus seen, ceases to be a more or less pleasing specimen concerning which one may be enthusiastic or lukewarm; it becomes a stratified witness to the flux of the esthetic impulse.

Every student of the history and of the psychology of art will do well to possess himself of this volume. It is not a misleading album of picked designs; it is an honest record of stylistic variations within a given area of the primitive world. Acoma, Zuñi, Hopi, and San Ildefonso forms and designs are discussed, contrasted and illustrated. Each style stands out with crystalline clarity, despite the general sameness of the physical and ceremonial background. Three large points of theoretic interest emerge. In the first place, it is astonishing how little the native potters can tell us in so many words of the fundamental forms and proportions of their vessels or of the obvious units of design into which the full patterns are analyzable by the student. It is with ornament as with language. The primitive "intuitions" securely and recognizes easily what is pointed out to him, but [which he] has never consciously mastered. In the second place, these Pueblo potters, like all craftsmen in design, primitive or civilized, have the sense of individual freedom. The limitations of style are obvious only to the outsider; to the insider what is not individual choice or caprice is felt to proceed from necessity itself. Where we see a depressing sameness of ideas, the native distinguishes readily between the work of one potter and another, and finds the remoter styles of other Pueblos queer or interesting only in spots. But, lastly, here and there, an individual of unusual artistic endowment will fertilize the local tradition with some new grasp of the possibilities of form, some new blend of old motifs. Nampeyo, who made vital a dying art with her own imagination quickened by an older Hopi art that survives only in the intimations of broken shards, and Julian Martinez of San Ildefonso, who created both a new ware and a style of ornament adapted to its forms, are proof that primitive art is not all tribal precedent. It is largely that, but it also bears the impress of anonymous individualities.

Editorial Note

Originally published in *The New Republic* 61, 115 (1929). Reprinted by permission of *The New Republic*. Originally titled "Design in Pueblo Pottery."





## Review of James F. Leyburn, *Handbook of Ethnography*

*Handbook of Ethnography*; by James G. Leyburn, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931.

Ethnologists and other students of social science must often have felt the necessity of a convenient handbook which would enable them to locate the numerous tribes and geographical terms which they come across in their reading. A specialist, working in a narrow field, is not likely to profit much from such assistance, but the student who ventures to stray any distance from his more strictly localized field of research is soon lost in the maze of names and doubtful identifications of peoples who bear more than one name, either in fact or in the literature of anthropology. Professor Leyburn deserves the cordial thanks of all such students for undertaking the exceedingly laborious task of compiling this handbook.

The book is a neat and compact work of 323 excellently printed pages, supplemented by six very useful maps. The body of the work consists of two parts, an "Alphabetical List of the more important Peoples of the World, together with their Location, and a Comment on Geographical Terms commonly used in Ethnography" and a "Table of Peoples arranged under the Political Divisions of the World."

For restricted areas there are, of course, more extensive and informative books of reference, such as the two volumes published by the Bureau of American Ethnology under the title of "Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico," but the reviewer knows of no other work which so successfully compresses within the covers of a moderately sized volume as much information on ethnographic nomenclature. The book will probably soon prove to be a *sine qua non* of the comparative anthropologist, whatever may prove to be its incidental inaccuracies of detail.

It would be folly to expect anything like one hundred per cent accuracy in an undertaking of this kind and it would be even [187] greater folly for a reviewer to attempt to pass on the general accuracy

of the whole work. It is made sufficiently clear in the preface that the compiler lays no claim to accuracy, completeness, or scrupulous consistency. No doubt, as the book gets tested by use and comment, a number of easily corrected shortcomings will reveal themselves, and it is to be earnestly hoped that the present volume may prove to be merely the first edition of a work which will come to be looked upon as the authoritative book of tribal reference.

If the reviewer ventures to make a few critical comments on specific entries in the volume, it is not, he likes to think, because of a childish desire to pick flaws in an obviously useful undertaking, but rather because he hopes that such comments may point the way to a second and still more useful edition of the Handbook.

In the "Table of Peoples" which forms the second part of the book it would have been exceedingly useful to distinguish between names referring to present peoples and those which are quoted from classical and other historic sources and which, in many instances, refer to peoples no longer existing as such. Under Portugal, for instance, are listed Iberians and Portuguese without any indication that the former is a classical term not applying to an actually existing people. The necessary information can be secured by referring back to the entries in the "Alphabetical List" but a different style of printing for the extinct peoples would undoubtedly be a help to the student. Under Russia a somewhat disproportionate number of the entries refer to the Caucasus, and for this reason it might have been advisable to enter these peoples under a special heading.

The first problem that any compiler has to solve in planning a work of this sort is what principle to adopt in the choice of his main entry for a particular tribe or people. There is often a great variety of spellings of the same name and, not infrequently, a number of quite distinct names referring to the same group. Shall he adopt the rule of priority of term and spelling or shall he adopt the name which seems to be vouched for by the most recent and authoritative literature that he can find? Now and then he may decide in favor of a spelling that has become more or less popular, but it is not often that common usage will be able to help him. Whatever principle he adopts, he will find himself in conflict with the personal choices of other anthropologists. The reviewer's preference is for those spellings which have the backing of the most important authority or authorities on the people in question, but he admits that there is room for considerable difference of opinion in applying the principle. His personal preference, for instance, would have been

for Tlingit rather than for Tlinkit (p. 242). Prof. Leyburn's entry has good authority, but Swanton, who is our latest authority on this people, speaks of the Tlingit [188] and, inasmuch as current American anthropological usage has tended to prefer Swanton's spelling, that should perhaps have been chosen. Another and clearer case is that of the Chimalakwe (p. 59), a name used by Powers in his "Tribes of California" but entirely superseded now among American anthropologists by Chimariko. On the whole, however, it is the reviewer's impression that Prof. Leyburn has made the choices which would commend themselves to the majority of ethnologists.

More important is the question of whether all entries of significance have been made. It is in the geographical part of the work that inconsistencies seem to be most in evidence. Aargau (p. 1) is listed as a canton of Switzerland but such other cantons as Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Grisons and Lucerne are not included. It would seem that the principle here should be all or nothing. As to the tribal entries, such superficial testing as the reviewer has been able to give the work indicates that there are few important oversights. He offers for supplementary inclusion Alarodian, the people of the region of Lake Van, who preceded the present Armenians; Tokharian, a Buddhist people of Chinese Turkestan whom recent investigations have shown to have spoken the easternmost known Indo-European language that we have record of in early times; and Yenisei-Ostyak, a people not to be confused with the Ugro-Finnic Ostyak but speaking an entirely distinct and fundamentally unrelated language.

A further point of importance is the adequacy and correctness of the cross-referencing. Here again Prof. Leyburn seems, in the great majority of instances, to have been as accurate as one can be in such matters. A few slips, or what seem to the reviewer to have been such, may, however, be noted. The entry Aht (p. 6) should cross-reference to Nootka (p. 178). The two tribes, or rather groups of tribes, are identical but there is nothing in the handbook to show this. The same applies to Wiyot and Wishosk (p. 266). There is nothing to show that Minitaree (p. 160) refers to the same tribe as Hidatsa (p. 9). Again, the entries Mije and Mixes are somewhat misleading because they are given as located in slightly different parts of Mexico, whereas they are really the same people. Lapan is, of course, identical with Lipan (p. 134), though this is not clear from the entries. It is the reviewer's impression that the work would gain vastly in authoritativeness if it were tidied up on points of this sort.



Of downright errors, or disturbingly misleading statements, the reviewer has found remarkably few. A few comments may be ventured. Rikwa (p. 207) is not a tribe at all but merely a village of the Yurok. A complete enumeration of American Indian and other primitive villages would, of course, increase the scope of the work more than tenfold and there seems no adequate reason for this particular entry. Tusayan (p. 249), if the reviewer is [189] not mistaken, is not properly a synonym of Hopi, but an old name for the country that they inhabit. Quapaw (p. 204) is described as "a S W Siouan tribe, forming one of the two divisions of the Dhegiha group." This does not quite square with the entry Omaha. The entry Fulbe (p. 85), explained as "The Mandingo name for the Fulah," is not quite satisfactory, for this form of the name is, as a matter of fact, the proper plural form of the tribal name as used by the people themselves, the corresponding singular being Pulo (p. 202).

These random strictures merely prove that the Handbook can be improved. The important thing is that the Handbook, though improvable, is a welcome and indispensable aid to the ethnographer.

### Editorial Note

Originally published in *American Journal of Science*, 5th series, 23, 186-189 (1932).



## Review of W. Schmidt, *Upton Lectures in Religion*

*Upton Lectures in Religion, Manchester College, Oxford, 1932.* By W. Schmidt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933.

This little volume aims to give a survey of what Father Schmidt, following up his well-known hypothesis of the *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, considers to be the most archaic forms of religious belief, myth, and ceremonial among the tribes of certain selected areas in North America. These areas are North-central California, the Salish area of the interior of British Columbia, and the Algonkin area of the Eastern Woodlands and the Northern Plains. Some of the tribes selected for especial treatment, such as those of Northern California and the Interior Salish tribes, are indeed among the more primitive ones of the North American continent, but few American ethnologists will follow Father Schmidt in his estimate of the primitiveness of at least certain of the Algonkian peoples. This is particularly true of the Delaware Indians, concerning whom he quotes much from F. G. Speck's data.

In a preliminary chapter on "The History of Religion and the Comparative Method" the author gives a brief account of the "Kulturkreis" theory, or point of view, of the development of culture by large-scale diffusion of certain hypothetically reconstructed primitive cultures over the surface of the earth. This point of view is not so much demonstrated as urged and then taken for granted. "I omit," says Father Schmidt, "for it would require too much space to set it forth, the different ways in which the historical method is able to establish with objective and positive surety the succession of cultures in time, starting from the present day and going farther and farther back to the earliest ages of mankind."

Father Schmidt finds that the tribes considered by him to be representatives of the oldest and most primitive migrants into North America are essentially monotheistic in belief, that their High Gods are beneficent, omniscient and omnipresent, that these tribes recognize the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*, and that human beings approach [the gods]

with solemn prayer and with simple offerings of first fruits. The oldest religions of aboriginal America, in other words, are closer to what we might call "true religion" than are the degenerated animistic and fetishistic cults of less primitive tribes. Most American anthropologists will feel that Father Schmidt, in spite of his ethnological erudition and extensive historical analyses of culture traits, is open to the charge of selecting his data with something less than complete objectivity and that his desire to prove a primeval pre-animistic monotheism has too actively assisted him in his theoretical thinking.

### Editorial Note

Previously unpublished; from an undated typescript entitled "High Gods in North America," in possession of the Sapir family. Printed with permission of the Sapir family.

Section Three:  
Ethnography of North America





## Introduction

Edward Sapir's studies with native American peoples almost always produced ethnographic reports in addition to the grammars, dictionaries, and texts that were his primary interest.

Table 1 outlines Sapir's fieldwork and suggests the development of his own priorities, particularly for linguistic description and classification.

Table I:  
American Indian Fieldwork

Date	Language	Location; Informants
July, August 1905	Wishram Chinook	Yakima Reservation, Washington; Louis Simpson, Pete McGuff
Summer 1906	Takelma	Siletz Reservation, Oregon; Frances Johnson
1907-08	Chasta Costa	Siletz; Wolverton Orton
	Central and Southern Yana	California; Sam Batwi
	Northern Yana Kato	Betty Brown
February 1909	Catawba	(with Frank Speck)
August-Sept. 1909	Ute	Uintah Reservation, White Rocks, Utah; Charley Mack
1910	Southern Paiute	Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Tony Tillohash
	Hopi	Carlisle; Joshua
September-December 1910 and 1913-14	Nootka	Alberni, B.C.; Alex Thomas, Tom Sayachupla, Frank Williams, Dan Watts

Table I:  
American Indian Fieldwork

Date	Language	Location; Informants
1910	Comox	Alberni, B.C.; Tommy Bill
August 1911	Mohawk, Seneca	Grand River, near Brantford, Ontario; Chief John Gibson
	Mohawk	Caughnawaga, near Montreal
	Delaware	Caughnawaga, near Montreal
	Tutelo	Six Nations, Ontario; Andrew Sprague
	Abenaki	St. Thomas Pierreville
	Malecite	Rivière du Loup
	Micmac	Cacouna
	Montagnais, Cree (Rupert House)	Pointe Bleu, Lac St. Jean
April 1914	Chilcat Tlingit	Louis Shotridge
February 1915	Nass River	Ottawa; Chiefs Woods, Lincoln, Calder, and Derrick
Summer 1915	Yana (Yahi)	Berkeley, California; Ishi
April – May 1916	Kootenay	Ottawa; Chief Paul David
	Nass River, Thompson River, Lillooet, Shuswap, Okanagan	
March 1920	Skidegate Haida	Ottawa; Rev. Peter R. Kelly
April 1920	Tsimshian	Ottawa; two speakers
Summer 1922	Sarcee	Sarcee Reserve, near Calgary, Alberta; John Whitney
June – August 1923	Ingalik	Camp Red Cloud, Pennsylvania; Thomas B. Reid

Table I:  
American Indian Fieldwork

Date	Language	Location, Informants
	Kutchin	Camp Red Cloud; John Fredson
late 1926— early 1928	Navajo	Chicago; Paul Jones
Summer 1927	Hupa	Hupa reservation, California; Sam Brown, Emma Frank, Shoemaker, Jake Hostler
	Yurok	Hupa reservation; Mary Marshall (?)
	Chimariko	Hupa reservation; Abe Bush
Summer 1929	Navajo	Crystal City, New Mexico; Albert G. (Chic) Sandoval
1934	Nootka	Yale; Alex Thomas (with Morris Swadesh)
1934?	Wishram Chinook	Yale; Philip Kahclamat
1936	Navajo	Yale; Chic Sandoval

Before he embarked on his own fieldwork, the first native American language Sapir worked on was Kwakiutl, from his teacher Franz Boas's field materials. As a result Sapir published a text from George Hunt (1906, see Volume VI), and in 1912 he reviewed Boas's classic collection of Kwakiutl texts with a critical eye not only to the work at hand but also to the direction to be taken by the program of salvage linguistics in native North America (Sapir 1912d). For his major field study of the early Ottawa years Sapir chose the Nootka, who speak a language related to Kwakiutl, and he turned again to these two languages (which constitute the Wakashan linguistic stock) in his late paper on glottalized continuants (1938b).<sup>1</sup> The latter paper uses both American Indian and Indo-European examples to argue theoretically to a wide audience of linguists about the nature of sound change across languages.

The review (1912d) of Boas's Kwakiutl texts stated Sapir's *vered*, which did not change appreciably from 1912 throughout the years he

devoted himself to improving the quality of linguistic description, training students and providing exemplars in his own grammars and texts. In this early review, Sapir already set himself, rather than Boas, as the arbiter of Amerindian linguistics. He praised Columbia for establishing the precedent of funding the series in which Boas's volume appeared and eloquently defended Boas's method of collecting texts. The following passage is worth singling out for Sapir's articulation of his version of the Boasian paradigm (p. 194):

At the present day, when students of American languages content themselves on the whole with determination of their mere phonetic and morphological outlines, a short grammar and a limited number of illustrative texts seem sufficient. Yet there can be small doubt that the more intensive study of American languages, the details of phonetic variation, word-structure, and sentence-building will receive increased attention. The necessity of extensive linguistic materials in the form of native texts will then become apparent. A true psychology of language, as of every other form of human thought and endeavor, is possible only on the basis of a close study of its minutiae.

Importantly, however, Sapir did not restrict himself to commenting on the linguistic side of Boas's volume. He noted that ethnological data were scattered throughout the texts "in a specifically native setting" and that the preservation of native style was of "great psychological significance." Although Boas's texts were "inadequately annotated" (p. 197), they provided the "raw material" (p. 198) for generalization beyond language and culture to psychology. The precedent for defining anthropological problems as ultimately psychological was Boas's *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911).

In 1905 Sapir went to Oregon to work on Wishram and Wasco, members of the Chinookan language family which Boas had already studied. He promptly reported on the language and mythology (1907c). Sapir felt that he had "not as yet enough texts of myths to present a really complete description of the mythological concepts and elements," his caution setting a standard of ethnological reporting remarkable for the time. Sapir (1910g) summarized Wasco ethnography for the *Handbook of American Indians*, and his Wishram texts (1909d; Volume VII) appeared in 1909. Some of his grammatical material was incorporated by Boas in his own sketch of Chinook, fully credited to Sapir (1911g). Sapir (1926a) dealt with a Chinookan phonetic law. The ethnographic material, however, was held in abeyance until his return to academic life, where his teaching at Chicago, beginning in 1925, included ethnology. Leslie Spier, who had also done fieldwork on Wishram culture, finally wrote up the Wishram ethnography, incorporating both his and



Sapir's data, but with limited, if any, additional input from Sapir, it appeared as a joint publication (Sapir and Sapir 1930, Volume VIII).

Sapir's fieldwork with Takelma in 1906 provided material for his dissertation (*The Takelma Language of Southwestern Oregon*, 1912b) and resulted almost immediately in two ethnographic publications, a general sketch (1907b) and a paper on religious concepts (1907d). In the latter, he noted that shamanistic dances were virtually the only remaining ceremonial practices and suggested that the Takelma were really outside the core area of the shamanistic complex in North America, so that much of their own religious practice was "unintelligible" to them. His Takelma texts (1909c) appeared in 1909, followed by a brief ethnographic sketch (1910e) for the *Handbook of American Indians*; the grammar (1912h), written at the same time, appeared in 1912 as a separate from the second volume of the Boas-edited *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, and with the volume when it was finally published in full in 1922. Takelma was the only language for which Sapir achieved ideal results in terms of publication: texts, grammar, and ethnographic material were all worked up rapidly and published. Sapir's grammar did not appear in Volume One of the *Handbook* in 1911, as originally intended, however, because it included too much technical linguistic detail for Boas's editorial style. Thus, by the time he finished his doctorate, Sapir was already challenging Boas's notion of adequate linguistic description (Stocking 1974).

Sapir made good use of his time in the field in Oregon. He spent his Sundays working on Chasta Costa, an Athabaskan language of Oregon, and later wrote a short monograph on it (1914c, Volume XIII) with major implications for Athabaskan. There were, however, no ethnographic notes from this brief exposure.

In 1907–08 Sapir held a research fellowship at Berkeley under the direction of Alfred L. Kroeber, doing his fieldwork on Yana. Sapir was amassing more material than he could write up, and Yana became a millstone around his neck. After he left California he never found the time to complete his work on this language family, despite continuing pressure from Kroeber.

Although some of Sapir's Yana material remains in manuscript, particularly the Yahi data (some of which is to be included in Volume IX), he published a number of articles on this small Californian language group (two of which are included in this volume). His first effort was a descriptive note on luck-stones (1908a). A year later he presented a brief grammatical sketch (1909a), quickly followed by texts (1910b). By 1915

Sapir had become intrigued by the possibility of reducing the number of linguistic stocks in North America, a prelude to his six-unit classification, and he placed Yana firmly within Dixon and Kroeber's Hokan stock (Sapir 1917e). In 1918, reflecting a developing interest in kinship, he discussed Yana kin terms (1918j) (see the introduction to Section Two for additional discussion of Sapir's work on kinship). In the 1920s he published an element list for Northern Yana (1922d), an annotated set of texts (1923m) that included copious grammatical information but dealt with Yana dialectology only incidentally, and a classic sociolinguistic paper (1929d) on male and female varieties of speech in Yana.

In the summer of 1915 Sapir returned to California to work with Ishi, the last survivor of the Yahi or Southern Yana. Kroeber considered Sapir the only person able to deal with this remarkable opportunity and obtained funding for him to do so. Working with Ishi challenged Sapir's field methods because Ishi's English was extremely limited. Sapir explains in a footnote to his paper on the levirate (1916g) how he devised a system of counters to elicit kin relations from Ishi (p. 329): "The work was rendered possible by the use of counters, differing in appearance for males and females, arranged in the form of a genealogical tree: this device put the whole investigation on a directly visible footing." As always, Sapir used the native conceptual lexicon as an anchor, the necessary basis for adequate ethnography.

The Yana ethnography *per se*, however, remained unpublished until after Sapir's death, when it was reworked by Leslie Spier. Sapir had written and edited the first portion of the manuscript; Spier's footnotes clearly distinguish Sapir's and his own contributions. Spier was primarily a descriptive ethnographer and an important force in encouraging Sapir to deal with the non-linguistic results of his fieldwork. The two men were colleagues at both Chicago and Yale. Spier had deep respect for Sapir's abilities as an ethnographer: it was "eminently characteristic that he felt impelled to go beyond the immediate linguistic task to record what he could of their culture" (Sapir and Spier 1943, Volume IX).

After the 1907–08 fellowship year in California, Sapir went to the University of Pennsylvania, where he taught American Indian ethnology and linguistics and attempted to develop a field program with the Ute through the University Museum. He and his student John Alden Mason spent the summer of 1909 in Utah. The next year Sapir (1910c) described the "fundamental characteristics" of Ute. Sapir's manuscript proposal (University of Pennsylvania Museum archives) for a team research project on Shoshonean languages and cultures included an archaeolog-



ical survey and general ethnology as well as linguistics. The project was never carried out, however; Sapir's only publication on Ute after this time consisted of the Ute texts included in Part 2 of *The Southern Paiute Language* (1930e).

Nevertheless, Sapir pursued his interest in Shoshonean languages by working in Philadelphia with Tony Tillohash, a Southern Paiute speaker and student at the Carlisle Indian School, who was fluently bilingual. Endowed with excellent linguistic intuition, Tillohash was an ideal informant for Sapir; his understanding of his language was immortalized in Sapir's "The Psychological Reality of Phonemes" (1933c). (Sapir had first intended to work with Hopi, another Uto-Aztecan language, but the Hopi speaker Joshua, also of the Carlisle school, was a less satisfactory informant.) Sapir's Southern Paiute work has, of course, far eclipsed the Ute work it was intended to supplement. His analysis (1930d) is a linguistic classic and the model for a process-based grammar.

Sapir's first publications on Southern Paiute were ethnographic, reflecting the focus of his museum appointment at the University of Pennsylvania. He presented two brief myths (1910f), a paper on song recitative (1910d) — a pioneering work in ethnomusicology — and a description of a mourning ceremony (1912c). The University of Pennsylvania Museum was not entirely sympathetic to Sapir's linguistic aims, and years of difficulties over publication rights ensued, with the long-completed grammar, texts, and dictionary appearing together only in 1930 (1930d, 1930e, 1931k, Volume X). In the interim Sapir used the data he obtained from Tillohash to compare Southern Paiute and Nahuatl in a major article (published in two parts, 1913f, 1915i) which clearly stated the sound correspondences establishing the long-suggested but never previously demonstrated unity of the Uto-Aztecan stock.

In 1910 Sapir went to Ottawa where, as the first chief of the Canadian government's Anthropological Division, he was able to set his own priorities for fieldwork. He chose to initiate a fieldwork program with the Nootka of Vancouver Island, a group closely related linguistically to the Kwakiutl, who had been so well studied by Boas. This was Sapir's most extensive fieldwork, including two prolonged field seasons and resulting in several manuscript volumes of ethnographic notes (now in the library of the American Philosophical Society) in addition to linguistic materials. Although he had hoped to return repeatedly to complete a full description of Nootka language and culture, the financial constraints of the first World War interfered with this plan, and much of the material stayed in Ottawa when Sapir left in 1925. Sapir remained

sufficiently committed to this effort, however, to bring his informant Alex Thomas to Yale in the mid-1930s for further work on the language. A volume of Nootka texts, accompanied by a grammatical sketch, was completed in collaboration with Morris Swadesh during the last years of Sapir's life (Sapir and Swadesh 1939, Volume XI). After Sapir's death Swadesh alone prepared a second volume (Sapir and Swadesh 1955). Further texts will appear for the first time in Volume XII.

Sapir published several brief reports of his Nootka work, including an initial report on the language and culture (1911e), a description of a girls' puberty ceremony (1913b), a flood legend (1919e), a Nitinat text (1924g) with exhaustive grammatical notes, two soon-to-be classic sociolinguistic pieces (on abnormal speech types, 1915a, a paper which further develops his analysis of Southern Paiute song recitative, and on Nootka baby talk, 1929e), and "Sayach'apis," an experiment in ethnographic style or genre. The last was written for a volume of life histories edited by Elsie Clews Parsons and was also published in *Queen's Quarterly*, a Canadian journal (1921e, 1922y). Sapir's experiments with ethnographic genre occasionally extended to poetic forms (see Volume III, Introduction to Section Three): "The Blind Old Indian Tells His Names" attempts to convey the personal force of the Northwest Coast emphasis on rank and status. In his review (1922r) of the Parsons volume, Sapir suggested that his effort was unsuccessful — that he had not made the exotic seem both human and understandable. He held his own work to the standard he had elsewhere proposed for ethnography in general.

Among the ethnological topics that interested Sapir, the Nootka conception of social rank and privilege was perhaps the most enduring. He discussed this subject at some length in his paper (1915h) on West Coast<sup>2</sup> social organization, stressing the emphasis on rank, such that "the individual as such is of very much less importance than the tradition that for the time being he happens to represent." This interest persisted throughout his life. In 1924 he presented a paper (see 1924a) on the Nootka concept of privilege at the Toronto meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; unfortunately, no manuscript or abstract of this presentation has been found. When Sapir returned to academic life, his teaching on North American Indian cultures featured this topic prominently; his last reworking of his lectures on *The Psychology of Culture* — to be published for the first time in Volume III — included a section on Nootka "privilege" as the prime



example of a cultural pattern and of the ethnographic methods needed to discover it.

In his capacity of Chief Ethnologist for the Canadian government, Sapir was several times called upon to write semi-popular pieces on Canadian Indians. Most of these deal with the Northwest Coast, and, in practice, focus on the Nootka, whom he knew best (Sapir 1912a, 1914a, 1916c, 1922aa, 1925c). Of these works only the last deals with texts, albeit briefly; the lay audience was more responsive to ethnology than to linguistic description. His report on the Indians of the prairie provinces reflects a similar public commitment. Although none were central to Sapir's personal research program, these general articles are conscientious contributions to the limited ethnographic literature of the time and illustrate his ability to synthesize from inadequate data.

A sidelight of Sapir's Nootka fieldwork was his brief work on Comox, a Salish language, resulting in a description (1915f) of noun reduplication and a posthumous ethnographic publication (1939e) on a dance mask. Moreover, Sapir found it necessary to learn something about as many Canadian Indian languages as possible while directing research throughout the nation. For example, he did brief fieldwork with Frank Speck on eastern Algonquian and Iroquoian, which later enabled him to rework the phonological portions of Marius Barbeau's Iroquoian materials.

Another source of data for Sapir was the stream of Indians who visited Ottawa on government business. Indian Affairs Commissioner Duncan Campbell Scott arranged to send these visitors to Sapir and his staff as part-time informants. Nass River and other Tsimshian dialects were studied in this way, as were Kootenay and Haida. Sapir also worked briefly on Chilcat Tlingit with Louis Shotridge in Philadelphia. He always hoped to work more extensively on Haida but was never able to do so. He did produce a report on Haida phonetics (1923d) and discussed a Haida kinship term borrowed by the Tsimshian (1921c). The Haida interest was tied to his ongoing fascination with the Na-dene linguistic stock (to which Sapir assigned Haida, Tlingit, and Athabaskan), but it also reflected the Boasian interest in areal rather than genetic patterning of language and culture. The report on Nass River social organization (1915g) and presentation of kinship terms (1920e) are, in spite of Sapir's limited exposure to informants, important contributions in their own right.

Sapir's brief foray into Kootenay is interesting in that he ran afoul of Boas with his discussion (1918b, 1919c) of Kootenay kinship terms:

Boas published a rejoinder (1919), for he clearly felt that Sapir's trivial exposure to the language did not qualify him to revise his former teacher's work. Sapir, however, trusted his own contact with the Kootenay, limited though it was.

Sapir's interest in Athabaskan languages increased steadily over the years with his Na-dene hypothesis and his contention, never published except for a brief report of an interview with him by a *Science* reporter (1925o), that Na-dene might be related to Sino-Tibetan. He published a paper on an Apache basket jar (1910a), a brief note resulting from his museum responsibilities and not reflecting any serious acquaintance with the culture (or the language). The first Athabaskan language Sapir worked on was Chasta Costa, which he used to discuss the phonetics and morphology of the Athabaskan stock generally (1914c). Twice he reviewed the work of Father Morice on Carrier (1915c, 1935c). Sapir's comparative overview of Na-dene appeared in a preliminary report (1915d). He intended this report to demonstrate conclusively the unity of the stock, as he had done for Uto-Aztecan with his Southern Paiute and Nahuatl papers of 1913 and 1915. With these comparative works Sapir established himself as the foremost authority on the application of Indo-European philological methods to data from unwritten languages. His ground-breaking work in comparative Algonquian and Hokan dates from the same period (see Volume V). Sapir was staking a claim to the linguistics of all of North America and working toward his six-unit classification of Indian languages.

In the early 1920s, Sapir decided it was time to get more intensive first-hand data on Athabaskan languages, and in 1922 he began with a summer of fieldwork on Sarcee in Alberta. He published a brief note (1923c) on Sarcee pottery the next year, followed by a paper (1924d) on personal names which provided linguistic data for ethnological uses. (His Sarcee texts are to appear for the first time in Volume XIII.) The Sarcee ethnological work was subordinated, however, to Sapir's fascination with tone ("pitch accent") in Sarcee, a central element in his conception of the basic characteristics of Na-dene (see Volume VI). Sapir was convinced that tone was an archaic feature both in Athabaskan and in Na-dene, linking these languages ultimately with Sino-Tibetan. Later work on such languages as Ingalik and Hupa showed that tone was not universal in Athabaskan, but in spite of such contradictory data Sapir never substantially revised his hypotheses, at least in print.



In 1923 he went to Pennsylvania to work at a summer camp with speakers of Kutchin and Ingalik, both Athabaskan languages. He obtained only brief lexical notes on Ingalik, but filled several notebooks with Kutchin texts and grammatical data (previously unpublished; see Volume XIII). His only publication from this work was a brief discussion of Kutchin kinship terms (1936h) in a monograph by Cornelius Osgood.

After Sapir left Canada, his Athabaskan work focused on Navajo and California Athabaskan languages. Soon after his arrival at the University of Chicago in 1925, he began work with a Navajo speaker there, but did not study Navajo in the field until 1929. In the summer of 1927, he worked in the field with speakers of Hupa, a California Athabaskan language. (During that stay he also worked briefly on Yurok and Chimariko, while Fang-Kuei Li, his student, studied two other California Athabaskan languages, Mattole and Wailaki.) The California Athabaskan languages lacked the tonal systems Sapir expected to find, but they otherwise provided excellent data for comparative Athabaskan. He published a brief technical report on Hupa linguistics (1928i), a popular article on his and Li's research (1927b), and later a paper (1936e) on Hupa tattooing for a volume dedicated to Kroeber and focusing on California ethnology. Although Li published his Mattole data in 1930, Sapir's extensive Hupa material (including, as he wrote to Kroeber a few months before his death, "probably the best texts I ever collected") largely remains unpublished. Much of this material, together with the Yurok and Chimariko data collected on the same field trip, is to appear for the first time in Volume XIV.

Sapir spent the summer of 1929 in the field working on Navajo, and was preoccupied with that language during the remainder of his life. Increasingly, he now put off comparative problems, focusing on the adequate description of this single crucial language. Although the linguistic analyses were slow to appear, a number of brief ethnographic papers resulted in the next few years, including a description of the field project itself (1929c), a note on Navajo pottery (Sapir and Sandoval 1930), another (1935b) on a sand painting blanket (also in collaboration with his major informant, Albert G. "Chic" Sandoval), and a note on two Navajo puns (1932d). These short pieces suggest that Sapir felt ethnographic information was reportable even in the absence of a complete cultural description. In the case of the paper on Sarcee pottery, his correspondence with Father Berard Haile indicates that the paper was intended to respond to the interests of Alfred Kidder, the dean of Southwestern archaeologists, who was involved with Sapir with the

Southwest Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe. It is also notable that at this time, when Sapir was no longer responsible for the whole range of anthropological research in a museum context, he nevertheless wrote papers on material culture and culture history. Although his interests had evolved in new directions by this time, Sapir did not abandon the program he had articulated in *Time Perspective* years before. His *tour de force*, "Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho" (1936f, Vol. VI), demonstrated, as did *Time Perspective*, the possibility of reconstructing culture history based on linguistic data.

On the linguistic side, much of Sapir's Navajo work was done in collaboration with Father Berard Haile, his sometime student at Chicago, with whom he was working on a teaching grammar of Navajo at the time of his death. Portions of this work appeared later under Haile's name. This collaboration allowed Sapir an involvement with Navajo far more intense than his direct field experience would suggest. Haile was able to give Sapir feedback at his own level of linguistic analysis. Moreover, Haile shared Sapir's commitment to the compilation of extensive texts. (See Sapir's review of Haile's work, 1926f, and selections from his correspondence with Haile in Volume XV.)

Sapir did not live to write up his Navajo materials, although Chic Sandoval came to New Haven in 1936 to work with him, and Sapir was teaching Navajo in the fall of 1938 just before his death. Sapir's Navajo texts were edited, supplemented and published by his former student, Harry Hoijer (Sapir 1942).

## Notes

1. The 1938 paper also discusses Navajo, the language on which Sapir worked so intensively during the later part of his life.
2. Sapir used the term "West Coast" in this paper in preference to "Northwest Coast," following Canadian rather than American usage. The term "West Coast" is used on Vancouver Island to refer to the Nootka.



## Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon<sup>1</sup>

Few regions in this country are so slightly known, both ethnologically and linguistically, as the section of Washington and Oregon lying east of the strip of coast land, and in this large area the position occupied by the Takelma Indians, generally rather loosely referred to as Rogue or Upper Rogue River Indians, has hitherto remained quite undefined. The scattered and, I fear, all too scanty notes that were obtained in the summer of 1906, incidentally to working out the language of these practically extinct Indians under the direction of the Bureau of American Ethnology, are offered as a contribution toward defining this position. It may be stated at the outset that many things point to the Takelma as having really formed an integral part of the distinct Californian area, in late years made better known by the work of Drs Dixon, Goddard, and Kroeber.<sup>2</sup>

HABITAT — LINGUISTIC POSITION. — The determination of the exact location of the Takelma is a matter of some difficulty. In all probability the revised linguistic map recently issued in Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is incorrect in that it gives the stock too little space to the north and east. To the north the Takelma certainly occupied the northern bank of Rogue river

<sup>1</sup> Read before the American Anthropological Association, New York, December, 1906. Published by permission of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr A. B. Lewis: Tribes of the Columbia Valley and the Coast of Washington and Oregon, *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. 6, Pt. 2, pp. 175-178, for a summary of the little that is known of the general culture of southwestern Oregon (Athabaskan, Takelma, and Kusan tribes).

eastward of some point between Illinois river and Galice creek, while they also inhabited part of the country on the upper course of Cow creek, a tributary of the Umpqua. The middle valley, then, of Rogue river, the country on the southern bank perhaps as far west as Illinois river, its main tributary, the upper course of Cow creek, and the interior of Oregon southward nearly to the Californian boundary, was the home of the Takelma proper, or, as they called themselves, *Dā<sup>a</sup>gelmā<sup>e</sup>n*,<sup>1</sup> 'those living alongside the river,' i. e., Rogue river.

There was, moreover, still another tribe of the same linguistic stock that dwelt farther to the east, occupying the poorer land of the Upper Rogue, east, say, of Table Rock toward the Cascades and in the neighborhood of the present town of Jacksonville. These were known as *La' gā<sup>a</sup>wā<sup>e</sup>*, 'those living in the uplands,' but were also loosely referred to as *Wilx*, i. e., 'enemies,' a name specifically applied to the Shasta, with whom the Takelma were often in hostile relations. These eastern Takelma seem to have been on the whole less advanced than their down-river kinsmen. They are said to have been shorter in stature than these, to have used log rafts instead of canoes, and, because of greater economic distress, to have used for food crows, ants' eggs, and other such delicacies, much to the disgust of the Takelma proper, who however do not seem to have been particularly averse to the eating of lice and grasshoppers themselves. The Upland Takelma were much more warlike than their western neighbors, and were accustomed to make raids on the latter in order to procure supplies of food and other valuables. The slaves they captured they often sold to the Klamath of the Lakes, directly to the east. The few words obtained of their language show it to have

<sup>1</sup> The following orthographical signs employed in the writing of Takelma words may require explanation: *ä* is approximately midway between *a* and German *ä*; all other vowels have their continental values, *e* being always open (like *e* in English *met*) in quality, even when long in quantity; superior vowels (as in *ä<sup>a</sup>*, *i<sup>i</sup>*) denote parasitic repeated vowels, all stressed long vowels being pseudodiphthongal. '(in *k' t' p'*) denotes aspiration; '(in *k' t' p' ts'*) "fortis" articulation as in other Pacific Coast languages; *x* as in German *ach*; *s'* midway between *s* and *c* (i. e., *sh* in English *shall*); *ʔ* is glottal catch. Other consonantal signs are as in English, except that *g*, *d*, *b*, are rather weakly articulated surds than true sonants. Three accents to indicate pitch are used: *ˆ* denotes fall from high to low tone, *ˊ* denotes rise from normal to higher tone, *ˋ* is higher than normal but unital and with something of the effect of an interrogation in English.

been very nearly the same as that of the Takelma proper, but with distinct phonetic and lexicographic dialectic differences.<sup>1</sup> A few examples will serve to illustrate:—

UPPER DIALECT	TAKELMA PROPER
<i>l'wæks</i> , flea	<i>l'wæw</i>
<i>yegwēti</i> , they bite me	<i>yegwēvi</i>
<i>t'gaut'gan</i> , fly	<i>gaut</i>
<i>weypt'enda'</i> , as I was traveling about	<i>weypt'et'</i>
<i>k'ū'nāks't</i> , his relatives	<i>k'wēnāks'to</i>

NEIGHBORING TRIBES — PLACE NAMES. — The neighbors of the Takelma stock were largely Athabascan. Below them on the banks of Rogue river were the Chasta Costa;<sup>2</sup> Galice creek and Applegate creek (or 'Beaver river,' as it was termed by the Takelma), southern tributaries of Rogue river, were occupied by isolated Athabascan tribes speaking dialects distinct from those of other Oregonian Athabascans; north of the Takelma, on lower Cow creek, were the *A<sup>n</sup>kwa* or Umpqua, another Athabascan tribe, called *Yā'galā'* by the Takelma. To the south and east dwelt Shasta and Klamath tribes.<sup>3</sup> So circumscribed were their boundaries and so sedentary their general habits that the Takelma proper hardly ever heard of coast tribes such as the Coos or of the Kalapuya of the Willamette valley.

J. O. Dorsey<sup>4</sup> gives a list of seventeen Takelma place-names, the majority of which, as he himself points out, are Athabascan, strange

<sup>1</sup> I was told of two women residing in Grand Ronde Reservation who still speak this divergent dialect.

<sup>2</sup> In J. O. Dorsey's diagrammatic map (The Gentile System of the Siletz Tribes, *Journal of American Folk-lore*, 1899, III, no. 3, p. 228) the Chasta Costa village was made to extend far to the east on the north bank of the Rogue, all the Takelma villages being put south of the river. Explicit information, however, was obtained of Takelma villages on Jump Off Joe creek and Cow creek, both of which are tributaries of Rogue river, and the Chasta Costa Indians whom I came in contact with always spoke of the Takelma as having dwelt above them. I hardly believe that the Chasta Costa occupied the country farther east than Leaf creek, at the farthest.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Dixon informs me that he found that the Shasta claimed the country east of Table Rock and about Jacksonville, and that he was given Shasta place-names belonging to this region. It is possible then that the Upland Takelma did not really border directly on the Klamath, the Shasta intervening; or the country may have been at some period a debatable territory between the Upper Takelma and the Shasta.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 235.

to say, and not Takelma. I very much doubt, however, whether this fact has at all the significance that Dorsey ascribes to it; i. e., "that there was an invasion by the Athapascans, who established villages on all sides of them, and imposed Athapaskan names on the Takelma villages." In view of the fact that the place names procured by myself are without exception pure Takelma words, I strongly suspect that the present ascendancy of the Chasta Costa language in Siletz reservation made it natural for Dorsey's informant to clothe the names in Athabaskan form rather than to give the genuine native names. Of the few native Takelma names that he gives, I am able to translate only one: *Sāl-wā'-qā* (i. e., *Salwáxa*), which probably means 'at the foot of the creek,' and which must have been applied to a village at the mouth of Illinois river or one of its tributaries; it could hardly have been a "gentile" term, as implied by Dorsey. But one of the names — *Dalsalsàn* — that I obtained showed on examination to be clearly identical with one given by Dorsey. This name, given as the Takelma designation of Illinois river, is identical with Dorsey's *Tûl-sûl'-sûn*, a "village, which cannot be located."

The geographical names procured are subjoined below; it is unfortunate that the distance of the Rogue river country from the present home of its former occupants and the ignorance of the informant of all the corresponding current English place names made it impossible to identify the location of most of the villages. In regard to the character of the majority of the Takelma place names it is to be noted that they are significant, consisting generally of a phrase descriptive of some natural feature of the place. The first syllable is generally a local element, such as *ha-*, 'in' (perhaps also in Dorsey's no. 8, *Há-ckûc-tûn*, with Athabaskan suffix *tûn* 'in,' 'at'); *daĕ-*, 'on,' 'over'; *gwen-* 'in back,' 'east'; *dî-* 'above,' 'on top'; *gel-* 'abreast,' 'opposite'; *dal-* 'in brush, away from river' (also in Dorsey's no. 13, *Tal'-ma-mi'-tce*, and in *Tûl-sûl'-sûn*); *dā-* 'alongside' (perhaps also in Dorsey's no. 2, *Ta-lo'jûnnē'*), *sal-* 'at foot,' 'below' (e. g., in Dorsey's *Sāl-wā'-qā*). The second element of the word is often some noun or noun with following adjective indicative of a geographical feature, plant, animal, or the like. Many of the names also are char-



acterized by a final *-k'*, a suffix that cannot be identified with any other formative element in the language, but seems restricted in its use to the formation of place names. Nouns indicating 'person or people from so and so' are formed from place names by a suffix *-ā<sup>s</sup>* or *-ā<sup>s</sup>n*, the characteristic *-k'* being always dropped. Thus *Gwəp'ina<sup>s</sup>* is 'one who comes from *Gwəp'ink'*,' and *Dərgəwā<sup>s</sup>* means 'one who comes from *Dərgellā<sup>s</sup>*,' or Rogue river, i. e., Takelma Indian.'

East of the Takelma tribes were the following: (1) *Dak ts'ā<sup>s</sup>ma-lā<sup>s</sup>*, or *Dak ts'ā<sup>s</sup>wānā<sup>s</sup>*, the latter of which may be translated 'those above lakes (or deep bodies of water)' (*ts'ā<sup>s</sup>*, 'lake,' 'deep water'), the reference being clearly to the Klamath lakes in the high land above the easternmost Takelma; the people meant are the Klamath Indians. The easternmost village of the Takelma beyond Table Rock was (2) *Lat gā<sup>s</sup>*, or *Lat gā<sup>s</sup>k'*, 'upper country,' indicated by the *Lat gā<sup>s</sup>wā<sup>s</sup>*, already spoken of as possessed of a distinct dialect of the Takelma. Another name for the village of *Lat gā<sup>s</sup>k'* was *La<sup>s</sup>wayā<sup>s</sup>* 'knife in belly,' referring doubtless to the warlike character of the inhabitants. This warlike disposition of the uplanders is explained by the fact that at *Lat gā<sup>s</sup>k'* was waged the first war that was carried on at the instigation of Coyote by the former mythical people against unoffending Jackrabbit. On Rogue river and still east of Table Rock was (3) *Hat il*. From the manuscript Takelma notes of Mr H. H. St Clair, 2nd, is taken (4) *Dī'tanī*, 'Table Rock.' This is probably to be read *Dulanī* and may be translated 'rock above' (*dū<sup>s</sup>*, 'rock'). Dorsey gives "Deep Rock" as the easternmost point of the Takelma and adds that it "has not been found so far on any map." But "Deep Rock" may very well be an Indian pronunciation of the English "Table Rock" (it would, in the mouth of a Takelma, easily enough be transformed into *dā<sup>s</sup>*, the latter pronunciation being much more in accordance with native phonetics). Below Table Rock was (5) *Gəlpā<sup>s</sup>k'*, 'abreast of pines' (*pā<sup>s</sup>*, 'pine'). (6) *Dē'lōmī* was situated near falls of the river and was said to be an unusually large village. (7) *Gwəp'wā<sup>s</sup>*. (8) *Hayē<sup>s</sup>lā<sup>s</sup>lā<sup>s</sup>*, 'in its long (i. e., tall) pines' (*pā<sup>s</sup>*, 'pine', *lā<sup>s</sup>*, 'long'). (9) *Dak tē<sup>s</sup>mā<sup>s</sup>k'*, 'above which are elk' (*tē<sup>s</sup>*, 'elk'). (10) *Mā<sup>s</sup>lā<sup>s</sup>*, 'over the rocks,' on the site of the present town of Grant's Pass, the country

seat of Josephine county. (11) *Sbīnk'*, 'beaver place' (*sbīn*, 'beaver'), the present Applegate creek. (12) *Dī<sup>h</sup>p'oltst'ilda*, 'on its red banks,' was the name of the present Jump Off Joe creek, an eastern tributary of Rogue river. A Takelma village in the neighborhood of this creek, and thus on the north side of Rogue river, was (13) *Dak'ts!-asīn*, the native village of my informant, Mrs Frances Johnson. Persons from this locality were termed *Daldaniyá<sup>s</sup>*, implying as another name for the village *Daldanī*, 'rock (is) away from stream.' The reference here is, in all probability, to a well-known *dan mōlōgōl* or 'Rock Old Woman,' a potent supernatural being associated with a round flat-topped rock in the mountains near the village and possessed of great "medicine." (14) *Gwendāt*, 'eastwards' (?), not inhabited by Takelma Indians. (15) *Hagwāl*, the present Cow creek. (16) *Yūk'yák'wa* was on Leaf creek, and was known to the Rogue River tribes as the site of a salt lick or marsh. It was an especially favored spot for the hunting of deer. (17) *Sōmō<sup>u</sup>lūk<sup>s</sup>* (evidently containing the word *sōm*, 'mountain'). (18) *Hat!ōnk'*. (19) *Dalsalsàn*, Illinois river. (20) *Dā<sup>a</sup>gelàm*, 'along the river' (*gelàm*, 'river'), i. e., Rogue river. (21) *Lámhūk'*, now Klamath river. (22) *Hat'gw'ā<sup>u</sup>xi<sup>s</sup>*, a place name in the country of the Umpquas.

The hostile attitude which the Takelman tribes adopted on the settlement of the country by the whites was probably the chief cause of their rapid decrease in numbers, and by 1884, at which time they had already been transferred to the Siletz reservation in north-western Oregon, they counted no more than twenty-seven.<sup>1</sup> At the time of writing they have entirely disappeared as a unity and are represented by a very few survivors whose chief means of communication is either the Chinook jargon, broken English, or some Athabascan dialect. The Takelma language itself is spoken with freedom by only three or four of the older women now living in Siletz. From the most intelligent of these all of my information was obtained. Besides these there are two other women residing at the Grand Ronde reservation who are reported to speak the upland dialect already referred to. We have in the history of the

<sup>1</sup> See Powell, Indian Linguistic Families, *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 121.

Takelma, speaking dialects of a distinct linguistic stock, an excellent example of the appalling rapidity with which many still very imperfectly known tribes of North America are disappearing and of the urgent need of ethnologic and linguistic study of these remnants before they are irrevocably lost.

LANGUAGE.—I shall not here attempt to discuss the language itself, as that will elsewhere be made the subject of a special study. Suffice it to say that its characteristics are such as to mark it off most decidedly from those of the neighboring stocks. Perhaps its most striking features are syllabic pitch-accent and nominal as well as pronominal incorporation of the object and instrument, though it must be admitted that the noun object is not at first sight as evidently incorporated as in the Iroquois. In its general phonetic make-up it offers a great contrast to the harsh system of the neighboring Athabaskan and Coos tribes, and reminds one much more strongly of the comparatively harmonious phonetics of northern California. One in itself perhaps not very important linguistic item is of considerable interest as shedding light on the general affiliations of the Takelma. In their noteworthy study on the Native Languages of California Drs Dixon and Kroeber have called attention to the recurrence of a similar word for 'dog' in about ten Californian linguistic stocks, otherwise quite unrelated. The Takelma word for 'dog' (*ts'hai*) is closely related to this group; compare, for instance, Yurok *tau*, Chimariko *sitcela*, and Nahuatl *chichi*. The resemblance becomes greater if we suppose, as seems very probable, that *ts'hai* goes back to an earlier *\*ts'hič* (the sound *č*, curiously enough, does not occur in Takelma but seems always to have developed into *x*; cf. above *yegwē.č*, 'they bite me,' but upper dialect *yegwē.č*, probably a more archaic form). This fact of lexical similarity receives some weight from a consideration of the general north-Californian character of Takelma ethnology.

FOOD—FISHING—HUNTING.—The staple food of the Takelma is probably to be considered the acorn (*yam*), of which there were recognized several varieties, the 'black acorn' (*yam pakač*) being considered the chief. The first acorns appeared in the early spring, at which time they were gathered and prepared by the women, who

<sup>1</sup> *American Anthropologist*, N. S., 1903, V, p. 13, note 1

however, were not permitted to partake of them until the men had performed a formulaic ceremony and themselves eaten; only then, and after the vessels had been washed anew, could the women also take part in the first eating. The method of preparation was essentially the same as that employed by the Hupa and the Maidu. A hole about an inch in depth was cut into the ground so as to hold firmly the *p'el's*, a flat rock on which the acorns were pounded. After these were shelled they were mashed fine by means of the *s'elēk'w*, a stone implement, used for the purpose, of two to three feet in length, or else by the shorter *t'elma*, of about a foot and a half in length. The acorns were prevented from spilling off the flat rock by a funnel-shaped basket, or hopper, wider at the top and entirely open at the bottom, known as a *bō'n*. In the *degàs*, a shallow circular basket-pan, the meal was sifted and was then placed on carefully washed sand, seething water being applied to extract the elements which impart the bitter taste to the acorn. The acorn dough (*xnīk'*) thus obtained was boiled in a basket-bucket (*k'el mehel'i*) constructed of hazel shoots and split roots, the usual Pacific coast method of applying hot stones into the basket being employed. The final result was a sort of mush that here, as farther south in California, formed the most typical article of food.

A second important vegetable food was the camass root (*dāp'*). The root was dug by means of the *t'gapxī'ūf*, or 'horned *xīū*-stick,' it being the sharp-pointed, peeled-off stick of a hard-wood bush known as *xīū* and neatly fitting at the upper end into a deer's horn to serve as the handle. The roots were prepared for use as follows: A pit was dug into the earth and filled with alder bushes which, when fired, served to heat the stones above. On top of these hot stones were placed the roots themselves, a layer of alder bark intervening between the two. The whole was covered with earth and left to roast. The succeeding day, if the roots were not yet well cooked, a fire was again built, and so on until the roots were thoroughly roasted, in which condition they were called *hīx*. They were often mashed into a dough, and, made into the form of a big pan (*xlēp'x*), kept for winter use. Strings of camass roots (*bēlp'*) were often made by the children and used as playthings.

A favorite food was the manzanita berry (*lōxōm*). These were



pounded into a flour (*p'abw'p*), mixed with sugar-pine nuts (*t'gdl*), and put away for future use; they were consumed with water.<sup>1</sup> A peculiar implement used for the eating of manamta was the lamby-tail of a squirrel tied with sinew for the space of about a finger's length to a stick about six inches long. A number of varieties of seeds were in considerable use as food. Among these was the *lámx*, the seed apparently of a species of sunflower. When the plants were dry the seeds were beaten out by a stick used for the purpose (*mol'ôp*) into a funnel-shaped deer-skin pouch (*ô'ir*) with the mouth wider than the bottom. When the *lámx* was young and tender, the stalk also was eaten. In a similar way were collected the seeds of the yellow-flowered "tar-weed" (*k'ôx*), the stalks of which plant were first burnt down to remove the pitchy substance they contained. These seeds were parched and ground before consumption. Neither with these nor with *lámx* seed was water used. Other roots and seeds and vegetable foods, such as the madroña and pine nuts (*t'belê's*), were also used.

The only plant cultivated before the coming of the whites was tobacco (*ô'w'p*) which was planted by the men on land from which the brush had been burnt away. Smoking was indulged in to a considerable extent and had a semi-religious character, the whiff of smoke being in a way symbolic of good fortune and long life. The pipes were made of either wood or stone and were always straight throughout, some reaching a length of nearly a foot. The custom prevailed, of course, of passing one pipe around to all the members of an assembled group.

Of animal foods the most important, naturally, were the various species of river fish, such as trout (*yû'xgan*), salmon-trout (*t'c'k'ôk*), steel-head salmon (*yôls*), silver-side salmon (*âlk'*), Chinook salmon (*domxân*), and others; also crawfish (*hîhîy*) and freshwater muskela (*t'âk'*) were used as food. Fishing was done partly with lines made of a kind of grass (*k'êda*), the fibers being rolled together by hand, while the hook was obtained by tying two pieces of bone with sinew — in which case mudcat and crawfish served as bait; partly, also, fish were caught in long nets (*kau*) and cluded when hauled into

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa, Comanche & Shoshone People of the American Archaeology and Ethnology*, pp. 21-30.

the canoe; finally fish were obtained by spearing with the *māl*, a salmon spear consisting of a pole provided at the end with a sharp-pointed piece of bone fitted into two other pieces of the same material. After the skin of the salmon was removed, the head and tail were cut off, the guts taken out, and the body split through at the backbone. The several pieces, together with the liver, were then roasted on spits (*k'āma*) consisting merely of split hazel branches stuck into the ground. Baskets of roasted salmon were packed for winter use.

Deer were often hunted by groups of men with the help of dogs. A deer fence was constructed with a small gate opening, above which was strung a bunch of shoulder-blades. To these bones was attached a rope, at the other end of which, away from the wind, a few men watched for the coming of the deer. These had been driven ever since before daybreak in the direction of the deer fence by the dogs, and by men shouting "Wâ wâ wâ!" After a certain number of deer had been thus forced into the enclosure, the shoulder-blades were violently rattled by the men in wait, which so frightened the animals that they ran into the finely spun semicircular traps of *k'ēda* grass set for them. Entangled in these, they were easily clubbed to death. Such deer fences were usually built in the neighborhood of creeks or salt licks, and sometimes as many as one hundred and fifty of these rope-traps (*ts'ūk'*) were set. Not infrequently mountain forests were set afire to facilitate the driving of the deer. A choice portion of the deer-meat was considered the fat (*yāmx*), which was often eaten raw and played with by the children. Similarly to the method adopted for storing away cooked camass, hard dough-like cakes of fat (*yāmx xlē<sup>ss</sup>pxdā<sup>a</sup>*) were put away for use in the winter.

Outside of such larger game as elk and deer the Indians were fond of grasshoppers, generally picked from a burnt-down field and cooked for food, and of the white larvæ of the yellowjacket (*dēl*), the yellowjackets themselves being smoked out of their holes. Salt, obtained from a salt marsh at Leaf creek (*Yūk' yāk'wa*), was used in the boiling of meat and cooking of salmon, but dried salmon was never salted.

IMPLEMENTS AND UTENSILS — GAMES. — Several of the implements and utensils employed have already been referred to and have

been seen to consist largely of baskets. Still other basketry forms were the *pe'tet*, a large open-work burden-basket constructed of hazel or willow; the *pe'tet'*, a small basket-plate to eat out of; the *ke'tel*, a round open basket-like basket; the *ke'tet'*, a large storage basket; the *ke'tanaktas*, used for drinking purposes and of the size of a cup; the *sak'*, a big basket made of rushes; and the basket-cradle. The ordinary twined basket was built up on a bottom (*delgan*) of four short hazel twigs perpendicular to four corresponding, and the twining was done with some root or grass on a warp generally of hazel or willow. The only dyes used in the designs were black and red, the former obtained by keeping the woof strands in black clay, and the latter by dyeing in alder bark. Designs in white were brought out by means of twining with a straw-like grass known as *gi'tet'*. Spoons (*ti'ak'*) were made of both wood and elk-horn; the *s'imxi*, or small paddle, as it were, was a wooden stirrer used to prevent the over-cooking of the food.

For the purpose of flaking flints into arrowheads was used the *wits'amak'w*, a stick of about a foot in length and tipped with bone. The same instrument was employed also as the twirler in the fire-drill. The bottom board or hearth of the drill apparatus was about two feet long and had drilled into it a hole which was filled with finely shredded cedar bast (*se'win*) for tinder. Both the hearth and the twirler were carried about, together with tinder and arrows, in a quiver of sewed fawn or wildcat skins. Arrowshafts were polished with a rough-surfaced plant (*eg'ee'lama*) that served as file, and probably identifiable with the "scouring rush." Needles (*pe'ten*) were made of hard wood or bone sharpened to a point and provided with an eye, through which twisted sinew (*ke'ta'ts*) was passed as thread.

Under the head of implements may also be mentioned the shinny-stick (*ti'clà*) and shinny-ball (*ti'be'tet'*). The women's substitute for the game of shinny was played, generally three on a side, with an object consisting of two little pieces of wood of about four inches in length, tied together at a distance of six inches apart with a strip of buckskin. This *xi't'k'wi*, as it was called, corresponded to the ball in the men's shinny game and was tossed about by a long pole, the *xi't'k'wi bent a* (i. e., *xi't'k'wi* its stick). The goals (or)

were merely branches stuck into the ground on each side. Serious quarrels seem to have sometimes ensued from both parties claiming the victory; Mrs Johnson told of a case within her remembrance in which one of the players, a medicine-woman, claimed the victory for her side despite the protests of one of her opponents, and, angered at the obstinacy of the latter, "shot" her with her supernatural power, whereupon the death of the poor woman actually followed some time thereafter.

HABITATIONS. — The typical Takelma house of split sugar-pine boards was not square, but longer than wide, the floor, which was nothing more than the earth stamped smooth, being from a foot and a half to two feet below the surface of the ground. At the four corners of the rectangular depression were set upright posts, to which, on top, were lashed with hazel fiber four connecting cross-beams. The house wall (*wili s'idibi'*) was a neatly fitting series of boards, placed vertically, reaching from the top cross-beams to the floor. Above the top framework was raised a ridge-pole supported (though this point remains somewhat obscure) on two uprights forked at the upper extremity. The *wili' he'làm*, or "house boards," were then filled in from the top beam to the sides of the house. The door was not round, as was often the case farther to the north, but rectangular, and composed of two or three pieces of lumber put together. As the doorway was raised about three feet from the earth's surface, it was necessary to build up against the "house wall" an approach of earth to admit of entrance. Having crawled into the doorway, into which the door fitted by some sort of slide device, one reached the floor of the house by descending the ladder (*gúk'an*), consisting of a pole provided with notches for steps and extending from the doorway to the fireplace. This was in the center of the room, and the smoke-hole, which was here not identical, as in certain California underground sweat-houses, with the door, was provided for by an opening in the roof at a distance of from six to seven feet from the floor. The beds consisted simply of mats of cat-tail rushes spread out on the ground about the fireplace, though it would seem that unmarried girls slept on raised wooden boards or platforms. Such was the winter house. In summer the Indians dwelt in a brush shelter (*gráís wili*) built about a central fire. The poorer people,



it should also be noted, had to content themselves with a house constructed of pine bark instead of lumber.<sup>1</sup>

The sweat-house of the Takelma was also a quadrangular only partly underground structure and covered over with earth. In one side was the door, while in another was an aperture to allow of the admittance of hot stones that had been heated on a brush fire outside the sweat-house. This fire-hole and the door were often kept closed so as to hold in the steam produced by pouring water on the hot stones. There was generally room enough in one of these sweat-houses for six men, who often spent the whole night therein and then plunged into the cold river water in the morning. Since women were not permitted to enter the sweat-house, they were wont to sweat themselves in a small temporary stick structure covered over with blankets, the hot stones being steamed inside. It was not high enough to allow one to stand in it, and afforded room for only two or three women. After it had served its purpose it was taken to pieces and the blankets carried into the house. There was generally but one sweat-house to a village and this was owned by one of the wealthier men or so-called chiefs, who could not easily refuse admittance to any adult. The fire was built by his servants, not at all necessarily slaves, but poor people who worked for him, dug camass for him in the proper season, and so on, and who were supported by him.

CLOTHING — PERSONAL ADORNMENT — SHELLS. — In dress the Takelma were probably almost identical with their neighbor the Shasta. The men wore shirts (*haln'wəxap'* or *haln'wək'wək'*), deer-skins as blankets (*läps*), blankets of fawn skins being used for children, and buckskin leggings or trousers (*igō'wə*) and moccasins (*bēls*), also belts (*xā'lē'sap'*) worn over the leggings and tied in front, and sometimes made of elk-skin. The women, at least among the wealthier class, wore buckskin shirts (*dūk*) reaching to the knees, fringed with tassels made of a white grass. The hats of the men (*sgē'xap'*) were made of bear or deer hide, the ears being often left on. The hats of the women, however, were

<sup>1</sup>In one of the myths Coyote and Panther live as neighbors, the house of the latter being of lumber while that of Coyote is made of bark. Coyote desires to induce two girls, who have come to marry Panther, into the belief that he is himself the one sought, and accordingly "wishes" the bark to become lumber.

round basket-hats (*yūp'*) twined of a white grass. My informant claimed that the Takelma did not themselves make these hats but got them from the Shasta by the purchase of wives. For purposes of ornamentation red-headed woodpecker's scalps were sewed on with sinew to strips of buckskin about four inches wide. These, known as *ts'ūn's*, were worn about the head across the forehead and tied in back of the head, with strips hanging down behind. Another favorite ornament was the skin of an otter cut into strips. Depending from holes in these were often attached strings of dentalium shells. The strips were attached by women to the middle of the hair and allowed to hang down loose, the hair being parted straight in the middle and made to hang in two bunches. The ordinary method pursued by women in arranging the hair was to tie the two bunches to the sides of the head, but never to braid them. Medicine-men also thus folded and tied their hair in two parts, otter-skins and feathers hanging down as ornaments. These latter were chiefly the tail feathers of the eagle, red-headed woodpecker (*bák' bā'*), and yellow-hammer (*!é'k'w*), and were never used except in the medicine-dance; by ordinary people (*yap'la gamáxdí*, 'raw, uncooked people') they were not used at all except in the war-dance. Still another ornamental device was the working of porcupine quills into buckskin as tassels (*k'abàs*).

As regards mutilations designed for personal adornment, strings of shells were worn through holes in the ears and nose, but lip ornaments were never used. Three paints were employed for facial decoration — black (*sí'el*), red (*mí'ax*), and white paint (*mānx*). The last of these was reserved for use in war, while red was the everyday color used by men and women alike. Perhaps the most striking ornamental device used by the Takelma was tattooing with needle and charcoal. Boys did not tattoo, but for girls it was considered proper to have three downward stripes tattooed on the chin — one in the middle and one on each side — as well as to tattoo the arms; in fact, girls who were not tattooed were apt to be derided as "boys." The tattooing of the men was rarely facial, but was generally confined to a series of marks on the left arm, reaching from the elbow to the shoulder. These were used, in a manner that reminds one of the Hupa custom,<sup>1</sup> to measure strings of dentalium

<sup>1</sup> See Goddard, op. cit., pp. 48-50.

shells from the tip of the left hand. Each string had *ten* shells of exactly the same length, the strings of greater value having larger shells and thus reaching up to a higher tattoo mark. A string reaching clear up to the shoulder was accounted of the value of one hundred dollars,<sup>1</sup> while one that reached midway between the elbow and the shoulder had a value of half that sum. It is interesting to note, in regard to the dentalium shells themselves, that they came by trade from the north, from a land, as the Indians believed, where dwelt sharp-mouthed people that sucked out the meat, and then cooked and ate it. Other shells besides dentalia were of course used for ornamental and semi-monetary purposes, such as the *gòs*, a large highly valued rainbow-colored shell, and the *ó'ó'*, small black shells of bean-like shape employed in the ornamentation of women's shirts. A species of "Indian money" (*ts'u/x*) was the *ts'it gaw/x* string, generally measuring from arm to arm and composed of round flat bone-like disks; these were often put about the necks and arms of the dead to be buried with them.

NUMERAL SYSTEM.—In connection with the shell money of the Indians may be given the Takelma numeral system. On the surface it seems to be, and to all intents and purposes is, a decimal system, but on analysis of the words themselves betrays a simpler basis. The numerals themselves are as follows:

1. m <sup>u</sup> sga <sup>u</sup> .	30. xín'ixdíl
2. ga'p'lini or ga <sup>u</sup> m.	40. gamgámúmadíl
3. xí biní.	50. dēhaldanixdíl.
4. gamgám.	60. ha <sup>u</sup> mits'adanixdíl.
5. dē hal.	70. ha <sup>u</sup> gā <sup>u</sup> madanixdíl.
6. ha <sup>u</sup> mī <sup>s</sup> .	80. ha <sup>u</sup> xindanixdíl.
7. ha <sup>u</sup> gā <sup>u</sup> m.	90. ha <sup>u</sup> gā <sup>u</sup> gādanixdíl.
8. ha <sup>u</sup> xín.	100. t'etm'is
9. ha <sup>u</sup> gō.	200. gā <sup>u</sup> mún't'etm'is.
10. íxdíl.	300. xín't'etm'is
11. íxdíl m <sup>u</sup> sga <sup>u</sup> gadák.	400. gamgámú (t'etm'is)
12. íxdíl gā <sup>u</sup> m gadák.	500. dēhaldan't'etm'is.
20. yap'a mī <sup>s</sup> .	1000. íxdídan't'etm'is.
	2000. yap'amits'adan't'etm'is.

<sup>1</sup>These are the values given by Mrs. Johnson, but they may be very roughly correct, and considerably in excess of the actual absolute values.

Four is evidently nothing but 'two two'; five can be plausibly analyzed as 'being in front'; six, seven, eight, and nine are respectively equivalent to 'one finger in,' 'two fingers in,' 'three fingers in,' and 'four fingers in' (provided *-g* represents an alternative, possibly older term for 'four'); ten is 'two hands' (cf. *ūx-dèk*, 'my hand,' and *-dìl*, comitative suffix, 'two together'); the numbers between the tens are the phrases 'ten one on top of' (= ten above one), 'ten two on top of,' and so on; twenty is quite transparently 'one person' (*yáp!a*, 'person' + *-mìs*, stem element for 'one'), i. e., 'two hands and two feet'; the higher tens are 'three times ten,' 'four times ten,' and so on; the first element of *t!ei-mìs*, 'hundred,' is obscure, unless it is to be identified with *t!i*, 'male,' in which case 'one male person' as equivalent to 'hundred' would in all probability have reference to the highest tattoo mark worn by men on the left arm, for a string of ten dentalia reaching up to it was worth a hundred single dentalium shells contained in a string of lowest value. The spirit of the Takelma numeral system is thus

Position :	{	Little finger of left under little finger of right	Ring finger of left under ring finger of right	Middle finger of left under middle finger of right	Index of left under index of right.
		Evidently compound of <i>mìs</i> , '1' and <i>-ga</i> '2'	<i>gāsm</i> , '2' + <i>-binì</i> '3'	<i>xi-</i> '3' + <i>-binì</i> '4'	'Two two' = $2 \times 2$ , or 2 indices + 2 thumbs vis-à-vis.
Value :		1	2	3	4
Position :	{	Thumb of right resting on thumb of left	Index of right held in left	Middle of right in left	Ring of right in left
		Thumb of right 'being in front' of left hand.	'One finger in'	'2 fingers in'	'3 fingers in'
Value :		5	6	7	8
Position :	{	Two hands free	Two hands and two feet	Extended left arm?	
		'Pair of hands'	'One person'	'One male'?	
Value :		10	20	100	



clearly decimal, with a slight admixture of the vigesimal. The analysis just given shows, however, that but the first three numerals and perhaps the fifth are etymologically distinct, the others being secondarily derived from other numerals or else being descriptions of finger positions. We have then here a fairly transparent case of the adaptation of an older quinary or even tertiary system to a more advanced decimal type. In counting by means of the fingers the order followed was from the little finger of the left hand to the corresponding finger of the right. The positions of the fingers, together with the corresponding numeral etymologies and values, may be conceived of in the manner as shown on the preceding page.

It should be said that the positions as here given were not directly obtained but have been constructed from the etymologies and the order of fingering employed in counting. The etymology of 10 as '2 hands,' though quite transparent, was not convincing to Mrs Johnson; 4 as 'two two' impressed her more favorably when it was suggested; 20 as 'one person = hands and feet' she volunteered.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. — The social organization of the Takelma was almost the simplest conceivable. Each village (*uult' gwaak*, 'houses many'), and the villages were generally very insignificant, was entirely independent or practically so. Anyone who was comparatively wealthy could be called a "chief" (*di'amak'*); there does not seem to have been a recognized head chief, though in time of war some one man probably was so considered. Not to speak of a totemic clan organization, which is conspicuously absent in this Oregonian area, we do not here find even the belief in individual protectors or guardian spirits gained by fasting and dreaming during the performance of the puberty rites, that plays so important a part among the Chinookan tribes of the Columbia; among the Takelma only the medicine-man possessed the power to gain such guardians. It seems then that the local village community is the only purely sociological grouping to be recognized among these Indians, excluding the nearly self-evident ones of rich and poor, freemen and slaves (obtained by capture or barter), and the family. It was not permitted to marry within the family, this rule operating so far as to prevent marriage between cousins, and it was forbidden for a man

to marry the sister of his brother's wife. If a man died, his brother was compelled to marry the widow, no matter how many wives he already had (some men had as many as five). There was no well-defined rule against marriage within the village, but as it must very often have happened that practically all the residents of a village were related, it was customary to look beyond the village for a mate, and in many cases even to marry into some neighboring tribe of alien speech, like the Shasta or the Galice Creek Athabascans.

ENGLISH EQUIVALENT	STEM	1ST PERSON	3D PERSON	ADDRESS
1 father	<i>ham-</i>	<i>wihām</i>	<i>máxa</i>	<i>hamē</i>
2 mother	<i>ma-</i>	<i>wihín</i>	<i>níxa</i>	<i>hindē</i>
3 son	<i>ni-</i>			
4 daughter	<i>k'aba-</i>	<i>wik'abaí</i>	<i>k'abáxa</i>	<i>hamē</i> <i>s'nā</i>
5 { elder brother father's elder brother's son mother's elder sister's son	<i>beyan-</i>	<i>wibeyán</i>	<i>beyán</i>	<i>hindē</i> <i>s'nā</i>
6 { younger brother father's younger brother's son mother's younger sister's son	<i>ōb-</i>	<i>wiē ō bī'i</i>	<i>ō'pxa</i>	<i>ōbā</i> <i>ōbiyā'a</i>
7 { elder sister father's elder brother's daughter mother's elder sister's daughter	<i>wā-</i>	<i>wiē wā</i>	<i>wāxa</i>	<i>wā</i>
8 { younger sister father's younger brother's daughter mother's younger sister's daughter	<i>t' - + ōb-</i>	<i>wit'ōbī'i</i>	<i>t'ō'pxa</i>	<i>t'ōbā</i>
9 { father's parents father's father's brothers father's mother's sister son's child	<i>t'a - + wā-</i>	<i>wit'awā</i>	<i>t'awāxa</i>	<i>t'awā</i>
10 { mother's parents mother's father's brothers mother's mother's sisters daughter's child	<i>gamd-</i>	<i>wigamdī</i>	<i>gamdīxa</i>	<i>gamdā</i>
11 { father's brother father's sister's son	<i>k!as-</i>	<i>wik!ási</i>	<i>k!áxa</i>	<i>k!asā</i>
12 mother's brother	<i>xdā-</i>	<i>wixdaí</i>	<i>xdā'xa</i>	<i>xdā</i>
13 father's sister	<i>has-</i>	<i>wihasi</i>	<i>háxa</i>	<i>hasā</i>
14 { mother's sister mother's brother's daughter	<i>t'ad-</i>	<i>wit'adí</i>	<i>t'áda</i>	<i>t'adā</i>
15 { woman's sister's child man's brother's child	<i>xaga-</i>	<i>wixagai</i>	<i>xagáxa</i>	<i>xagā</i>
16 { woman's brother's child man's sister's child	<i>siw-</i>	<i>wisiwi</i>	<i>siwíxa</i>	<i>siwā</i>
17 { mother's brother's son ? father's sister's daughter	<i>ts!a-</i>	<i>wits!aí</i>	<i>ts!áxa</i>	<i>ts!ā</i>
	<i>wak'd-</i>	<i>wiwak'dí</i>	<i>wak'díxa</i>	<i>wak'dā</i>

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ENGLISH EQUIVALENT		STEM	1st Person	2d Person	Vocative
18	wife's parents	<i>ti-ma-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ma-</i>	<i>ti-ma-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ma-ta-</i>
19	husband's parents	<i>ti-ti-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>
20	son-in-law	<i>ma-ti-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-</i>	<i>ma-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ma-ti-ta-</i>
21	daughter in law	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
22	son's wife's parents	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
23	daughter's husband's parents	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
24	woman's brother's wife	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
25	woman's sister's husband	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
26	woman's husband's brother	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
27	woman's husband's sister	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
28	man's brother's wife	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
29	man's wife's sister	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
30	man's sister's husband	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
31	man's wife's brother	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
32	dead wife's { sister }	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
33	dead husband's { brother }	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
34	brother's widow }	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
35	sister's widower }	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
36	husband	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
37	wife	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
38	relations	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>
39	friend	<i>ti-ti-ta-</i>	<i>mit/lay-ti-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>	<i>ti-ti-ta-ta-</i>

The degrees of family relationship recognized by the Taelima are brought out in the preceding table, which gives the word-stem, the forms for the first and second persons of the possessor, and the vocative form of the native terms.

Little need be added in explanation of this table. Probably several other degrees of relationship not obtained were recognized. The exact definition of two or three of the native terms is not quite certain, particularly numbers 15 and 16, which, though much less probably, may correspond respectively to 'man's nephew or niece' and 'woman's nephew or niece.' The bracketed terms are such as do not follow the peculiar possessive pronominal scheme of numbers of relationship (1st per. *ti-*, 2d per. *-ti-*, and 3d per. *-ta-*, except in number 4). It is interesting that 'wife,' 'husband,' and 'son-in-law' are such exceptional cases, while 'friend' is provided with the characteristic kinship affixes. If one cared to lose himself in speculative theorizing on the subject, he might be tempted to explain the peculiar position occupied by the term for 'son-in-law' as a survival of a time when wives were obtained by capture and the son-in-law, so far from being regarded as an integral member of the

family, was considered rather an unwelcome intruder (!). A reciprocal relation is expressed in the vocative form of numbers 1 and 3 and 2 and 4 respectively, also in the terms mutually applied to the first and third generations (numbers 9 and 10).

Little could be discovered regarding naming, but the few names that were obtained (such as *Dat' ān-elā't' gẁāt*, 'Squirrel-Tongued'; *Gẁisgwashān*, cf. *gẁisgẁas* 'chipmunk'; and *Dī'ālda*, 'On his Forehead') suggest that they were generally descriptive terms, as among the Maidu, and not like the obscure and apparently meaningless names current among the Chinook and the Wasco. Property seems to have been distributed among all the dead person's nearer relatives in both the collateral and succeeding generations. The practice of demanding blood-money (*ibi'!l<sup>6</sup>*) and remuneration even for comparatively slight personal injuries was well developed. Instead of retaliating, when a blow was received, it was not infrequently preferred to keep cool and say: "*Ts!ulx ü' s'i t!ümüxda<sup>6</sup>*," i. e., "Give me money (dentalia), for you have struck me!" — a demand that was legally justified.

In cases of more serious feuds the injured party often had recourse to the services of a so-called "go-between" (*xā'wīsā'*) who, after much persuasion and many threats of vengeance, prevailed upon the offender to pay an indemnity, the aggrieved party, to cement the new friendship, returning a nominal present. The proceedings, in which the whole community were interested spectators, was marked by a good deal of formality, the go-between, whose person was deemed inviolate, reporting the exact words of each party in the first person to the other and being addressed accordingly, while the interested parties themselves often said hardly a word, each being represented by an "answerer." Needless to say, the "go-between" was paid for his services out of the indemnity received. He ran rather than walked between the two parties, and was generally accompanied by his wife and another. The following account of the proceedings is literally translated from the native text:

"(Let us suppose) people who are related to each other by their children's marriage [see number 22 of table of relationships] slay one



another, then they must 'pay to one another each other's bones,' dead men's bones they pay. Dentialia it is that used to be termed 'dead men's bones.' And then they make speeches to one another and a go-between is hired. Now a certain one acts as go-between. 'Give me blood-money, since you have slain me [i. e., my folks]!' people said to each other. Now he whose folks had been slain, that one hires the go-between. 'Give me of that kind [pointing to strings of dentialia], give me 100 worth!' the slayer is told. But he is not willing. 'I will not give you anything; I shall even kill some more of your folks!' says the slayer. Then the go-between returns to the other party and recounts what he has been told. "'I'll give you no blood-money!'" he said to you,' says he. Then the go-between (adds): "'Not in that fashion (speak)!" that is what I said to him.' (Offended party:) 'Do not tell me that, since you have slain my folks just for nothing, though I did nothing to you. For no reason you have slain one of mine. My girl is dwelling yonder' [i. e., person whose folks were killed had given his daughter in marriage to one of other side; hence they were *k'ō'xū'mxa* to each other]. Thus people spoke to one another in times long past. Then he returns to the other party. "'Just you give me blood-money!'" he says to you. I say: "Too far will it go! People will yet be slain,"' says the go-between.<sup>1</sup> Then, recounting what he has been entrusted to say, the go-between tells him thus: 'These people whose relative has been slain have become grieved at heart.' That did people of long ago say to one another when they killed each other. And then once more the go-between returns to the other party. On this side he whose relative has been slain cries: 'Keep on going across! Many things he must give me,' says the injured party. So he returns to the other party. "'Just you give me many things!'" he says to you,' says the go-between. 'Give him many things!' says the go-between. He says to the slayer: 'It goes too far. Yet shall people be slain; they will get even with you. Many people will be killed. So for that reason give him something!' says the go-between. Then he [the slayer] says: 'Yes! I shall give him something. Very well!' says the slayer. 'You shall not get even with me, I shall give you something; *tsōnda we ʔō,*' says the slayer. 'Some little thing do you also give me in return.' Now the go-between returns again and whoops,<sup>2</sup> his heart has become glad.

<sup>1</sup>The go-between warns the offender to pay the blood-money; the otherwise there bloodshed will ensue, the aggrieved party will retaliate by killing one of the man's sons. This state of things cannot go on!

<sup>2</sup>This is the signal that the offender is willing to "give back the dead men's bones" or pay the blood-money.

Now it is known that it is intended to give him something. Many people (are gathered together). Now he [the go-between] whoops. "'I give you blood-money," he says to you. "Do you too give me a little bit!" he says to you.' Then he relates to them what he has heard. A certain one [the "answerer"] answers him: 'That's what he says.'<sup>1</sup> Then they give each other blood-money. Now on either side they proceed to each other and give each other (presents). The slayer gives most of all, while *he* (who has been injured) gives just a little bit. Thus in times long past people (acted) when they slew one another. And also the women on both sides gave each other many things. And the go-between also is given something, is given dentalia. On this side he whose relative has been slain does that; he it is who gives him dentalia. The slayer does not give him anything."

WAR AND WAR IMPLEMENTS. — On the whole the Takelma seem to have been a rather warlike tribe, and perhaps their rapid extinction is due in part, at least, to the hostile relations in which they stood to the white settlers. The principal weapon of offensive warfare was of course the bow (*gál<sup>e</sup>*) and arrow (*wilàn*; shaft without flint head = *sméla<sup>wé</sup>x*); the former was made of a single piece of wood, reached a width of about an inch and a half in the center, and was polished, like the arrow, with the rough *t'gwé'làmix* weed, probably the "scouring rush." The tapering ends of the bow were notched to allow of the putting in of sinew, which was laid horizontally in several layers on the back of the bow over a glue consisting of steel-head salmon skin rubbed over it. Over the sinews black, red, and white paints were laid in various geometric designs. The bow-string (*gál<sup>e</sup> ts'ugwā'<sup>a</sup>*) also was made of deer sinew.<sup>2</sup> It is peculiar that among the Oregon coast Athabascans the bow was held vertically, while among the Takelma it was always held horizontally, the warrior holding an extra arrow in his mouth in readiness for the next shot. It was considered advisable, in order to render them more effective, to steep the flint arrowheads in rattle-

<sup>1</sup> The formula used by the "answerer" to report to the chief party what the go-between has to communicate.

<sup>2</sup> As an item of random interest it may be noted that the same term was used also in connection with a common method of carrying a salmon. The head and tail of the salmon were tied to the ends of a string used to carry it so that they turned in somewhat like the ends of a stretched bow. The concavely bent fish was the "bow," the carrying string the "bow-string."

snake blood. For defensive purposes were used shields large, painted with decorative designs, and armor. The latter was composed of sticks of wood covered with two undressed hides of elk or buck sewn together and decorated, after the removal of the hair, with painted designs. The armor was without sleeves and reached only from the neck and below the arms down to the hips.

The chief symbol of being on the warpath, outside of the characteristic white paint,<sup>1</sup> was the tying of the hair tightly in back of the head; the phrase "he tied his hair tight" (*s'n̄' ilu'k' i'ohagm̄' t̄ bā'agamt'*) is synonymous in the myths with "he prepared for war." It was customary for women to participate in the war dance, and they often accompanied the men in the fight, watching the slaves and cheering for the warriors. It is remarkable that in the war dance (in which the brandishing of arrows seems to have been the chief element), as also in the menstrual and medicine dances, the drum was absolutely unknown, time being kept by stamping with the right foot. This is another of those points of detail which differentiated the Takelma from their Athabascan neighbors. The only musical instrument known to them, indeed, seems to have been a rude flute or fife (*xdei't'*) made out of a dry reed of the wild parsnip. It was used for love ditties.

PUBERTY AND MARRIAGE. — Of the dances just mentioned, perhaps the most important socially was the menstrual dance (*to' i'oham̄' hōyōdagwán*). At the time of the first courses, which ordinarily occurred at the age of thirteen, the girl's father invited his neighbors to a great feast for the space of five days, or rather nights (five was the mythical and ceremonial number of the Takelma). During this period the girl was not permitted to eat anything till midday, when an old woman came to her and directed her to run five times around two trees. After this she was allowed to eat, but forced to abstain from food again from about 4 o'clock in the afternoon to noon of the next day. As regards personal appearance, she had her tangle of hair cut off and painted herself with one red and four black

<sup>1</sup> The whitish color about the forehead of grizzly bear is supposed to be seen here and brought into connection with their ferocity. In one of the myths the young girl (*xamk' wa-i'oi'*) puts dust, i. e., white paint, on her forehead before meeting her future Eagle husband.

stripes on each cheek. During these five days she was subject, of course, to a number of taboos. She was not permitted, for instance, to look at the sky or to gaze freely about her, and to insure this a string of the bluejay's tail feathers tied on close together was put about the forehead of the girl and tied to the hair in back, an arrangement that effectually screened from her view everything about her. During this time also she was obliged to sleep with her head in a *bō'n*, a funnel-shaped basket such as was used in the pounding of acorns, the declared purpose being to prevent her from dreaming of the dead, a bad omen. During each of the five nights the menstrual round-dance and songs<sup>1</sup> were performed. A circle was formed of alternating men and women with interlocked hands, while in the center stood the young girl (or rather young woman now, *k'ā'is·ō'-k'da*), arrayed in all her finery of hair, nose, neck, ear, and waist ornaments. The outer circle danced and sang around her, all following the song of the leader.

Before marriage girls were not allowed to move about freely and were very carefully guarded by their parents. On the whole, marriages seem to have been determined upon by the parents of the parties concerned, often at a ridiculously early age, the personal likes or dislikes of these latter being apparently but little regarded. The Indians, not unlike a certain kind of white philosophers, claimed that a couple that did not love each other when first married learned, in course of time, to love each other best of all; and vice versa. A girl was always purchased for the boy with dentalia or the like by his father or other male relative, after which the bride proceeded with her folks to the bridegroom's house, the whole party dragging along a supply of exchange presents in the shape of baskets, women's hats, camass, dried salmon, and other such household articles. No dances or singing formed part of the marriage ceremony. The person or persons who escorted the bride to her future husband's house were specifically referred to as *tl'anyanwá's* (cf. *tl'ama-yánwá'ē*, 'people escort bride with presents for future husband'). The social status of the children depended very largely, of course, on the price paid for the mother, so that poor people's children were looked

<sup>1</sup> A number of these "round-dance" songs, also war and gambling songs, were taken down on the phonograph. It is hoped to publish them in the near future.



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down upon as not much better than dogs. So young was sometimes the newly married girl, that instances are related of how she dared not, out of fear, speak to her husband, but sought every opportunity to escape from the house. It was customary for a newly married woman to rise very early and, before eating her breakfast, gather firewood for all of her husband's folks.

The indebtedness of the husband to his father-in-law did not entirely cease with the initial purchase of the wife. Not infrequently the son-in-law, living perhaps in a far distant village, would load his canoe with presents of dried salmon or the like for his wife's parents, and visit them for a period in company with his wife. The word used to indicate this customary visit, *mōt'wòk'*, may be literally rendered 'son-in-law arrives.' After the birth of the first baby an additional price was paid to the girl's father in the shape of a deer-skin sack filled with Indian money. This payment was considered as equivalent to the buying of the child and was metaphorically referred to as "making its pillow" (*gwenp'ixabā' k'emei*). For a month after childbirth the mother was forbidden the use of meat. At the expiration of this period the child was taken to the river and waved five times over the water as a sort of "baptismal" rite.

MORTUARY CUSTOMS. — When a man died, he was decorated with dentalia and other Indian finery, wrapped in a deer-skin blanket, and buried in the ground. Acorns were buried with him, and a great number of baskets were strewn over the grave which, it is almost needless to say, no one dared touch. The practice of killing slaves at the grave, a custom that obtained, at least on the death of a great chief, among the Wasco, was here unknown, nor was the custom of canoe burial in use. Widows bedaubed themselves with pitch and cut their hair close as signs of mourning, but widowers did not find it necessary to be so demonstrative. A man killed in war away from home could not be buried in the regular way; in such a case it was customary to burn off the flesh of the corpse, gather up the bones, take them home, and bury them there with the usual usual

<sup>1</sup>Certain phases of the religious life of the Takelma have been described in "Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, XX, 33-49. The Takelma mythology will be treated in another place.

## Editorial Notes

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The notes below are drawn from Sapir's marginal notations in his copy, with verbatim material in quotation marks.

1. Add *p'elék's·a<sup>e</sup>*, he goes to war ... *p'eléxa<sup>e</sup>*.
2. For *dīdanī* "Better *Dī'danī* = "W. of which is rock."
3. *Dī'lōmī* "W. of which are cedars."
4. For *mēk'* Sapir notes *ē̃* = *ĩ*.
5. *Daldanī* "actually found in notes as *Daldanik'*."
6. For *hat'gwā<sup>ae</sup>xi<sup>e</sup>* read *hat'gwā<sup>ae</sup>xi<sup>e</sup>*.
7. "Other Californian lexical resemblances are: *degēs*- 'sifting tray' : Wintun *tekes*; *ō<sup>n</sup>p'* 'tobacco' : Achomawi *ōph*; *s·ugun-*, *wan-* 'root basket' : Yana *s·uk!un-*."
8. For "spring" read "autumn."
9. "Holes were stuffed with rough reddish bark of tall tree (?cedar) called *yānx* and fired. (1, 96) P.S. Not cedar. Cedar is *lōm*."
10. A note "spruce-roots or cat-tail rushes" probably refers to "some root or grass."
11. *gé<sup>e</sup>t'* "probably *Xerophyllum tenax*."
12. "Feathers were also worn about wrists and shoulders and in hair (3, 20)."
13. "Men used to pluck out face hair."
14. "War chief = *sanák'wa dayánā<sup>a</sup>k<sup>w</sup>da*."
15. For *ha-i!kā* read *ha-ik!ā*.
16. Alternative translation "? call for" given for 'pay'.
17. Alternative translation "? no matter how often" given for 'that is what'; paragraph indicated beginning (Offended party:).
18. For 'It goes too far' read 'Perhaps it goes too far.'
19. For '(who has been injured) gives' read 'in his turn, is given'.
20. "Feathers were worn as war-ornament; they were known as *xlu'wi*. When one was killed in war, his slayer whooped: *gwā' lā lā lā lā* (hoarse and loud whisper). Another whoop, indicative of being on the war-path, is *bā wā' āu wā' āu wā'* (and so on), whispered loudly and hoarsely.

[Excerpt from]  
Preliminary Report on the Language and Mythology  
of the Upper Chinook

In the summer of 1905 I was commissioned by the Bureau of American Ethnology to continue the study of Chinookan linguistics and, incidentally, mythology, which had been begun some ten years ago by Professor Boas, and the results of which, so far as published, have appeared in "Chinook Texts" and "Kathlamet texts," both bulletins of the Bureau, and in Dr. Swanton's "Morphology of the Chinook Verb" and Professor Boas' "Notes on the Chinook Vocabulary," both of which articles appear in the *American Anthropologist*. This published material deals with the dialects of the Chinookan family spoken at or near the mouth of the Columbia river. It was therefore desirable, in order to gain a somewhat more comprehensive idea of the peculiarities of Chinookan grammar, to devote study to the extreme eastern dialects.

The dialect or language to which the following notes refer is that spoken by the Indians formerly living on the northern shore of Columbia river, roughly speaking, from White Salmon river to the Long Narrows. These Indians, who are now on the Yakima reservation, Washington, called themselves *iláxluit*, the 1st per. sing. of which (*itexluit*, 'I am an Iláxluit') is in all probability the "Echeloot" of Lewis and Clark. They are known by their Yakima and Klikitat neighbors (tribes of the Sahaptian stock) as *Wúcxam*, which, in its anglicized form of Wishram, or Wishham, is their common appellation today.

.....

[542] In conclusion a few words may be devoted to the mythology of the Upper Chinook. I have not as yet enough texts of myths to present a really complete description of the mythologic concepts and elements present in the tales of the Wishram, but some of the main points seem patent enough. As in other Indian mythologies it is believed that there was a time antedating the present one when animals walked about as men, though having approximately the same mental and, to a large extent, physical characteristics as now. At that time, when there were



no Indians, properly speaking, in the country, but only anthropomorphic animals, many things were not as they should be, and, in order to make the country fit for habitation by the Indians destined to hold it, it was necessary for a culture-hero or transformer to rectify the weak points in creation. This transformer is, as in the plateau regions to the east, the Coyote. There is a cycle of myths made up of local tales telling how Coyote traveled all the way up the Columbia river, transforming monsters and instructing the people in the various arts of life. This string of local tales is, if I am not mistaken, continued in unbroken succession by the Sahaptian tribes living farther up the river, so that we have here a series of myths, belonging together yet distributed over a large number of different tribes. Some of the things that Coyote does are: to stock the Columbia with fish that had been withheld from the rest of the world by two women; to transform two women, who entice wayfarers, into birds; to provide the people of the [543] Cascades country with mouths that had formerly been lacking; to instruct men in the art of catching white salmon in basket traps and of spearing and steaming salmon; to put an end to the atrocities of the merman who swallows canoes with men and all, and of the dread woman, At!at!á!ia, who steals children and roasts them on an island still pointed out at the Long Narrows; and so on. In all this Coyote is distinctly the benefactor of mankind, but at the same time he is, as often elsewhere, conceived of as cunning, deceitful, and gluttonous. In some stories, particularly in such as do not belong to the cycle of Coyote as Transformer, he is an insufferable marplot, as when he, contrary to Eagle's injunction, opens a box containing the souls of his and Eagle's wife and son, thus bringing death into the world. At the same time he is indescribably obscene; some of the deeds of this kind performed by the culture-hero of the Tillamook, as communicated by Professor Boas, are also told by the Wishram of him. Although Coyote is the main transformer, I think it would be incorrect to speak of him as the hero of the Wishram. This point comes out clearly when Coyote himself, in one of the transformation myths, admits that he is no chief, that title being reserved, among the animals, for the Eagle and the Salmon. These two may, indeed, be considered the true heroes of Wishram myth, their deeds being narrated with considerable sympathy and admiration. The Salmon, in particular, may be described as the local hero of the Chinookan tribes, an elaborate salmon myth being common to both the Lower Chinook and the Wishram. I cannot say definitely whether Bluejay, who figures so prominently as buffoon among the coast tribes,



such as the Kathlamet and Quinault, occupies a corresponding position among the Wishram. So far as the material collected is concerned, he is quite a subordinate character, and I suspect that he is almost entirely superseded by Coyote. The mischievous and spiteful elements of his character, as of the Mink of more westerly and northerly regions, are embodied also in the Weasel.

Besides the main type of myth — i. e. the Transformer or Culture-hero myth, one can discern also a species of nature myth that is somewhat different in character. This type is represented, e. g., by the tale of the contest between the East Wind and the West [544] Wind, in which the latter proves successful. Another example of this type is the struggle of the five East Wind brothers with the five Thunder brothers, resulting in the death of all but one of the latter, which exception accounts for the existence of a certain amount of thunder today.

The single myth motives of Wishram mythology are many, probably most of them, found distributed over considerable areas elsewhere. Such well-known incidents as the magic increase of a small amount of food, the blundering imitation of the host, the life and death contest at gambling bones, the unsuccessful attempt to destroy strangers in an overheated sweat-house, the abandonment and later enrichment of a poor boy while his maltreaters are starving — all these and many others are common property of the Northwest Pacific coast and regions to the east and south, though the setting in which they occur may vary indefinitely. On the whole, the chief interest of Wishram mythology seems to lie in its transitional character between the mythologies of the coast and of the plateau. Although it shares, as we have seen, a local and specifically Chinookan salmon myth with the Lower Chinook, many of the myth motives are not duplicated farther down the river, but are found in other regions, such as the plateau. Here again we observe that linguistic and cultural, more specifically mythologic, distribution areas are by no means necessarily congruent.

### Editorial Note

Excerpt from an article originally published in *American Anthropologist* 9, 533 – 544 (1907); the entire article appears in Volume VI of *The Collected Works*. Reprinted by permission of the American Anthropological Association.



## Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon<sup>1</sup>

THE following notes regarding the ideas of the supernatural world held by the Takelma Indians were obtained, incidentally to work of a linguistic character, from Mrs. Frances Johnson, one of the very few full-blood survivors of the Takelmas, now located on the Siletz reservation of northwestern Oregon. These Indians formerly occupied the middle course of Rogue River, in the southwestern part of the State, and were very closely affiliated in their general culture with the tribes of northern California.

CEREMONIES. Of religious ceremonial, outside of shamanistic dances, there seems to have been very little in the life of the Takelmas; at any rate, Mrs. Johnson did not speak of regular periodic ceremonies, except in case of the first appearance in the spring of salmon and acorns. These latter ceremonies were tabooed to the women, so that it was not possible to procure any account of the proceedings; they were referred to as "blessings," and evidently had as their object the bringing about of a big run of salmon and an abundant crop of acorns by means of prayer to the "deities" or "spirits" involved. Dances were said to be performed on only three occasions: at the "menstrual feast" given by the father of a maturing girl, in which both sexes joined in a "round dance;" in time of war, when arrows or knives were brandished in the war-dance; and in the medicine rites of the *gôyô*<sup>2</sup> or shaman. It is, of course, very possible that the ceremonial life of the Takelmas was far richer than these few "blessings" and dances would indicate, and that Mrs. Johnson had either forgotten the existence of other ceremonies, or else, as woman, was not in a position to speak of them. Still, in view of the fact that she was more than a mere child when removed from

<sup>1</sup> Published by permission of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

<sup>2</sup> PHONETIC NOTE. Vowels have their normal continental European values, *e* being always open in quality, even when long; *ä* as *i* for *a* in *bad*, and *o* being pronounced approximately midway between German *u* and *ü*. Superscript vowels are parasitic in character, all truly long vowels being pseudo-diphthongal (*ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, *ü*). Consonants have their normal continental European values: spiritus asper (ʔ) denotes full breath following upon voiceless stop; ʔ denotes that preceding consonant is "fortis," *i. e.* strongly exploded with momentary *h* sound following; *ç* is midway in place of articulation between *c* and *ç* as in *sch* and *sch* is pronounced as German *ch* in *Bach*; *ʕ* denotes glottal catch; superscript *w* is whispered *w*. Three accents are used to mark syllabic pitch: acute (´) to mark falling pitch, starting from high tone; circumflex (ˆ) to indicate rise to pitch peak (and including) normal to higher tone; and grave (`) to indicate raised tone, generally on short vowels, with acoustic effect of mild interrogation in English.

her native home in the Rogue River valley, and that religious and dance ceremonies are always among the most impressive and easily remembered events in primitive life, it will be safe to ascribe but a very limited development of the ceremonial side to the Takelmas.

**SUPERNATURAL BEINGS.** The psychological basis of Takelma religious belief is, of course, the same as that of all other Pacific coast tribes. Of a supreme being, approaching in conception say the Tirawa of the Pawnees, there is hardly a trace. Reference is made to a being who created all things and existed in the dawn of time, and who was termed *Hāp' k!emná's*, "children maker;" but no myth was obtained of this being explicitly devoted to him, and he does not seem to figure much in worship. The events of nature and the good or ill fortune of men are controlled by a large number of supernatural beings or "spirits." Many of these are identified with animals or plants, the present transformed representatives of the primeval inhabitants of the earth. In some cases definite physical phenomena are associated with such animal or plant agencies. Thunder, for instance, is caused by the drumming of a raccoon-like animal (probably the "civet-cat"), while the lightning is his fire; the phases of the moon are due to its being swallowed by frogs and lizards (the Takelmas saw a frog in the moon); and acorns are part of the flesh of the Acorn Woman, who sends them to the oak. Still other supernatural beings are identified with or are manifested in such inorganic objects as sun, moon, wind, whirlwind, snow, rain, and storm. Evidently, in the native mind, there is no real line of demarcation between such apparently lifeless phenomena and the organic world; both seem to act of their own volition and influence human life. A third and potent group of "spirits" are localized and associated with certain definite rocks, trees, or mountains. Direct offerings of food and other valuables seem often to have been deposited at the localities with which such beings were associated. Lastly, there is a class of imaginary, generally maleficent, beings that inhabit the woods or waters, and figure, as well as the animal "spirits," in the mythology. Such are the half-human *kūlii'n wa-iwī'i*, or mermaid, who, with other fabled denizens of the sea, taunts the unwary canoeman with jibes and insulting epithets, thus makes him lose his head, and, in his attempt to seek vengeance, causes him to sink beneath the water; the *yap'la daldī*, or wild men of the woods, one of whom, *kukū*, Blue Jay's son, was burnt to death by the culture-hero, and seems intended to represent, in his transposed form, the echo; a race of dwarfs no bigger than children, said to be able to pack whole elks and to be termed *dinī' dinī'* by the Shastas; the rolling skulls of dead people, *xilam t!egilixi*, who kill all in their path, and with whose dread cry of *ximī+ ximi* disobedient children were wont to be frightened;



the *gelgâl*, a serpent that was believed to squeeze human beings to death; and the *dar'neadagalai*, a black, four-legged, tailed "water-dog," who was supposed to crawl at the bottom of a creek and never to come to land (cf. Dixon: "Water Monsters in Northern California," in J. A. F. L. vol. xix, No. 75, p. 323). This third group belongs to the vast horde of unreal terrors with which men plague themselves the world over, and are perhaps not rightly to be considered as of the same class as the powerful animal spirits first referred to.

CHARMS. These latter are appealed to for the cure of disease or for the attainment of other desired objects through the mediation of medicine-men, but it is characteristic of the Takelmas that many of them were directly addressed in set prayer-formulas. The general content of these prayers is an adjuration to powers of evil to depart and an expression of the desire for long life and prosperity. The formulas were uttered when one of the spirits under consideration manifested itself, in other words, when certain animal cries were heard, at the appearance of a snowstorm, or the like. There must have been a very large number of such "medicines" in use in various circumstances of life, but the few following were all that could be obtained. They are given in text and translation.

1. When the screech-owl (*bôbôp'*) was heard, a prayer for the capture of deer the next day was recited, this bird being looked upon as a harbinger of good, itself greedy for the fat of the deer. Directing a whiff of tobacco smoke towards the screech-owl, the following words were uttered:—

"Xemelát'ëdi?	Dewénxa	hadēhal	nānán	ha(s)il
"Dost thou wish to eat?	To-morrow	five (deer)	I shall (catch) them	or ten (deer)
nānán. Gas'ie	yámx	ga-iwadá'	yôm	ga-iwadá'. Xemelát'."
I shall catch them. Then	fat	thou wilt eat it	blood	thou wilt eat it. Thou wilt eat it."
nagân. Gas'ie	dewénxa	haixdil	nagānán.	Ga nagānlan
it was said. And then	next day	about ten (deer)	were caught.	Thou need no incline
hat'gā'dē	hōp!ē'n	bō's'ie	emé'	áni' ga nagân. Yap'a
in my country	long ago	but now	here	not that is done. "People
lōhōg'wulúk <sup>w</sup>	ne'yé'	bō'wā	bōbôp'	yiwiwāmā'.
are about to die,"	they say	nowadays	screech-owl	what he will do.

*Translation:* "Dost thou wish to eat? I shall catch five or ten deer and then thou shalt have fat to eat, thou shalt have blood to eat. Thou wishest to eat." Thus he was addressed. And then, on the morrow, five or ten deer were caught. Thus it was done in my land long ago, but nowadays here screech-owls are not thus addressed. Nowadays, when a screech-owl screams, it is said: "People are about to die."

The prayer (or charm, as it might be termed) is intended to confirm the good omen by a promise of food to its bringer. The fat and blood refer to the waste scraps of deer meat that the screech-owl may find after the feast.

2. Hummingbirds were looked upon as messengers of medicine-men sent to work evil. When one of these birds was heard buzzing near one, it was supposed to be tearing out one's hair. In all probability there is here involved the widespread belief of the power to do one harm by an application of "sympathetic magic" to one's hair, nail-parings, or the like. To obviate, if possible, the ill omen of the hummingbird's message, a curse is directed to it, or perhaps to the medicine-man whom it represents, in the following words:—

"Walōhōgwadā<sup>a</sup>      ūlūk'it'k'      dā'ibū't'basda<sup>a</sup>.  
 "Thou shalt die with it      my hair      when thou pullest it out from side of my head!  
 Wilī't'      ganāu      wahawax-xiwigwadā<sup>a</sup>.  
 Thy house      in      thou shalt rot with it!"

*Translation*: "Mayest thou die with my hair which thou pullest out of the side of my head! In thy house mayest thou rot with it!"

3. The larger hooting owl (*t'gwalā<sup>a</sup>*) is, unlike the screech-owl, a bird of ill omen, prophesying death and stealing children. When heard hooting he is addressed in the following terms:—

"Libín      di      we'gás-dam?      Há<sup>a</sup>      dāat'gayawā<sup>a</sup>da      'al'yó!  
 "News      ?      didst thou come to tell me?      Yonder      alongside the earth's<sup>1</sup> rib (= N.)      look!  
 Nék'di      t'lōmōmán?      He<sup>a</sup>dadā<sup>a</sup>      yapla      gwalā,      gé      di      alxīg'it,  
 Who      has been killed?      Far away      people      many,      there      ?      didst thou see them,  
 gé      di      lōhōyá<sup>ue</sup>?      Ga      dí      ga'al      libín      we'gásdam?"  
 there      ?      are they dying?      That      ?      for      news      didst thou come to tell me?"  
 Nagán      t'gwalā<sup>a</sup>      yiwiyá-uda.  
 He is spoken to      owl      when he talks.

*Translation*: "Didst thou come to tell me news? Off yonder towards the north look thou! Who has been killed? Far away there are many people. Didst thou see them there, did people die there? Didst thou come to tell me that for news?" Thus an owl is addressed when he hoots.

This charm may be interpreted as a prayer, for the owl is cajoled, as it were, into reporting the death of some one far removed instead of referring to that of one in the neighborhood of the speaker.

4. Of the yellowhammer (*t'ēk<sup>w</sup>*) the story was told, how once,

<sup>1</sup> The earth is conceived of as a vast animal lying on its belly and stretched out towards the east, or perhaps the reference of points of the compass to parts of the earth's body is to be regarded as only metaphorical. East is termed *gwen't'gā-bōk'danda*, "at the nape of the earth's neck" (*gwen-* "at nape" + *t'gā* "earth" + *bōk'dan* "neck"); west is *dī't'gāyúk!umā<sup>a</sup>da* "on back of the earth's tail" (*dī-* "on back" + *t'gā* + *yúk!umā* "tail"). The word in the text, *dāat'gā-yawā<sup>a</sup>da* "alongside the earth's ribs" (*dāa-* "at ear, alongside" + *t'gā* + *yawā<sup>a</sup>* "rib") can evidently mean either north or south, so that a gesture was probably necessary to remove the ambiguity. The *-da* at the end of these words is the possessive pronoun of the third person in local relations, corresponding to *-dē* of the first (cf. *ha't'gā<sup>a</sup>dē* "in my country" in No. 1); the word for west would accordingly be more literally translated by "at the nape of its, the earth's, neck," and correspondingly for the other points of the compass.

when a number of people passed a group of ten houses, he, unable to control his excitement, announced to all the stages in the process: "T!é<sup>k</sup>! Now they have passed the first house! T!é! Now they have passed the second house!" and so on through all the ten. Hence, when his cry is heard, he is supposed to be telling of some one's arrival:—

Yapla baxámda<sup>a</sup> altlayák<sup>a</sup>: "Yapla<sup>a</sup> baxámda!" "Hax-  
 People when they come he discovers them! "People! They are coming!" "They  
 xmia-uda<sup>a</sup> yapla ma dí 'altlayagít?' " ga nagan yiwiyá<sup>a</sup>  
 they keep coming people thou ? didst thou see them? " that is said to him when he takes  
 t!é<sup>k</sup><sup>ew</sup>  
 yellowhammer.

*Translation*: When people come, yellowhammer discovers them and says: "People are coming!" "Didst thou see that people keep coming?" [as much as to say: "Thou need not tell us thou hast seen them!"] That is said when a yellowhammer screams.

5. At the appearance of a new moon (*hival hātleb'tar*) it was customary to yell and address to it the following words:—

"Dap'oit'e<sup>a</sup>, déhi kliyák'de<sup>a</sup>. 'is i<sup>a</sup> yapla 'Amadi<sup>a</sup> ihh'e<sup>a</sup>  
 "I shall prosper, still longer I shall go. Even people 'Would that he died!"  
 nēxigi<sup>a</sup>, ma yā<sup>a</sup> na'nát'e<sup>a</sup>, hawi<sup>a</sup> bādēp'de<sup>a</sup> 'is i<sup>a</sup>  
 if they say of me, thee just like I shall do, again I shall rise. Even  
 k'aigwala hé'ne hé'nagwásbik'na<sup>a</sup>, lap'am gá-isluk'na<sup>a</sup>, h'ah-  
 many beings then when they devour thee, frogs when they eat thee, many  
 gwala lasgúm iūxgwát', 'is i<sup>a</sup> ga gá-isluk'na<sup>a</sup> gā i<sup>a</sup>  
 beings little snakes handed, even those when they eat thee, still  
 (= lizards)  
 hawi bā<sup>a</sup> tlebét'am. Ma yā<sup>a</sup> na'nát'e<sup>a</sup> dé'xa<sup>a</sup> "Prolonged  
 again thou dost rise. Thee just like I shall do in time to come!"  
 yelling: bō+.

*Translation*: "May I prosper, may I remain alive yet awhile. Even if people say of me: 'Would that he died!' may I do just as thou doest, may I rise again [the same word is here used as for the rising of the moon]. Even then when many evil beings devour thee, when frogs eat thee up, many evil beings such as lizards, when those eat thee up, still dost thou rise again. In time to come may I do just like thee!"

This prayer is a very good example of the class. The moon, in passing through its phases, is supposed to be subjected to the attacks of its reptilian enemies and to be completely worried at the end. But only for a brief space, for the moon has a powerful "medicine" with which to combat its enemies and triumph again. The speaker asks, in effect, that to him also may some of this power be granted, so that he may withstand the malice of those that wish him ill.

6. The spirit of Snow (*p!ā's*), though he drove down the snow from the mountains, was not believed to be particularly well disposed to men, whom he begrudged the game. When it snowed too heavily,



advantage was taken of his niggardly character to bring him to a halt by reciting the following address as a ruse, each syllable being pronounced clearly by itself and with pomp.

"T'gam mé<sup>e</sup> dēgingán gwens'ōumál s'i'ulit'a<sup>e</sup> gwent'gém  
 "Elks hither drive them on in back of mountain which are staying black-necked  
 hagwelt'gém't'gam" naganhan pl'ás. Gas'i<sup>e</sup> áni<sup>e</sup> lōp'ōt', hōnō<sup>e</sup>  
 in dark places under trees! he used to be told Snow. And then not it snowed, again  
 ha-uhaná's. Gelheyéx pl'ás, áni<sup>e</sup> t'gam ha-uh'mià  
 he was quiet. He is stingy Snow, not elks down hill to drive them  
 gelgulúk'<sup>w</sup>.  
 he desires.

*Translation:* "Hitherwards drive the elks, the black-necked ones, that dwell back of the mountain, in dark places under the trees!" Thus it was customary to speak to Snow. Then it no longer snowed, again he became quiet. Snow is stingy; he does not desire to drive down elks.

7. Similar to this, in that the undesirable spirit is gotten rid of by trickery, is the following metrical song-charm, addressed to the winter-storm. The storm-spirit is conceived of as a supernatural woman going out with her children to dig up roots, only instead of uprooting camass with her digging-stick as mortal women are wont to do, she upturns the trees. This "medicine" served to banish her from haunts of men.

"Heedadá<sup>e</sup> hi nà. T'gap'xiūt'e<sup>e</sup>  
 "Away from here pass. Thy digging stick  
 Heedadá<sup>e</sup> hi nāk'<sup>w</sup>.  
 Away from here pass with it!  
 Hees'ōumál hi nāk'<sup>w</sup> degesít'<sup>e</sup>  
 Mountainwards pass with it thy sifting basket-pan!  
 Heewilámxa hi nāk'<sup>w</sup> t'gap'xiūt'e<sup>e</sup>  
 To Mt. Alwilámxadis pass with it thy digging stick!  
 Wede mé<sup>e</sup> ginagwàt'<sup>e</sup>  
 Not hither come with it  
 Wede mé<sup>e</sup> gingàt'<sup>e</sup>  
 Not hither come!  
 Hāp'de<sup>e</sup> xilam yōuk!āa  
 Thy children dead ones their bones  
 Yewē sallats!āk'."  
 Perchance they touch them with their feet."  
 Nagán ga'à. Wihin k'lū'yápxā malák'wak': "Gwalt'  
 It was said to her just that My mother her friend she told her: "Wind  
 mahai wōk't'e<sup>e</sup> ga nā'ag'í'k'."  
 great if it should come that say to it."

*Translation:* "Go thou away from here, with thy camass-stick pass thou away from here, mountainwards pass thou with thy sifting-pan, away to Mt. Alwilámxadis pass thou with thy camass-stick! Come thou not hither with it, come thou not hither! Perchance thy children touch with their feet dead people's bones." Just that was said to her. A friend of my mother's told her: "If a great storm comes, you shall say that to it."



8. Another supernatural agency of a meteorological character whose presence was felt to be undesirable is the whirlwind (*gəndmāx*).

*Translation :* "When a whirlwind whirls up by the door of a house, the earth is kicked and it is said : "אנני חבלי ימיני. I am thy friend, I am of thy relations."

9. Winds were supposed to be efficacious in driving sickness out of the body, and were appealed to for the purpose. The following medicine-formula was used :—

*Translation:* "HÛ! From out of my body do thou drive all bad things away, from the crown of my head do thou blow them away, from above my hands [*i. e.* from my arms] do thou blow them away, from within my backbone do thou blow all bad things away, from above my feet [*i. e.* from my legs] do thou drive all bad things away!" Then they blew, saying h<sup>w</sup>+

"Gwiné' di ha-uhán'sda?"	Getné lóptódát."	(Ta takes in
"How long ? ?                 than will cease?	Su-fang those have ceased."	
house :) "Dít-gāyúk!um.a'da	daiyum	'alpláts'ól'ta'álháp!"
"At the earth's tail = west"	central	do so here."

*Translation:* "How long is it before thou wilt cease? So long hast thou been raining!" (To folks in house :) "Do ye burn cat-tail rushes towards the west."

Why the burning of cat-tail rushes should cause the rainfall to cease is not evident. Inasmuch as the rain-bearing winds come from the west, it is possible that the burning in the west is to be construed as a means for frightening away the rain spirit as he proceeds to the east.

11. The charms heretofore given have all been addressed to animals or natural phenomena conceived to be possessed of supernatural powers. The following differs in that it is spoken to an absent human being, but resembles in general tone some of the preceding, the main idea of the charm being a prayer for long life and prosperity. When a person sneezed, it was believed that his name was being mentioned by some one afar off. To prevent the evil effect to the person named of a possible mention of his name in connection with ill wishes (for words as such may have power of good or ill), it was customary to apostrophize the absent ones.

"Nék'di	klūyūm'si?	'Dap'ōit'a,'	něxdaba'	'hawi	bě
"Who	he calls my name?	'Thou shalt prosper,'	ye shall say of me,	'yet	day
mū'xdàn	déhi	(kliyigadá')	Desbūsba-usdaba'."		
once	further	thou shalt go,	Ye shall blow to me!"		

*Translation:* "Who is it that calls my name? May ye (who speak of me) say in regard to me: 'Do thou prosper, mayest thou go ahead [*i. e.* continue life] yet another day!' May ye blow to me!"

At the conclusion of the address a continued current of air was blown by the speaker as symbolic of the long life desired. In general, blowing, particularly of a whiff of tobacco smoke, was used before and after the recitation of a charm; apparently there was ascribed to it a certain magical power to bring about the prayer of the speaker.

SHAMANISM. Needless to say, the theory of disease held by the Takelmas was that which almost universally obtains among primitive tribes. The disease or ailment itself was conceived of as directly caused by a "disease spirit" or "pain," known as a *ts'idáxgwa*, that had become lodged in some part of the victim's body. The *ts'idáxgwa* was thought of in quite material terms, and could be extracted by persons properly qualified in the form of a splinter of wood or the like, whereupon the ailment necessarily vanished. No bodily ill, not even death, was the result of purely natural causes, but was in practically every instance due to the malice of some evil-minded person, either a shaman (*gōyō*) or one who had hired a shaman to inflict disease upon some hated person. The shaman, always feared, and always suspected of being responsible for whatever ill

might befall the individual or the village community, was held, when bent upon the death of some one, "to go out of his house with a disease-spirit (*da-uyā*) that he has obtained" and "to shoot people with it" (*yap!a da-uyā is!ayāk'i* = people disease-spirit he shoots them with). A powerful shaman might also reach his victim by merely "wishing" him ill or (mentally) "poisoning" him, as my informant put it; this method was frequently employed by mythical characters such as Coyote, and was indicated in the language by a special verb (*wiyimāsi*, "he wished to, poisoned me"). As we have already seen, the evil "wish" could sometimes be carried to the person aimed at by means of such emissaries as the hummingbird or (perhaps) the whirlwind. It not infrequently happened, when some one fell ill, that a particular shaman was accused by another of being the responsible party; in such cases the accused shaman was compelled to cure the sick person or else suffer death as a penalty. So great was the distrust felt for a shaman that in some villages their presence was not tolerated at all for fear of the results of their malicious practices. The attitude of the Takelmas towards the shamans is significantly illustrated in the matter of retaliation for murder. Ordinarily the murder of an Indian gave rise to a blood-feud, sometimes long protracted, settled only by a payment of considerable value to the injured party. On the other hand, when a shaman was slain, his or her<sup>1</sup> relatives were obliged to be content with the payment of a small fine, and could not demand retaliation. Evidently the death of a shaman was considered as merited in any event, for who knew how many deaths he had himself been responsible for!

The shaman (*gōyō*) obtained his magical power to cause and cure sickness from one or generally several guardian spirits (known as *yō!lāpxdā*), as a rule animal spirits or natural objects and forces. The method of securing the guardianship of these spirits was the same as that so commonly employed in the Columbia valley for the acquisition of a "personal totem" or "protector" (ordinarily referred to by the Chinook jargon term of *tamanwas*); i. e. the intending shaman would undergo a suitable term of training, generally consisting of fasting and praying in the mountains; during this period one or more spirits would appear in a dream and make known their guardianship by the bestowal of a medicine-song, for each of the shaman's *yō!lāpxdā* has its own particular song suited to its general character.

<sup>1</sup> Both men and women could be shamans without apparent difference. There is nothing to show that the women were looked upon as more potent, as was the case among certain other tribes. Mention was made by Mr. Johnson of a so-called "hermaphrodite" (*swayāū*) or man-woman with man's voice and female attire, credited with strong shamanistic powers; this was evidently one of the "berdashes" found also among the Shastas.



The coyote, for instance, is represented in the myths as beginning nearly every word with a meaningless prefixed *s*—, and this characteristic peculiarity would be imitated by a shaman in his "coyote song," provided, of course, he had acquired the coyote as one of his guardians. It is to be carefully noted that guardian spirits were not possessed by the great run of people (or *yap!a gamáxdí*, "raw people," as they were called), but were vouchsafed only to the shamans; the general doctrine of individual guardian spirits characteristic of the tribes along the lower Columbia thus weakens towards the south, or perhaps it would be better to say that it was never developed in this area. Among the guardian spirits generally held by shamans are to be mentioned the panther, wolf, coyote, rattlesnake, eagle, hummingbird, woodpecker (*bák'ba*), yellowhammer (*t!é'k'w*), moon, sun, and wind. Some animal spirits, such as the chicken-hawk, were distinctly hostile to the *gōyð*, as will be later shown, and never served as his guardians. Of those enumerated the sun was undesirable, in so far as its acquisition, it was believed, entailed the loss to the shaman of his own children. This illustrates, to some extent, the relation which we must conceive to exist between the shaman and his spirits. The former was not free to choose whichever of the latter he preferred, his choice being, at least in theory, quite involuntary and due to the good will of the spirits themselves. It is therefore easy to understand why a shaman was said to be the "slave" of his spirits and why his actions were interpreted largely as a carrying out of their behests. Moreover, they had to be kept in good humor, as shown by this custom: If a shaman was called to a house even of a far distant village, he was not permitted to partake of food before dancing for his most potent guardian spirit. This dance was the food of the spirit; if the shaman were to eat first, he would be guilty of satisfying his hunger before that of his master, an insult to the latter that the spirit might greatly resent.

In "doctoring" a sick person the method employed was to appeal to the guardian spirits for information as to the location of the pain-causing *ts'idáxgwa*, so that the shaman might be enabled to "catch" it and extract it from the body. The medicine-song itself consisted as a rule of meaningless syllables (burdens) intermingled with snatches of connected words, all sung to a monotonous tune of indeterminate length in which the people assembled in the house joined, but *without* the accompaniment of a drum, an instrument entirely unknown to the Takelmas. The following, taken from the myth of "Panther and his Deer-Wife," will serve as an example of one of these monotonous shaman's songs. A medicine-woman of the Deer people is supposed to be guarding the pancreas (really the "life") of Panther, that his deer-wife has stolen from him and has brought to her people



to be used as a ball in the shinny-game. Various animals in disguises are sent to recapture the pancreas, but the medicine-woman detects their presence by means of her supernatural power. She sings:—



1. WayaweneLō<sup>w</sup>wana, wayaweneLō<sup>w</sup>wana, wayaweneLō<sup>w</sup>wana.

2. Nek'dīdeme'awit, nek'dādeme'awit, nek'dīdeme'awit.

which translated means, "Who is going about over there?" The burden "WayaweneLō<sup>w</sup>wana" is probably to be considered as sung by the medicine-woman and her helpers as long as desired, while the second line is said every now and then by the shaman on perceiving an intruder lurking about and watching for an opportunity to steal the pancreas, always in the same tune.

If the shaman was a woman, her husband started in with the song, the other following his lead, while if the shaman was a man, his wife took the lead. The communications of the guardian spirits were repeated by the shaman, but being unintelligible or impossible to most, were explained to those around by a layman (*i. e.* non-shaman), known as a *gēyō dak'dahali-hi's*, *i. e.* "shaman answerer." Despite the fear which they inspired, the services of shamans must have been often required in the cure of disease, rain-making, causing of rain or snow to cease, and the like. The fees varied widely, according to the importance or supposed difficulty of the case, sometimes women being given in payment. A brief account of a cure effected by a girl in the girlhood of the informant was obtained from Mrs. Johnson; literally translated it runs thus:—

"At that time I became sick. And then a shaman was paid, my father paid a shaman; four shamans danced for me. And I almost died. Now I dreamt of a shaman. And then I was nothing but bones; my food was half a spoonful, not even a full spoonful—let my mother give me to eat—not even that much, nor did I drink any water. Now in the fall time I dreamt of that shaman who had not yet danced for me. These four shamans had been dancing for me, but that shaman I had dreamt of—that one had not yet danced for me. My mother went to fetch the shaman I dreamt of, and just then she came. Then the people assembled together, but I did not see the people coming together, I was dead. And she danced just when it had become noon, in the afternoon. Then the shaman said: 'Hold her! Do you people hold her by her legs and hands!' And then she said concerning me: 'She might jump up.' Now I was dead; who jumps up (when he is dead)? Jumping now upon the demon spirit, then something like a splinter of wood being pulled out, then

she did. If nowadays such a splinter of wood should hurt you, would you not feel it? That is how she pulled it out; I felt it when she pulled it out. And then I arose. 'Give me food, mother!' I said. Then the shaman laughed (from joy) and said thus: 'Tell her to wait now until I set right her body.' Then again she sang and set my body completely right. Then she put the blood into a basket-bucket [*k'e'l*: small shaman's bucket used to put 'pains' in] and set everything right. With her lips she sucked it from me, took out the blood, and put it into the bucket. Not again did I then become sick. Then thus she said: 'Not again will you become sick as long as I remain alive, as long as I do not die. If I die, just then will you again fall sick,' she said to me. 'She is a good girl, not badly she talks to people, always good her heart, ever she laughs,' said that shaman. 'Now let her bathe [speaking to my mother]. Prepare hot water and let her bathe; *then* give her food to eat.' So my mother prepared warm water. Then she made me bathe and then gave me food. After this they all returned to their homes, and then the shaman returned to her own house. She cured me; not again did I become sick at that time. Then when I recovered my hair all came out; this way did I become: no hair at all on my head. I just tied a neckerchief about my head. Thus she cured me. For that reason I for my part believe in shamans."<sup>1</sup>

Besides the *gōyō*, or "shaman," properly speaking, there was the *s'ōmlōhōlxa's*, also endowed with supernatural powers and capable of influencing powerful spirits, yet in every respect entirely distinct from the *gōyō*. He was said to be able to dream of the creation of all things and of all that was to be. Like the *gōyō*, he could cure disease, but, unlike him, had not the power of inflicting it, or at least did not, being looked upon as of a friendly disposition towards his fellow-men, nor was he able to "catch" the "pain." He did not dance, like the *gōyō*, nor did he require the services of any one else in the singing. His procedure consisted mainly in sitting down by the side of the invalid, rubbing the part affected by the malady, and singing his medicine-song, in which the untranslatable, probably meaningless words "*hā'gwaŋci hā'gwaŋci*" were said frequently to recur. It is somewhat doubtful whether the Takelma *gōyō* and *s'ōmlōhōlxa's* correspond respectively to the two classes of medicine-men frequently found in many Indian tribes and illustrated among the

<sup>1</sup> This account indicates the importance of the number *five* in the ordinary conceptions of the Oregon and Washington Indians, as well as in the mythology of this region (four shamans are unsuccessful, only the fifth cures). Interesting also is the idea of a sympathetic relation between two persons, by virtue of which the well-being of one is dependent upon the life of the other — an idea that may well be included under the general concept of "sympathetic magic."

Wascos of the Dalles by the *idiágrwam* (shaman, one who "salvates" people) and *idiáxilalit* (one who "doctors," *xi* = *gila* it, "to doctor"). The *idiágrwam* is practically always also an *idiáxilalit*, or "doctor," but a *gōyô* can never be at the same time a *s'omlôhólwa's*. In fact the two are mutually exclusive terms, and the relation between the two sorts of medicine-men was one of hostility, the *s'omlôhólwa's* having been often hired to counteract the evil work of a *gōyô*. It is interesting to note that the two appealed to entirely different spirits as supernatural helpers, and thus made use of different medicine-songs. No supernatural power that was wont to aid the *s'omlôhólwa's* could ever become the guardian spirit of a *gōyô*, but, on the contrary, was ever ready to inflict punishment upon him. The most potent of these spirits were the chicken-hawk (*hîw'îw'*), the sparrow-hawk (*yêk'iyê'*), the acorn-woman, and a number of local mountain spirits. Among these latter was the *dan mōlēgōl* (Rock Old Woman) addressed as "Grandmother," and closely associated with a rock of about three feet in height and with an elongated round top, situated in the vicinity of *Daldanik'*, a village north of Rogue River, and between Grant's Pass and Leaf Creek; near the rock impersonating the old woman were a number of others known as her pipe (*nāx*), bucket (*k'êl'*), stirrer (*s'umxi*), to prevent it from boiling over, and tongs (*k'âma'*) for picking up the hot stones used for boiling (the purpose of these cooking instruments will soon become apparent). Various kinds of food were laid on top of the rock as an offering to the old woman for the cure of sickness.

A mountain spirit subordinate to her was *Aldanyâk'wadis*; the four fir-trees that surmounted its summit were termed the ceremonial feathers of the mountain spirit, the mountain itself and its presiding spirit being, as usual in such cases, more or less commingled in one conception. Still other such mountain spirits were another *Aldanyâk'wadis*, near Illinois River, in sight from the summit of the former, and referred to as his brother; *Alsanwê'wadis*, next to the first of the two mountain brothers and covered with oaks and *z'bâl* bushes (about three feet in height and of a yellowish color), used by the *s'omlôhólwa's* in the cure of fever; and *Aldanê'ôlôida*, in the vicinity of the present town of Jacksonville. These various animal, plant, and mountain spirits (there must have been many others) had each his or her particular medicine-song, efficacious in bringing harm to the *gōyô*. Of three of them, the chicken-hawk, the Acorn Woman, and the Old Rock Woman myths were obtained in which it is related how some great misfortune befell a shaman in the past, the recitation of these myths by the *s'omlôhólwa's* has power to injure the *gōyô* against whom they are directed. The myth of the Old Woman and the mountain *Aldanyâk'wadis* is here given in literal translation:—



"When this great world was first set [word employed is identical with that used in referring to the making of a basket-bottom], at that time the Old Rock Woman was told: 'Thou shalt be a "shaman wisher" (or "poisoner"); if an evil-minded shaman devours people, *thou* shalt sing for that.' And she said: 'Yes!' 'And thou shalt put thy pipe in the shaman's mouth, thou shalt give him to smoke!' it was said to her. Here alongside of her her rock bucket, and then in her bucket her stirrer, and her tongs. Thus it was given to the Old Rock Woman. Her bucket is for boiling the shaman's heart, and her stirrer—with that she stirs up the shaman's heart while she is boiling it, and with her tongs she lifts stones—hot stones. Then she made the stones steam in her bucket and boiled the shaman's heart. For that—a shaman's heart—is her rock bucket 'medicine.' And then she sang for the shaman, whereupon the shaman died. The Old Rock Woman, 'My (paternal) Grandmother,' has done it. And then Mt. Aldauyā<sup>a</sup>k'wadis was told about it. 'Now the Old Rock Woman has killed the shaman,' he was told. Then he was ready to join her and tied his head-hair up into a top-knot [indicative of war-dance]. Then he put dust on his forehead [white war-paint]. Now when he came there, the shaman was lying dead. He took up his arm and wrenched loose the shaman's arm. A little distance away he jumped with the shaman's arm into a ditch. Then he danced around rapidly and brandished [like a knife] the shaman's arm. Then he sang and danced with it. Now some time elapsed; he looked up, looked across to his younger brother [near Illinois River]. Then he did as before and also his younger brother did the same thing; and they on either side nodded to each other. In that way they killed the shaman, the evil-minded shaman. He brandished the shaman's arm before his face; just as nowadays a knife is brandished, that he did with it. Thus, when this great world was set firm, thus it happened. In this manner the *s'ōmlōhōlxa's* makes 'medicine;' my paternal grandfather made the *s'ōmlōhōlxa's* 'medicine' with it [*i. e.* with this dance and song against shamans]. I don't know who arranged matters thus; it is said the 'Children Maker' did it. Thus they call him: 'Children Maker;' nowadays people call him thus."

Equally unfriendly was the relation subsisting between the *gōyō*<sup>1</sup> and the Acorn Woman, though the eating of the acorn, the staple article of food, was not tabooed to the former. Whenever, because of a strong wind, acorns, believed to be the flesh of the Acorn Woman herself, fell off before they ripened, the responsibility was laid to the door of an evil-minded shaman who thus desired to deprive the people of their food. The following myth bearing on this point is similar in its general character to the one given above, and, like



it, was recounted by the *samihah/uts* as "medicine" against a *gōyō*: —

"A shaman has blown thee off, the Acorn will want to be addressed by men of days gone by. That used to be said to the Acorn; old men said it. By means of a wind the shaman blew off the acorn; it was a shaman who blew the acorns off. Now the Acorn Chieftainess (*yana da'anā'k'da*), that one was sitting in her house and saw how they were being blown down. She had sent herself there to the tree [*i. e.* acorns growing there were part of herself]. Then the shaman had blown her off. So the shaman having been killed, this old woman, the Acorn Chieftainess, then dried him. When the shaman was dead, this old Acorn Woman, because he had blown her off, for that reason dried him. Like dried venison then, thus she dried him. For a long time she did that thing. Now whenever a shaman died, she used to dry him; the old woman did it. Then a long time elapsed. And then two men said to each other: 'Let us journey to the old woman; she has lots of venison, people say.' Then the two men came to the old woman. She did not look at them as they came into the house, sat with her back towards the fire. The two men seated themselves, she did not converse with them. A long time went by and then she picked up a basket-pan (*p!e'le*). Then she took dried venison [*i. e.* shaman's flesh] and put it into the basket-pan. Then she put it at their feet and then turned her back to the fire. She did not look at the men after she had put down this dried venison at their feet. 'Now the food has probably been eaten,' she thought to herself. And when a short time had elapsed, just then she looked in back of her across the fire. Now the two men were dead already, just then she turned towards the fire; and then she took up some water. Then she put the water in her mouth and blew it over their cheeks: *p'w*. The two men arose and recovered. Then she said: 'What did you think? Did you think in regard to me: "She keeps dried venison"? Did you think it was dried venison? This here is the flesh of shamans, not dried venison. Since they blew me off, therefore did I dry them.' Thus said the old woman, the old Acorn Woman said it. That really was she herself, the Acorn Chieftainess. Thus far it [*i. e.* the story] goes. Because the shamans blew her off, for that reason she did that."

In the chicken-hawk myth, which need not here be given, the shaman is treated with even less consideration. In order to revenge himself for the death of his wife, Chicken Hawk slays wholesale hosts of shamans, and, not content with that, proceeds to the annihilation of all mankind until caused to desist by a gigantic entity of the Crow people. He was the chief helper of the *samihah/uts*, and his war-song and myth formed particularly strong "shaman-medicine."

If a shaman made himself particularly feared by the community and the latter did not desire to go to the length of depriving him of his life, the *s'ömlöhólxa's* was hired to drive out his guardian spirits (*yo<sup>u</sup>láp<sup>x</sup>dä<sup>w</sup>*) and thus render him incapable of doing harm by "shooting." The account of the procedure which follows is literally translated from the Takelma text:—

"A bad-hearted shaman — of such a one his guardian spirits are driven out, since they eat up people. Now it is not desired to kill him, so for that reason his spirits are driven out. A *s'ömlöhólxa's* does it, 'raw' people [*i. e.* those that are not medicine-men] do not do it. 'Do that to him,' he is told; he [the shaman] does not do it of his own free will. So now night has come and the people have assembled together in the house. . . . Then the shaman is placed alongside the fire without any clothes on. Then dust (or ashes) are scattered all over his body by clapping hands, and one of his guardian spirits goes out. Now as it goes out the shaman groans: '*á<sup>n</sup>+*' and there is blood in his mouth. Then he [the *s'ömlöhólxa's*] does that to him again and claps dust (ashes) over him. Now when one of his guardian spirits goes out of him again, there is blood in his mouth. The shaman counts how many of his guardian spirits go out of himself. Now two have gone out. Then the shaman is addressed: 'Do not hide it! Let them all go!' he is told. . . . [As many as twenty spirits may be ejected.] Now the shaman is asked: 'Are they all gone now?' There are many people, the house is full. And he says: 'Yes! They are all gone now. There are none now.' He is asked: 'Do you tell the truth? Have they all disappeared now?' And he says: 'Yes!' The *s'ömlöhólxa's* is told: 'Well, try him again!' So he does the same thing to him. He rubs dust (ashes) over him and scatters it, clapping his hands. There are no more of his spirits to come out, they are all gone now. The *s'ömlöhólxa's* has done that. Since the bad-hearted shaman ate up people, therefore that was done to him. . . . Now when the shaman has recovered, then he has become like 'one that has had dust (ashes) thrown on him' (*algü<sup>n</sup>güwík<sup>w</sup>*). . . ."

Despite the supposed general efficacy of this method of driving out spirits, some shamans are said to have been clever enough to succeed in retaining one or more of their spirits and so continuing secretly to harm people.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS. In conclusion I give a few odds and ends of folk-lore.

1. After death, the soul or ghost of the departed was supposed to journey to the land of ghosts, situated at an indefinite distance down the river and on the opposite shore. This place was known as *hanxilmĩ*, which may be approximately translated by "across where

ghosts (or dead people) are." The Charon of the Takelmas used no paddle but just pushed off with his foot and waited for the newly arrived ghost at some distance from the shore of the living. The ghost jumped into the canoe, was ferried across, and in Greenland lived on just as he had been wont to live on earth.

2. In going about in the night-time the Takelmas were sometimes frightened by hearing a peculiar inspiratory whistling noise similar to that often produced in urging on a horse. This noise was supposed to be made by wandering ghosts in order to frighten the people. The present stem of the verb used to describe this sound is very probably onomatopoeic: *ts'usum-*.

3. A certain black long-legged bug about half an inch long was called *xllam sebèt*, i. e. "roasting dead people," because, according to a myth in which Coyote is really to blame, he was held responsible for the origin of death. Therefore this bug, when seen, was always killed.

4. If a black-striped snake crosses one's path, it should be killed. If this is not done, it is a sign that some one of your relatives will die.

5. If a rattlesnake bites your shadow, it is a sign that you will vomit.

6. *Dream Omens.* It is good to dream of traveling towards the east, but to dream of going westwards is a bad omen. To dream of muddy water is a bad omen, also to dream of snakes.

7. Blue Jay (*ts'ai's'*) was supposed to be trying to imitate Eagle with his cry. Eagle's screech was a sign of ill-omen, for it meant that some one would be killed with an arrow.

8. To cause the thunder to stop, it was customary to pinch dogs into barking. Probably the dog's bark was believed to frighten away the raccoon-like animal producing by his drumming the noise of thunder.

9. When a man hiccoughs, he is supposed to have told a lie. As a remedy a piece of food was given to him back across one's shoulder with the words: "*Alū gāt*," i. e. "Eat this!"

10. Myths were never related to children in the daytime, because in that event they would get long ears and be caught by rattlesnakes. Nor were they told in summer, for then the days would get shorter.

## Editorial Notes

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Sapir's ms. marginal notes on his own copy are given in the notes below, with verbatim material in quotation marks.

1. War-dance, *t'gwan hoyoidāk*<sup>w</sup>.
2. *Da īwadagalai*, "not mythical; so-called 'water dog' or 'lizard'."
3. Alternative form for *k!īyigadā<sup>c</sup>* given: "ʔ *k!ī'gadā<sup>c</sup>*."
4. Word divisions marked: "nek'di īdeme<sup>c</sup>a wīt," etc.
5. For 'sick at that time' read 'sick as (?) at that time'.
6. For 'did I become' read 'did my head become'.
7. After 'it was said to her.' add sentence, "Thereupon she did that to him."
8. For 'she did that' read 'she did that to them'.
9. "11. Crow was supposed to be saying *p!āk' p!āk'* = 'bathe, bathe!'"



## Takelma

TAKELMA (from the native name *dū'gelma'n*, 'those dwelling along the river'). A tribe which, together with the Upper Takelma (q.v.), or Lat'gā'wā', forms the Takilman linguistic family of Powell. They occupy the middle portion of the course of Rogue r., in s.w. Oregon from and perhaps including Illinois r. to about Table Rock, the northern tributaries of Rogue r. between these limits, and the upper course of Cow cr. Linguistically they are very sharply distinguished from their neighbors, their language showing little or no resemblance in even general morphologic and phonetic traits to either the Athapascan or the Klamath; it was spoken in at least two dialects. They seem to have been greatly reduced in numbers at the time of the Rogue River war; at the present day the few survivors, a half dozen or so, reside on the Siletz res., Oreg. J. O. Dorsey (Takelma MS. vocab., B.A.F., 1884) gives the following list of village names: Hashkushtun, Hudedut, Kashtata, Kithotaimé, Nakila, Salwahka, Seethltun, Sestikustun, Sewaathlehtunin, Shkashtun, Skanowethltunne, Talmamiche, Talotunne, Ithowache, Tulsulsun, Yaasitun, and Yushlali. These are nearly all Athapascan in form. The following native Takelma village names were procured by Dr. Edward Sapir in 1906: Gelyalk (Gelyâlk'), Dilomi (Dīlōmī), Gwenpunk (Gwenp'uñk'), Hayaalbalsda (Haya'l balsda), Dak(gamīk (Dak't'gamīk'), Didalam (Dīdalām), Daktsasin (Dak'tslasīn) or Dal-danik, Hagwal (Hagwāl), Somouluk (S'ōmō'lūk'), and Hatōnk (Hat'ōnk').

Culturally the Takelma were closely allied to the Shasta of N. California, with whom they frequently intermarried. Their main dependence for food was the acorn, which, after shelling, pounding, sifting, and seething, was boiled into a mush. Other vegetable foods, such as the camas root, various seeds, and berries (especially manzanita), were also largely used. Tobacco was the only plant cultivated. Of animal foods the chief was salmon and other river fish caught by line, spear, and net; deer were hunted by running them into an inclosure [674] provided with traps. For winter use roasted salmon and cakes of camas and deer fat were stored away. The main utensils were a great variety of baskets

(used for grinding acorns, sifting, cooking, carrying burdens, storage, as food receptacles, and for many other purposes), constructed generally by twining on a hazel warp. Horn, bone, and wood served as material for various implements, as spoons, needles, and root-diggers. Stone was hardly used except in the making of arrowheads and pestles. The house, quadrangular in shape and partly underground, was constructed of hewn timber and was provided with a central fireplace, a smoke-hole in the roof, and a raised door from which entrance was had by means of a notched ladder. The sweat-house, holding about six, was also a plank structure, though smaller in size; it was reserved for the men.

In clothing and personal adornment the Takelma differed but little from the tribes of N. California, red-headed woodpecker scalps and the basket caps of the women being perhaps the most characteristic articles. Facial painting in red, black, and white was common, the last-named color denoting war. Women tattooed the skin [chin?] in three stripes; men tattooed the left arm with marks serving to measure various lengths of strings of dentalia.

In their social organization the Takelma were exceedingly simple, the village, small in size, being the only important sociological unit; no sign of totemism or clan groupings has been found. The chieftaincy was only slightly developed, wealth forming the chief claim to social recognition. Feuds were settled through the intervention of a "go-between" hired by the aggrieved party. Marriage was entirely a matter of purchase of the bride and was often contracted for children or even infants by their parents. The bride was escorted with return presents by her relatives to the bridegroom's house; on the birth of a child an additional price was paid to her father. Though no law of exogamy prevailed beyond the prohibition of marriage of near kin, marriage was probably nearly always outside the village. Polygamy, as a matter of wealth, was of course found; the levirate prevailed. Corpses were disposed of by burial in the ground, objects of value being strewn over the grave.

No great ceremonial or ritual development was attained by the Takelma. The first appearance of salmon and acorns, the coming to maturity of a girl, shamanistic performances, and the war dance were probably the chief occasions for ceremonial activity. Great influence was exercised by the shamans, to whose malign power death was generally ascribed. Differing from the shamans were the dreamers, who gained their power from an entirely different group of supernatural beings and who were never thought to do harm. Characteristic of the Takelma was the use of a considerable number of charms or medicine

formulas addressed to various animal and other spirits and designed to gain their favor toward the fulfilment of some desired event or the warding off of a threatened evil. The most characteristic myths are the deeds of the culture-hero (Daldal) and the pranks of Coyote. For further information consult Sapir (1) in *Am. Anthr.*, IX, no. 2, 1907; (2) in *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, XX, 33, 1907; (3) *Takelma Texts*, *Anth. Publ. Univ. Pa. Mus.*, II, no. 1, 1909.

### Editorial Note

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## Wasco

WASCO (from the Wasco word *wacq'ó*, 'cup or small bowl of horn,' the reference being to a cup-shaped rock a short distance from the main village of the tribe; from the tribal name *Galasq'á*, 'Those that belong to Wasco,' or 'Those that have the cup,' are derived many of the forms of the name that follow in the synonymy. The derivation of the name from the Shahaptian *wask'ú*, 'grass,' lacks probability). A Chinookan tribe formerly living on the S. side of Columbia r., in the neighborhood of The Dalles, in Wasco co., Oreg. This tribe, with the Wishram (also known as Tlakluit and Echeloot), on the N. side of the river, were the easternmost branches of the Chinookan family. These two tribes were practically identical in language and culture, though they have been removed to different reservations. On the N., E., and S. they bordered on Shahaptian tribes, on the W. on closely related Chinookan tribes (White Salmon and Hood River Indians, Mooney's Chilukikwa and Kwikwulit). Morse, in 1822, estimated the number of the Wasco at 900. They joined in the treaty of 1855, and removed to the Warm Springs res., Oreg., where about 200 now reside. The Wasco occupied a number of villages, some of these being used only for wintering during the salmon runs. The names of these villages and fishing stations from E. to W. are: Hlgahacha, Igiskhis, Wasko (a few miles above the present town of The Dalles), Wogupan, Natlalalaik, Gawobumut, Hliakala-imadik, Wikatk, Watsokus, Winkwot (at The Dalles), Hliilwa-ihlidik, Hliapkenun, Kabala, Gayahisitik, Itkumahlemki, Hlgaktahik, Tgafu, Hliiluktik, Gahlentlich, Gechgechak, Skhlalis.

The Wasco were a sedentary people, depending for their subsistence mainly upon fish (several varieties of salmon, suckers, sturgeon, etc.), to a less extent upon edible roots, berries, and, least important of all, game. Salmon were caught in the spring and fall, partly with dip-nets, partly by spearing; smaller fish were obtained with hook and line or by means of basket traps. Definitely located fishing stations were a well-recognized form of personal property; the capture of the first salmon of the season was accompanied with a ceremony intended to give that particular fishing station a good season's catch. Pounded salmon (fish

was often stored away for winter use; it also formed an important article of trade with neighboring tribes, the chief rendezvous for barter being the falls a few miles above The Dalles. Also berries were [918] dried and preserved for winter use. The most notable of their industries were work in wood (bowls, spoons), horn (spoons, cups), and twined basketry (bags, various forms of stiff baskets). Coiled basketry has been learned since closer contact with the Klikitat; the chief materials used in twining are cedar roots and various grasses, of late also trader's cord and yarn. Realistic figures are carved in wood and horn; while the basket designs are partly geometrical, recalling the basketry art of N. California, and, as in that area, bearing conventional pattern names, partly realistic, though crudely so (angular figures of men, eagles, and deer are characteristic of the basketry art of the lower Columbia). The latter designs may be plausibly explained as an adaptation of forms familiar from wood-carving to twined basketry with its straight line and angular patterns. The original Wasco costume consisted of blanket robes (the pelts of bear, deer, wolf, coyote, raccoon, and mountain goat in summer), sleeveless shirts of raccoon or coyote skin, breechcloths of raccoon skin, and moccasins of deerskin; hats and gloves were made of coyote skin. Two types of house were in use — the partly underground winter house, roofed with cedar bark and having board platforms about the walls for beds, and the summer house with frame of fir poles and covering of tules or cedar bark; the latter type might have several fireplaces, accommodating three or four families. Sweat-houses were frequently used and were of quasi-supernatural significance.

In childhood the head was flattened by pressure on the forehead, and the ears were punctured with five holes in each ear; adults whose heads were not flattened were derided as no better than slaves. As regards naming, the most interesting fact is perhaps the absolute impossibility of translating a single Wasco name, the Chinookan dialects differing in this respect from the vast majority of American languages. Puberty ceremonies were observed in the case of both girls and boys; the former were subject to the usual taboos, after the fulfilment of which a menstrual dance was held, while the latter "trained" for the acquirement of strength and one or several guardian spirits. Burial was on boards put away in "dead people's houses"; slaves were sometimes buried alive to accompany a chief to the next world. Three classes of society were recognized: chiefs (the chieftainship was hereditary), common folk, and slaves (obtained by capture). There was no clan or totem organization, the guardian spirits referred to being strictly personal in character; the

village was the main social unit. Religious ideas centered in the acquirement and manifestation of supernatural power obtained from one or more guardian spirits. The main social dances were the menstrual dance, the guardian spirit dance, in which each participant sang the song revealed to him by his protector, and the scalp dance. The most striking fact in the mythology of the tribe is the great role that Coyote plays as culture-hero and transformer. See Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, Pub. Amer. Ethnol. Soc. II, 1909.

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# Some Aspects of Nootka Language and Culture<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

The two brief sketches that follow are based on linguistic and ethnological material collected during September to December of 1910 among two tribes of the Northern Nootka of Barkley Sound and Alberni Canal, the *Ts'icyā'atit'* and *Hopâte'as'atit'*,<sup>2</sup> now living at the head of Alberni Canal and on the banks of Somass River, in the neighborhood of the present town of Alberni. During the time spent among the Nootka Indians a few points were studied with relative fulness, though at best only a beginning was made even for these, while many other points of great importance were only touched upon. In the present paper two matters of considerable interest in regard to the linguistic and cultural affiliations of the Nootka and Kwakiutl are somewhat hurriedly discussed. The full presentation of the facts involved is reserved for future publications. It should be added that the wolf ritual was witnessed by the writer.

## The Linguistic Relationship of Kwakiutl and Nootka

The Wakashan linguistic stock is divided into two main branches, the Kwakiutl and the Nootka or Aht; the former embraces Kwakiutl proper, Xaisla, and Hĕ'tsa'q", the latter Northern Nootka (from about Cape Beale north to Cape Cook on the west coast of Vancouver Island) and Southern Nootka or Nitinat (south of Cape Beale to Cape Flattery). By careful comparison of the two Wakashan branches one can in part reconstruct a Wakashan "Ursprache," but the actual differences between Kwakiutl and Nootka are in fact very great; they differ perhaps as much as Slavic and Latin.

1. Published by permission of the Geological Survey of Canada.

2. Boas' and Swanton's phonetic system is used, with some modifications. For the vowels: *i*, *e*, and *o* are short and open, thus corresponding to their *i*, *e*, and *o*; *i*, *e*, and *o* are short and close, and correspond to their *i*, *e*, and *o*; *i*, *e*, and *o* are long and open, *i* being equivalent to Boas' *a*. Superior vowels meet with *u* denoting vowels, *u* denoting

[16] As regards phonetics, Kwakiutl and Nootka, while both showing characteristic Northwest Coast features, differ rather considerably. The sonant or intermediate stop series of Kwakiutl is absent in Nootka, Kwakiutl *p* and *b* for instance being replaced by Nootka *p*. Besides the *s*-series, which Kwakiutl and Nootka possess in common, Nootka has a *c*-series, which is doubtless derived from the Kwakiutl and Wakashan *k*-series, which in turn Nootka lacks; thus Kwakiutl *g*· and *k*· are cognate with Nootka *tc*, *k*·! with *tc*!, and *x*· with *c*. There is no *l* in Nootka, *n* corresponding to both Kwakiutl *l* and *n*. The velars *q*! and *x*, while somewhat infrequently found in Nootka, are not the regular Nootka representatives of Kwakiutl *q*! and *x*; *q*! has developed into a peculiarly harsh and choky glottal stop, which I write <sup>ε</sup>, *x* into a strangulated-sounding *h* which I write *H*, these two consonants respectively resembling Arabic ʿain and ḥâ; ordinary <sup>ε</sup> and *h* are also frequently found in Nootka. As regards phonetic processes, Kwakiutl and Nootka agree in allowing no initial consonant clusters in words; initial Kwakiutl and Nootka <sup>ε</sup>*m*, <sup>ε</sup>*n*, <sup>ε</sup>*w*, <sup>ε</sup>*y*, and Kwakiutl <sup>ε</sup>*l* are undoubtedly related to ordinary Kwakiutl and Nootka *m*, *n*, *w*, *y*, and Kwakiutl *l* as are Kwakiutl and Nootka *p*!, *t*!, *L*!, *ts*!, *q*!, Kwakiutl *k*·!, and Nootka *tc*! to nonfortis Kwakiutl and Nootka *p*, *t*, *k*, *L*, *ts*, *q*, Kwakiutl *k*·, and Nootka *tc*. In both Kwakiutl and Nootka certain derivative suffixes “harden” the final consonant of the stem; thus *p*, *q*, and *l*, become Kwakiutl *p*!, *q*!, and <sup>ε</sup>*l*, Nootka *p*!, <sup>ε</sup>, and <sup>ε</sup>*y*. The “softening” of Kwakiutl seems to be represented in Nootka by but a few stray phonetic processes. Syllabically final glottal stops and glottally affected consonants — such as <sup>ε</sup>*l* and <sup>ε</sup>*p*! — which are common in Kwakiutl, are entirely absent in Nootka. Medial and final consonant clusters are not as freely allowed in Nootka as in Kwakiutl, *i* often serving in Nootka to lighten them (cf. Nootka *-qEmil*, ‘round thing’, with Kwakiutl *-gEml* ‘mask’). All final vowels and stopped consonants in Nootka are aspirated. Peculiar to Kwakiutl is the change of *k*-stops to spirants (*x*, *x*ʷ, *x*·) before consonants, whereas in Nootka they remain; in this point Nootka seems more archaic than Kwakiutl.

In general morphology Kwakiutl and Nootka are quite similar, [17] despite numerous differences of detail. In both the stem is, as far as its meaning allows, indifferently verbal or nominal and one or more suffixes are required to give rise to definitely verbal or nominal complexes; in Nootka a suffixed <sup>ε</sup>*i*ʹ is often used to substantivize a verb form. Both Kwakiutl and Nootka are absolutely devoid of prefixes, most of the elaborate grammatical mechanism being carried on by means of suffixes,

to a lesser extent by means of initial reduplication, and, in Nootka, consonantal changes. The suffixes of Nootka and Kwakiutl express similar ideas and are used in more or less parallel fashion, though the number of suffixes that are etymologically related form but a small percentage of those found in either; so far about ninety Nootka suffixes have been discovered that are entirely or in part cognate to Kwakiutl suffixes. Examples of local suffixes shared by Kwakiutl and Nootka are: Kwakiutl *-ō-yō* 'in the middle', Nootka *-win*; Kwakiutl *-nēq* 'in the corner', Nootka *-nikw*; Kwakiutl *-atūs* 'down river', Nootka *-atix*; Kwakiutl *-ts'ō* 'in', Nootka *-ts'q*; Kwakiutl *-k t* 'top of a box', Nootka *-teq* 'full'; Kwakiutl *-!a'* 'on the rocks', Nootka *-!a'a*; Kwakiutl *-es* 'on the beach', Nootka *-is*; Kwakiutl *-il* 'in the house', Nootka *-il*; Kwakiutl *-xs* 'in a canoe', Nootka *-qs*, *-!atts*. A few examples of body-part suffixes are: Kwakiutl *-!ōs* 'cheek', Nootka *-as*; Kwakiutl *-xō* 'neck', Nootka *-as-Haul* 'chest'; Kwakiutl *-āp'* 'neck', Nootka *-āp'al* 'back'. Important temporal elements held in common are: Kwakiutl *-t* 'future', Nootka *-!āq-L*, *-!iL*; Kwakiutl *-x-!id* 'inceptive', Nootka *-ci-L*. There are some striking agreements in verbifying derivative suffixes, as: Kwakiutl *-!ōxat* 'to desire', Nootka *-!iH<sup>a</sup>* 'to try to get', *-st'itH<sup>a</sup>* 'to have as goal', Kwakiutl *-!a* 'to go in order to', Nootka *-!as*; Kwakiutl *-k-!āla* 'to make a noise', Nootka *-!en'* (= Wakashan *\*-q'!la*); Kwakiutl *-g-ā!* 'beginning of a noise', Nootka *-!aL* (= Wakashan *\*-q'!a!*); Kwakiutl *-q'!is* 'to eat', Nootka *-!is*; Kwakiutl *-muk<sup>a</sup>* 'to have', Nootka *-nak*. Examples of nominal suffixes are: Kwakiutl *-aanō* 'rope', Nootka *-āmul* 'long'; Kwakiutl *-gas* 'woman', Nootka *-aqx*; Kwakiutl *-asde* 'meat', Nootka *-act* 'dried meat'; Kwakiutl *-mis* 'useless', Nootka *-mis* 'mass'; Kwakiutl *-p'ē-q* [18] 'stick, tree', Nootka *-p'!l* 'long board-like object', *-q* 'tree'; Kwakiutl *-(x)Enx* 'year, season', Nootka *-q'!tciH<sup>a</sup>* 'year', *-!tciH<sup>a</sup>* 'season'. On the whole it seems that Nootka has a rather larger number of derivative suffixes than Kwakiutl, many quite special ideas being expressed by means of suffixes where there seem to be no Kwakiutl equivalents. A few examples are *-al* 'blanket', *-mit* 'son', *-as* 'daughter', *-!itul* 'to dream of'; *-!ō'il* 'to ask for as a gift in a girl's puberty ceremony'; *-t!ōla* 'to give a potlatch for'; *-yuqH<sup>a</sup>* 'to sing a song'; *-!i* 'to begin to sing a song'; *-!in!* 'to give a feast of'; *-Hā* 'to buy'.

Both Kwakiutl and Nootka make use of two kinds of reduplication, one in which the first consonant, first vowel, and second consonant of the stem are repeated, and one in which only the first consonant and

1. ! denotes a "strengthening" of the preceding consonant.



vowel are repeated; the former type is employed in forming iteratives, the second in forming plurals or distributives and with certain suffixes (such as Kwakiutl *-!a*, Nootka *-!as* 'to endeavor, to go in order to'; Kwakiutl *-!yālu* 'to go to look for'; Nootka *-!iH'* 'to try to get'; Nootka *-k!pk'* 'to look like'). In Nootka the repeated vowel is in all cases the same as that of the stem, in Kwakiutl the second type of reduplication has a definite vocalism (*ē* in some cases, *ā* in others) in the reduplication syllable. In Kwakiutl verb stems ending in vowels insert *x* after the first, *k* after the second syllable of the iterative, while Nootka iteratives of like form insert *L* and *y*; Nootka *sā-* 'to crawl' forms iterative *sā' Lsātc*, *-tc* being probably identical with Kwakiutl *-k*. One other striking resemblance of detail between Kwakiutl and Nootka may be noted: both Kwakiutl diminutives in *-Em* and Nootka nouns in *-kwin* 'toy' require reduplication of the stem.

In regard to pronominal development there is considerable difference between Kwakiutl and Nootka. While there is, practically speaking, but one series of personal pronominal suffixes in Kwakiutl, there are three in Nootka (represented, for second person, singular, by *-e'its*, *-k'*, and *-so'k'*), of which the second and third are etymologically related: the first Nootka series is used in indicative forms of verbs, the second in subordinate clauses, interrogatives, and possessive forms of nouns, while the third seems to be confined to [19] certain modal forms. Kwakiutl has distinct forms for first person plural inclusive and exclusive, while Nootka has only one form for both. Pronominal objects are, to at least a considerable extent, incorporated in Kwakiutl; in Nootka, however, only in the case of the first person (second series) of the imperative. A great degree of complexity in pronominal forms is brought about in Kwakiutl by the combination of the pronominal affixes with syntactic (subjective, objective, and instrumental) and demonstrative elements. Nootka has none of this syntactic and demonstrative complexity of the pronoun, but a series of forms is found built up of the second pronominal series and an element *-tc* implying that the statement is not made on the authority of the speaker.

Almost all Nootka and Kwakiutl words are noun or verb forms, there being almost no particles properly speaking. Such apparent Nootka conjunctive and case particles as *ēnōl* 'because', *ēqyi* 'when, if', and *ēkqil* 'to' are morphologically verb forms built up of a stem *ēō-* 'a certain one, thing' and derivative verbifying suffixes. There is, however, in Nootka a syntactically important conjunctive element *ēani* 'that' to which may be appended pronominal affixes of the second series and



which may perhaps be considered a particle in the proper sense of the word. The "empty stem," Nootka *ʔ-*, is cognate with Kwakiutl *ʔ-* 'something,' which, however, is used primarily in noun form. Other Wakashan "empty stems" are: Nootka *ap-*, *ʔam-*, Kwakiutl *ʔpe-*, used chiefly in forming nouns of body-parts that occur in pairs, and Nootka *hʔl*, *hʔ-* 'to be at', Kwakiutl *he-* 'that', peculiar to Nootka is *hʔn*: *hʔ-* (before "hardening" suffixes) 'to be or do (as indicated by derivative suffix)'.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to vocabulary Kwakiutl and Nootka differ greatly. Considering the very striking morphological agreements between them it is somewhat disappointing to find comparatively few stems held in common. It is highly important, however, to note that many of these are rather colorless in content and thus hardly to be suspected of having been borrowed in post-Wakashan times. Such are Kwakiutl *na-*, Nootka *nās* 'daylight'; Kwakiutl *g-āl-*, Nootka *ʔcān-* 'to be first'; Kwakiutl *ʔa-* 'to do, be', Nootka *ʔoh-* 'to be'; [20] Kwakiutl *ne-*, Nootka *ni-*, *wil-* 'not'; Kwakiutl *gē*, Nootka *qe* 'a long time'; Kwakiutl *nem-*, Nootka *nup-* 'one'; Kwakiutl *gwē-* 'thus', Nootka *qwi-* 'to be or do thus'; Kwakiutl *sō-*, Nootka *sō-* 'you' Kwakiutl *ek-*, Nootka *ʔec-* 'above'. Thus Dr. Boas' first announcement in 1890 of the close relationship between Kwakiutl and Nootka has been confirmed in every way by new evidence.

### The Nootka Wolf Ritual

[20] The Nootka of Barkley Sound have two important public rituals: a doctoring ceremony known as *ts'ā'yeq'* or *ts'āts'ā'yeq'* and a wolf ritual held in winter known as *lōkwā'na'*. The former ceremony is not known to the more northern Nootka tribes and seems to have been borrowed from the Coast Salish of eastern Vancouver Island; the latter has been profoundly influenced by the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl: the Nootka names seem to be derived from Kwakiutl *ʔw'q'a* or *ts'ē' ts'ā'cqa* "winter ceremonial" and *lō'gwala* "wolf dance." A long origin legend of the *lōkwā'na'* was secured which localizes that ceremony in the country of the *Yulū' ʔl'atʔ'* (Ucluelet), one of the tribes of Barkley Sound; it tells of a young man who went among the wolves in order to obtain from their chief the magic war-club with which to deal death to his enemies and who, having witnessed the *lōkwā'na'* among the wolves, introduced it into his tribe on his return. A wolf ritual is always given

in connection with some sort of potlatch, and those invited to the latter are not supposed to know that a *Lōkwā'na'* is about to take place. The man who runs and pays all the expenses of the *Lōkwā'na'* is generally the father or other close relative of one of those to be initiated into the tenets of the wolf ritual, though others not related to him are, as a rule, also to be initiated. The wolf ritual may be briefly described as a dramatic performance representing the capture of the novices by the wolves, their recapture from the wolves, the exorcism of wolf spirits that they bring back with them, and the performances of dances that the novices are supposed to have been taught by the wolves. The exact details of the course of the ritual differ according to the tribe and family traditions of the *Lōkwā'nap'* or giver of the *Lōkwā'na'*. [21]

At some point in the potlatching and feasting of the first evening the lights are suddenly put out and four wolves are dimly seen scampering about and whistling furiously. The particular color or decoration of these wolves depends on the *topā'ti'* or inherited privilege of the *Lōkwā'nap'*. At the same time there is a terrible uproar on the part of the people, who simulate fear, and all the singing of gift songs and other forms of merriment cease. From now on all pretend to be in constant fear of the wolves, and those not yet initiated or not to be initiated at that *Lōkwā'na'* are told that genuine wolves have invaded the village. When light is restored, the wolves have disappeared and with them certain of the novices. After a while the four wolves again appear and, when order is again restored, the rest of the novices are found to have disappeared. Pretended efforts are made to find these, curses are hurled against the wolves, and a trap is set to capture them; the right to give this trap is a *topā'ti'* of a particular family. During the night and at various times during the three days following wolves are heard to howl and whistle and, from time to time, are seen along the edge of the woods at some distance from the village. The number of wolves used in the ritual for this purpose differs again according to the *topā'ti'* of the *Lōkwā'nap'*, some families claiming the right to use fifty or even sixty wolves. Only a certain number of men in the tribe have the inherited right to "play wolf," though, as in the case of practically all inherited privileges, the actual performance of the *topā'ti'* may be deputed, with payment for vicarious service, to others not so entitled. Each line of descent that transmits the privilege of playing wolf is characterized by its special *topā'ti'* of wolf decoration in black and white and has its secret medicines for painting the face black and for warding off evil consequences of the curses of the people. The manner in which the

wolves move about, the order in which they come out of the woods, the direction in which they turn, and the number of times they appear are all rigidly determined; the howls of the wolves also are conventional in character and are not intended accurately to reproduce real wolf howls. Three distinct types of whistle are employed by the wolves, the sounds made by which may be respectively [22] described as resembling a squeak, a quacking noise, and the sound of a bugle; they are all constructed of two pieces of slightly hollowed out wood which tightly fit together and are wrapped with wild-cherry bark. Four of the wolves are messengers, each bearing his special name, and scamper about somewhat apart from and more hurriedly than the rest; one of the wolves is abnormally large and is supposed to be the pack-wolf, a sixth is lame and howls *hīhō* for long stretches of time, the assumption of this last role being the *topā ti* of a particular family.

During the four days that the novices are absent they are supposed to be the captives of the wolves; in reality they are, or rather were, kept at a house in the woods which is tabooed to the uninitiated. The wolves, when not "on duty," dress as ordinarily and return to the village to mingle with the rest, by whom they are not supposed to be recognized as the impersonators of the wolves. At certain times the chief of the tribe exercises his jealously guarded *topā ti* of singing a special *ts!i'qa* song intended to call out the wolves and have them bring the novices to view; *ts!i'qa* songs are a class of songs of solemn chant-like character accompanied, during the *Lōkwāna*, by rapid rattling, at other times by rapid drumming. After the singing of this song the wolves appear and also the novices are seen to come out in a prescribed order at the edge of the woods; they wear hemlock branch ornaments and wave hemlock boughs in their hands. Whenever the wolves are heard howling or are seen, many of the people sing *ts!i'qa* songs referring to the *Lōkwāna*; these differ for different lines of descent, and, as each person rattles and sings his own *ts!i'qa* regardless of all others, the resulting din can be easily imagined.

On the afternoon of the third day of the ritual some men set off in canoes across the river with the ostensible purpose of seizing the novices from the wolves. This ceremony is known as *mātskwē'at*, "to go in order to get the remains (i. e., torn clothing) of what has been bitten (and carried off in the mouths of the wolves, i. e., of the novices)." The novices themselves are known as *mē'iat* "those who have been bitten (and carried off in the mouths of the wolves)," the Nootka metaphor of the "biting and carrying off by the wolves" [23] of the novices



corresponding to the Kwakiutl one of their "disappearance." The canoe men return baffled; they have skirmished with the wolves at the edge of the water but have found it impossible to wrest their captives from them. On the afternoon of the fourth day takes place a ceremony known as *mākwa'íH'* "to try to get what is held in the mouths (of the wolves)." It is a fairly elaborate out-of-doors performance, consisting of frequent singing of *ts'í'qa'* songs, of the appearance at various times of the wolves and novices, of the "acting crazy" (*qeqé'cap'qa'*) of various groups of men and women, and of the steady approach of the row of people towards the wolves while singing a ritualistic song intended to please the latter. Several times men are sent out to lie in wait for the wolves and to shoot at them at their approach (*é'eL*), attempts are also made to trap the wolves (*qā'miL*), but all to no effect. Finally, as many men are deputed with ropes as there are novices; they advance towards the wolves and, on the last appearance of the novices, they lasso these and succeed in fighting off the wolves. The lassoing of the novices, it should be added, is a *topā'ti'*. All now return with the novices, who are led by the ropes and who are continually whistling with whistles concealed in their mouths, to the house. The whistling noise is supposed to be produced by the wolf spirits that have entered the bodies of the novices. These spirits are known as *Héi'na'* — cognate with or borrowed from Kwakiutl *xwē'la*, — and are represented by pieces of quartz or, nowadays, glass. The novices are taken to the back of the house, still whistling; they are now called *qaHákwiL* "dead in the house." The greater part of the evening is taken up by a peculiar *ts'í'qa'* ceremony. A certain number of men and women, who have inherited this *topā'ti'*, arise and sing simultaneously each his or her own *ts'í'qa'* song, accompanying themselves with rattles; at the same time another man, who is also exercising a *topā'ti'*, drums loudly and rapidly; this singing, rattling, and drumming, across the terrific din of which may be constantly heard the clamorous whistling of the novices, lasts several hours. The purpose of the ceremony seems to be to appease the wolf-inspired novices.

Before noon of the following day two important ceremonies are [24] performed. The first of these is the *tc'íH'wā's'ap'* "driving of ghosts (i. e., wolf spirits) out of the house" and is practically a form of exorcism. It is the most sacred part, at any rate the part most strictly tabooed to the uninitiated, of the whole wolf ritual and after its completion the wolves as such cease to play a part. Two men, whose *topā'ti'* the office is, blacken the faces of all the people, who sit in the rear and at the sides of the house and who have been provided with beating sticks. Two



other men, who do so in virtue of their *topā'ti'*, have themselves dressed up in bear skins and erect headdresses of branches and hold rattles in their hands. The actual exorcism consists in the singing of ritualistic songs and uttering of certain noises and yells, in accompaniment to which the people beat time in various rhythms, while the exorcists perform four peculiar counter-clockwise dances, at the same time accompanying themselves with rattling. As a result of this exorcism the *Héina'* of the novices leave their bodies and fly into the hands of the exorcists; at the same time the whistling of the novices ceases entirely. All, except the novices, who are still in the rear of the house, now proceed to the water's edge. The exorcists alternately dip their clasped hands down to the water and raise them above their heads, the *Héina'* jutting out in the form of quartz or glass. At the fourth raising of the hands the *Héina'* are supposed to return to their original owners, the wolves, who at that identical movement howl a single time. The novices are thus exorcised, but their blood has been contaminated by the presence of the *Héina'*; hence a purification ceremony known as *k'wéid'* "sucking" is now performed, the term "sucking (out the bad blood)" being merely a metaphor. Certain men, quite or nearly naked, proceed to bathe in the winter-cold water of the river; they have blood streaming down from their mouths and each is held by means of a rope by another man who follows the former wherever he goes. The bathers stay in the water as long as they can endure the cold; then they are carried back by others into the house, being supposed to have become frozen stiff; they are revived by the utterance of formulaic yells.

On the evening of this day and of the three days following the novices, assisted by others, dance a series of dances known as [25] *'oel'nak'* "pretending to be somebody." Each novice has a particular dance assigned to him or her, the assignment depending to some extent on the *topā'ti'* of his or her family; there are not more of these dances performed than there are novices, though the total number of *'oel'nak'* dances known is very large, perhaps more than seventy-five. As each line of descent has the right to perform a large number of dances and as the great majority of the dances seem to inhere in many lines of descent, the *topā'ti'* element in these dances does not impress one as being very clearly marked, though undoubtedly present. The assistants of the novice are always of the same sex as the latter, if the novice is a child unable to perform the dance, it may be carried on the back of an older person who takes its place. The dances may be divided into three categories: those representing supernatural beings, those intended to imitate ani-

mals, and those dramatizing various activities. Examples of the first class are the dances of the thunder-bird, which differ from the thunder-bird dance given in potlatches at other times of the year; the *Hé'īLīk'* or lightning serpent, who dances as the "belt" of two thunder-bird dancers; *álmag!oH'*, who corresponds to the fool dancer of the Kwakiutl; the *sānak'*, a sort of supernatural wolf dancer, whose dance seems to correspond to the *wālas'axá* of the Kwakiutl; *pókumis*, supernatural spirits transformed from those who have frozen to death; and *nō'lim'*, creatures of the woods who walk about stealthily and carry painted wands. The animal dances comprise a very large number, a few of which are the dances of the panther, wolf (*qwáyetsīnak'*), wasp, red-headed woodpecker, devil-fish, and saw-bill duck. Some of the dances that illustrate activities are those of the archers, women who go berrying, those who look idly upon one that is making a canoe, those who talk secretly in whispers to one another, men who sit about lazily on their summer seats in the morning, and young men who signal to girls to follow them into the woods. The Kwakiutl *hā'mats!a* has quite recently been acquired by a few families of the Nootka of Barkley Sound from Nootka tribes farther north who are in close proximity to the Kwakiutl; it is of only secondary importance among the Nootka. Each dance is performed four times in a counter-clockwise [26] circuit; a few of the dances, such as the *álmag!oH'*, are danced by a single man, others, such as the thunder-bird and wolf dances, by two who dance towards and away from each other, while in the larger number of dances an indefinite number participate. The ceremonial paraphernalia used in the dances are face, head, and forehead masks, though in many no masks are used, red-dyed cedar bark head rings and attachments to masks, face paintings of many kinds, and many other less easily classified objects or insignia that are characteristic of particular dances. The face mask seems to be particularly characteristic of *álmag!oH'*; head masks, though now employed in many *Lōkwā'na'* dances, are said to have been originally used only for the *sā'nak'*. The dances, it should be noted, are repeated in the same order each of the four evenings. Some of the *qci'nak'* dances have special songs that go with them and are the *topā'ti'* of particular families, others are accompanied by the singing of a set of *ts!ī'qa'* songs known as *ts!ī'ak'Lim'* "ts!ī'qa' songs that follow behind"; all of these dances are preceded by the singing of *ts!ī'qa'* songs.

The *qci'nak'* dances practically conclude the ritual. On the morning of the fourth day thereafter a ceremony known as *ā'tscil* "to go out fishing or hunting" takes place. The novices, who are supposed to have



procured food for a feast, are paddled down stream in a canoe while the paddlers from time to time utter a formulaic *ā +*. At a certain point the novices jump out into the water and, as they hold on to the canoe, are paddled to shore; they are supposed to be frozen stiff and have to be revived. After the feast, really provided by the parents of the novices, the set of *ʔocī nak* dances is once more gone through. A year later a short *Lōkwāna* known as *hōʔatstōp* takes place; it lasts only one day, and its main features seem to be wolf howling and the dancing of the *ʔocī nak* dances of a year before.

Such, in bare outline, is the course of the Nootka wolf ritual. It should be remarked, however, that not all the time is taken up with set ritualistic doings, but that potlatching, including the singing of *Lōkwāna* potlatch songs, is constantly going on; the elaborateness and fulness of the actual ceremony depend to a large extent [27] on the amount of property and money that the *Lōkwānap* is prepared to give away. A good deal of subsidiary buffoonery and "acting crazy" are indulged in by the various *ʔopāl*. These are non-hereditary clubs which, to some extent, are named according to various tribes; the women are formed into two such clubs, the Bluejays and Sea-gulls. These clubs, which have their songs, paints, and distinctive feasts, are not, however peculiar to the *Lōkwāna*, but operate as well in potlatches during the rest of the year; thus the *ʔopāl* are far from representing, as Dr. Bow was inclined to believe, a breaking down during the *Lōkwāna* of the ordinary social system of the tribe, a state of affairs that would be comparable to the change among the Kwakiutl from *hāxux* or "profane season" to the winter ceremonial season. The *ʔopāl* are said to have originated among the Nootka of Alberni Canal and to have been imitated latterly among other Nootka tribes.

One of the most striking facts about the wolf ritual of the Nootka is the frequent exercise of inherited privileges at various points of the ritual. This, however, is by no means distinctive of the *Lōkwāna* alone but is a trait that permeates all phases of Nootka life. The intensely sacred, even austere, character of the ritual as performed in earlier days is somewhat less in evidence now; the more savage features, such as killing of slaves, dog eating, and self-torture, which at least sometimes originally entered into the latter part of the ritual, have necessarily been ruled out of late. Police officers were charged with the duty of seeing that all the taboos and usages of the ritual were carefully observed and punished with rigor, in certain cases with death, any infringement, such

as failure to have the face painted black; those guilty of smiling or gum-chewing had their mouths slit more open.

The close historic connection between the wolf ritual of the Nootka and the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl is easily proven and indeed quite obvious. It may be going too far, however, to say that the Nootka borrowed the entire ceremony from their northern neighbors. The fact that the wolves play such a highly characteristic and specialized part in the Nootka *Lōkwā'na'* and that the origin of the ritual is so persistently localized in the region directly [28] north of Barkley Sound (according to Swan the Makah of Cape Flattery also derive their ritual from this region) make it seem likely that we have to deal with an old and specifically Nootka wolf ceremony that, in course of time, has become profoundly influenced and probably considerably elaborated by the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. It even seems probable that at least one of the wolf dances of the latter is Nootka in origin. At any rate, before the details of the wolf ritual among the more northern Nootka tribes, which are said to be rather different from those above outlined, are known, it is well to refrain from ascribing the Nootka *Lōkwā'na'* to a primarily Kwakiutl origin.

### Editorial Note

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## The Indians of the Province [of British Columbia]

The various Indian tribes that make up the aboriginal population of British Columbia are far from forming a unit, whether regard be had to their physical characteristics, to their languages, or to their aboriginal cultures, that is, the sum total of their customs and beliefs. The chief coast tribes represented in the Province are: the Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands; the Tsimshian of the Nass and Skeena Rivers, the Bella Coola of Bentinck Arm and Dean's Inlet; the Kwakiutl group of tribes, embracing the Kwakiutl Indians proper of northern Vancouver Island and the adjoining mainland; the Bella Bella of the mainland to the north, and the Haisla of Rivers Inlet; the Nootka, a group of closely related tribes of the west coast of Vancouver Island; and the Coast Salish tribes of south-eastern Vancouver Island and the southern coast of British Columbia, including the Fraser River delta. The interior tribes of the Province are chiefly: the Lillooet of the country about Harrison Lake; the Thompson River Indians of the Fraser and south shore of the Thompson; the Shuswap, north of these; the Okanagan in the southern part of British Columbia, the Kootenay of the Kootenay Lakes region; the Chilcotin of the Chilcotin Valley, the Carrier, west of the Shuswap and north of the Chilcotin; the Babine, a tribe closely related linguistically to the Carrier and dwelling north of them; the Sicannia, north of the Shuswap; and the Nahana, a group of tribes occupying the northern part of British Columbia, including the Tahltan of Stikine River.

Culturally all these tribes are to be divided into two main groups, corresponding rather closely to their geographical position: those of the coast and those of the interior plateaux. The coast tribes, to which belong also the Tlingit tribes of southern Alaska, have attained a very considerable degree of complexity of culture and have permanent villages. The plateau tribes, who form but part of an aboriginal culture area extending for a vast distance north and south of British Columbia, are far more primitive than the tribes bounding them on the west, and are, at least in part, semi-nomadic in habit; some of them, particularly

the Lillooet, Chilcotin, Carrier, and Tahltan, have been influenced to a great extent by their neighbours of the coast, while others, such as the Kootenay and Thompson River Indians, have been somewhat affected culturally through contact with Plains Indians to the east.

The Indian languages of British Columbia may be grouped into six well-defined linguistic stocks, that is, aggregations of languages derived from a common ancestral language that, as far as can be determined, are entirely unrelated to one another. These linguistic stocks are the Haida, Tsimshian, Salish (subdivided into Coast Salish, which includes Bella Coola, and Interior Salish, embracing Lillooet, Thompson River, Shuswap, and Okanagan), Wakashan or Kwakiutl-Nootka, Kootenay and Athabaskan, or D  n   (to this stock belong the languages spoken by the tribes enumerated last above, beginning with Chilcotin); Salish and Athabaskan languages, particularly the latter, are spoken far beyond the bounds of the Province. The six linguistic stocks of British Columbia differ profoundly from one another in their grammatical structure, to a very considerable extent also in their phonetic systems; they all, though in varying degrees, impress an ear habituated to European forms of speech as remarkably uneuphonic.

In regard to their physical traits the Indians of the coast of British Columbia form, according to Professor Boas, a link between the rest of the Indians of North America and the north-east Asiatic peoples of Mongolian race, resembling the latter in skin colour, hair colour and texture, head form, and facial features, yet differing from them in the greater size of the head and face and in the comparative absence among them of slanting eyelids. Within the bounds of British Columbia, Professor Boas distinguishes two main physical types, that [136] of the coast and that of the plateaux of the interior, both of only medium stature. The former are characterised by lighter hair and lighter colour of skin than ordinarily in North America, but in other respects they must be subdivided into two subtypes: the northern type, to which belong the Haida and Tsimshian, and the Kwakiutl type. The former type is characterised by great size of head, great breadth of face, moderate height of face, concave nose (particularly among the women), and slight elevation of nose above face; while the Indians of the Kwakiutl type have extremely high faces and high and rather narrow noses, which are well elevated above the face and are often convex in form. The Indians of the plateau type of the interior have smaller heads and lower faces than those of the coast, and are characterised by heavy convex noses. Professor Boas thinks there is some evidence to show that the

Lillooet Indians and Coast Salish tribes represent a fourth physical type in British Columbia, which, in its most typical form, is characterised by low stature, great breadth of head and face, brachycephaly or short-headedness, flat or concave nose, thick lips and receding chin. It is interesting to note that the use of the cephalic index, or ratio of breadth to length of head, which is so often employed by physical anthropologists as a race criterion, is made somewhat difficult among the natives of the southern coast of British Columbia because of the practice, only recently abandoned, of these Indians of flattening the forehead and back of the head of their infants as they were tightly swathed and laced in their basket cradles. The Kootenay Indians seem to belong physically to the type of the Plains Indians, being taller than the great mass of British Columbia natives, more long-headed, darker in colour, and with noses resembling those of the Plains Indians rather than those of the tribes west of them.

As it is impossible within the limits of this sketch to do justice to the many aspects of British Columbia ethnology, we will content ourselves with a rapid review of some of the main elements of the coast and plateau cultures, our chief interest being always concentrated on the contrast between the two. Much of this contrast is immediately traceable, particularly in regard to elements of material culture, to the respective environments of the two groups of tribes. It is readily intelligible, for instance, that the natives of a strip of coast land in which there is heavy rainfall and that, in consequence, is heavily wooded with coniferous trees, should have learned to make substantial pitch-roofed plank houses and developed a very considerable technique in woodwork. On the other hand, the dry, comparatively treeless character of the interior of the Province helps us to understand the presence among the plateau tribes of less solid tent-like types of house, and the replacement, to a large extent, of the wooden vessels of the coast by vessels of bark, hide, and basketry.

The main industry of the coast tribes is fishing, which is carried on chiefly by means of drag-nets, fish-hooks, and lines (often of kelp), basket traps, and fish-spears (certain types of which have detachable points). Many varieties of salmon and cod, halibut, herring, oulachan or candlefish, and other less staple kinds of fish are caught at different seasons and form the main diet of the Indians of the coast. There are different ways of preparing these for food, such as boiling in boxes by means of heated stones, roasting, and smoking. In former times sea-mammals (seals, sea-lions, sea-otters, porpoises, and whales) furnished



not unimportant sources of the food supply. Among the Nootka only, however, was the whale actually pursued, and among them only by privileged families who possessed knowledge of the appropriate whaling rituals; the other coast tribes were content with stranded whales, which were always welcomed with great joy. Marine invertebrates, such as sea-urchins, devil-fish, and particularly various kinds of clams, are also important. Land animals are hunted by some of the tribes to some extent, but form only a secondary means of subsistence. Vegetable foods, particularly different berries and edible roots, are by no means negligible in a list of foods of the coast tribes, but are again of only secondary importance. Agriculture was entirely unknown to all the Indians of British Columbia, if we except a limited tobacco culture among some of the tribes.

The plateau tribes on the whole depended for their sustenance upon a greater range of food products than their western neighbours. Besides fish, particularly salmon, which were caught by spearing, dipnet fishing, and by means of weirs and basket traps, they subsisted on the flesh of various land animals, deer being either hunted with bow and arrow or despatched after being driven into corrals, while smaller mammals were caught in traps and snares. Vegetable products played a far more important part in the life of these Indians than in that of the coast natives, the steaming or roasting of different kinds of edible tubers in pits, in particular, being typical woman's work; berrying also was of considerable importance, as is shown, among other things, by the fact that definite berry patches were jealously guarded by the tribes. The greater variety of foods necessary for the subsistence of the Plateau Indians caused the tribes to move about more freely, within fairly well-defined limits, than those of the coast, where there was at almost any point a practically never-failing supply of fish to be had. Though the Salish tribes of the interior possessed permanent winter villages as a rule, some of the Athabaskan tribes, owing to the exigencies of winter hunting, moved about in the winter.

The dwellings of the Coast Indians are large quadrangular structures of hewn planks, the framework, in its most typical northern form, consisting of four heavy corner posts, centre posts at either end, and connecting beams and ridge-pole. In many of the houses there are sleeping platforms about the walls. Some of the houses, particularly among the Coast Salish, were of extreme length, attaining in some cases to upwards of 600 feet, and were used as communal houses, each family being partitioned off from the others and making use of its own fire.



In a typical west-coast village the houses are arranged in a single row, and face the sea, the canoes being drawn up on the beach; except among the southern tribes, the village is given a picturesque aspect by the presence of high heraldic posts, the so-called "totem poles," which are generally built in in the front of the house, with an aperture at the base serving as door. In the interior the dwellings differ for summer and winter. Among the interior Salish tribes, as well as among the Chilootin and Southern Carrier, who were doubtless influenced by them, the winter house was a semi-underground structure with a conical covering, compactly overlaid with earth, to which access was had by means of a notched ladder jutting out through the smoke-hole. In the summer, round or square tents covered [137] with mats or simple lean-tos of saplings were used.

The coast tribes, as already observed, were expert woodworkers, the easily worked red cedar proving an abundant source of material. The implements used in felling trees, hewing out planks, and curving and polishing wood were wedges of wood or antler, stone mauls, adzes with often well-carved wooden handles and stone or bone blades, curved-bladed knives, and dogfish skin used as polisher. The art of applying fire to trees and logs, to assist in felling and in securing boards of appropriate size, and of kerfing and steaming wood, so as to make it capable of bending at right angles, were thoroughly understood. Numerous types of household utensils and other articles of wood were neatly fashioned, many of them with often exquisitely executed designs in relief; among them are various types of boxes, some of which were painted with highly conventionalised realistic designs or inlaid with abalone shell, shallow trays, deeper so-called "grease dishes," buckets, ladles, canoe bailers, fish or seal clubbers, batons, ceremonial staffs, box drums, rattles, whistles, and masks. Exquisitely finished work was also done in bone and horn, perhaps the best examples of which are the elaborately carved horn spoons of the Haida and Tsimshian. Stone was worked into pestles, mortars, mauls, hand-hammers, and blades and points of weapons and implements, the artistic tendency of the Indians found play even here, for we often find the stone mauls decorated with well-executed realistic designs. Flaking of stone implements, as we are led to judge by archaeological evidence, was unknown along the coast, its place being taken by rubbing or battering and pecking. In the interior, however, both flakes and battered stone implements are found. The woodwork of the interior tribes, as has been already pointed out, is decidedly inferior to that of the Coast Indians. On the other

hand, they do far more work in hides, both raw and tanned; the raw-hide *partlèches* or pack-bags of the interior Salish tribes, which are generally decorated with painted designs, and which are evidently modelled after the *partlèches* of the Plains Indians, are good examples of work in raw hide, while tanned hides, particularly buckskin and caribou, were used for various articles of clothing — caps, shirts, leggings, breech clouts, moccasins, and mittens.

The clothing of the Coast Indians was far scantier than that of the natives of the plateau, consisting chiefly of hide blankets, and for women red cedar bark twilled rain-capes and aprons; artistically wrought, more or less conical, woven hats, of different patterns in different parts of the coast area, and generally with painted designs, are characteristic articles of dress of the Indians of this region. Weaving, matting, and basketry are important industries in both regions. The Coast Indians weave beautiful blankets, ponchos, and dancing aprons of “yellow cedar” bark strands, mountain-goat wool, and, in former times, also dog hair. Mats are either twilled of strips of red cedar bark or made of rushes sewn together. Basketry, which is either twined or twilled (this term being here used to include checker weaves), is comparatively simple among the Indians of the coast, no great perfection of technique being attained except among the southern Nootka and the Tlingit of southern Alaska, the latter of whom make beautiful spruce-root twined basketry decorated with coloured strands. Among the Indians of the interior, fabrics are woven of sagebrush bark, and of long strips of twisted rabbit-skin; the latter technique is spread over an immense territory in aboriginal North America, being found as far east as the Montagnais of Eastern Quebec, and as far south as the Paiutes of northern Arizona. Indian hemp, oleaginous fibre, and rushes are used in matting, bags, and twined basketry. The Athabaskan tribes of British Columbia make large and small baskets of solid bark, while the interior Salish tribes, as well as the Chilcotin, are remarkable for their neatly finished coiled baskets, which are decorated in geometrical designs with overlay strands applied by a process known as *imbrication*. Many of these coiled baskets, which are generally of angular form, are stitched so fine as to hold water without difficulty.

Perhaps the most striking object in use among the Coast Indians of British Columbia, next to the totem poles already spoken of, is the dug-out canoe hollowed out of a single cedar-tree, which is spread to the proper width by steaming. These canoes are well constructed, differing in style in different parts of the coast country, and are eminently



seaworthy; the longest canoes are those of the Haida, which often reach a length of upwards of 60 feet, and are ornamented at both bow and stern with painted designs of the conventionalised realistic style characteristic of the region. The interior tribes also make dug-outs, which, however, do not compare in finish with those of the coast, but they are characterised more by the use of bark canoes. The well-known Kootenay type of bark canoe is peculiar in possessing spurs under water at bow and stern, which gives the canoe a cigar-like shape.

Reference has already been made to the highly developed decorative art of the Pacific Coast Indians. Simple geometric designs are brought out in twilled matting by the use of red and black strands; geometric designs are also made use of in the twined basketry of the Nootka and of the Tlingit of southern Alaska. But far more characteristic of these Indians, particularly among the Haida, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, and Kwakiutl, than geometric designs are peculiar designs which are primarily realistic in character, animals and supernatural beings often in human form being chiefly depicted, but in which realism has in many cases been conventionally distorted to such an extent that it is far from evident as such. This distortion is due largely to the use of eye designs to indicate joints, or even merely to help fill out the decorative field, and to the representation of the object as though it had first been split up and spread out symmetrically. In relief art, as in the case of the figures carved out on totem poles, house posts, rattles, and horn spoons, the realism is best preserved, though even here the representation of conventional symbols referring to the object, rather than of the entire object as such, is marked. Conventional distortion is carried to its greatest extent in designs on a flat surface, such as paintings on boxes and canoes, incised designs on "coppers," and designs woven into Chilcat blankets. The art of the interior tribes, which in both extent and range is scantier than that of the coast, is mainly geometrical in character. It is best exemplified in the basketry designs of the interior Salish and Chilcotin Indians, to a less extent in the painted designs on raw-hide parflèches. These geometrical designs are named by pattern names according to real or fancied resemblances to various objects; that these names do not necessarily mean that the designs are realistic in origin is indicated by the fact that the same design has different pattern names in different tribes.

A great contrast obtains between the [139] Indians of the interior and of the coast in regard to social organisation. Outside of the Tlilcoot, Chilcotin, and Carrier, who in this respect have been profoundly influ-

enced by the neighbouring coast tribes, the interior tribes are organised on a very simple basis, there being no differences of rank recognised, except in so far as captives of war could be held as slaves, and the people not being subdivided into anything like clan groups; chiefs were not such by virtue of inheritance, but simply because of the regard in which they were held for their wealth or intellectual powers. Among the coast tribes, however, and the interior tribes influenced by them, there are four classes recognised — chiefs, nobles, common people, and slaves; an individual belonged to one of these classes by virtue of descent, so that they partake of the nature of castes. Moreover, the Coast Indians, particularly those of the more northern tribes, make use of crests or heraldic emblems, which generally refer to animals believed to be endowed with supernatural power, and which are often carved on totem poles; these crests were obtained, according to mythical legends, by ancestors in remote times, and handed down to their descendants. Thus the crests inhere in particular families or lines of descent, though it is important to note that different families may have the same crest, in which case we may speak of clans, and that an individual may possess several crests, though generally he regards one of them as his main crest. It is important to bear in mind that the natives do not consider themselves descended, as is sometimes popularly supposed, from the crest animals or "totems." The tendency for individuals possessing the same crest to be grouped into social units is best seen among the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian, where the whole tribe is divided into a small number of phratries, the members of which are considered to be kin to one another, and therefore forbidden to intermarry. There are two such exogamic (literally "outside marrying") phratries among the Haida, the Eagle and Raven, the main crest of the latter of which, curiously enough, is the killerwhale. The Tsimshian Indians have four exogamic phratries, the crests of which are respectively the wolf, eagle, raven, and bear. Among these northern coast tribes descent is counted in the female line, not, as with us, in the male line. Exogamy and maternal descent, it should be noted, are characteristic of the three tribes mentioned, and of the northern branches of the Kwakiutl group, while elsewhere in the coast area they either do not appear at all or in modified form.

One of the most striking traits of the culture of the coast tribes is the great development of the idea of property. This is illustrated by the strict laws of inheritance that obtain among them. Not only was movable property, such as blankets, canoes, and slaves, handed down in the male or female line, as the case might be, but also the right to definite fishing-



places and hunting-grounds was inheritable. Privileges of all kinds, such as particular offices in rituals, names, certain types of songs, participation in ceremonial dances, and numerous other forms of immaterial property were inherited, and differed in character from family to family. The "potlatch" is a definite embodiment of the native ideas of property and its transfer. The term "potlatch" is derived from the Chinook jargon word meaning "to give," and is used to refer to ceremonial feasts given by such as are desirous of distributing property to fellow-tribesmen, or, in some cases, to the members of another tribe that has been invited for the purpose. Nowadays modern goods or even currency are used in these potlatches, but in earlier times blankets, strings of dentalia, canoes, slaves, and other forms of aboriginal wealth were distributed. Large copper plates of peculiar form with incised heraldic designs were sometimes transferred by chiefs, particularly among the Kwakiuth, and, like paper currency among ourselves, were symbolic of great value, many "coppers," which were known by distinctive names, being worth several thousands of blankets of unit value; with each transfer such a "copper" increased in value by a definite amount. While property is thus given away at a potlatch, the gift is only apparent, for the recipient of the gift is expected in most cases to return it to the donor with interest, generally at 100 per cent, at some future time. Potlatches are often given in connection with events of a ceremonial character, such as a winter ritual, or a ceremony given at the time a girl has entered upon the period of puberty (for some time whereafter she is subject to various restrictions of food and action), or a marriage (which is often in the form of a dramatic representation of the marriage of some ancestor recounted in a family legend). On the plateau, potlatches are given only among the more western tribes, who here again have been influenced by the Coast Indians.

The belief in a supreme being was not entirely absent among the natives of British Columbia, but was, at least in many cases, rather vague at best and of but secondary importance in their daily life. Religion centred about beliefs in various supernatural beings, only in part connected with natural phenomena or identifiable with animal spirits, in various religious ceremonies or rituals connected with such supernatural beings, or with securing success in fishing, hunting, or other pursuits, and in the acquirement by individuals of personal supernatural protectors, or "manitous," of which the acquirement of power by medicine-men is but a phase. The ritualistic side of religion is highly developed among the coast tribes, far less so among those of the

interior. Chief among the coast rituals is the winter feast, which is most complex among the Kwakiutl tribes, among whom several of its features seem to have originated. Among the Kwakiutl the ordinary grouping of the tribe into clans and families is suspended during the performance of the winter ritual, and its place is taken by a grouping according to membership in secret societies. Part of the tribe is uninitiated and takes no active part in any of the dances; the rest belong to various societies, in which membership is secured practically by hereditary right — formally through initiation by the supernatural being to whom the society, according to mythical legends, owes its origin. The societies have their characteristic regalia, face-paintings, ceremonial insignia, songs, masked dances, and, in some cases, ceremonial functions. They are graded according to rank, and in successive winter feasts a member of the initiated may, according to the ceremonial privileges that he has inherited, proceed from membership in one of the societies to one higher in rank. The highest of the winter feast societies among the Kwakiutl is the Cannibal Society, which takes its mythical origin from the Cannibal Spirit. The members indulge in ceremonial eating of corpses and frenzied biting of bystanders, which naturally is far from justifying a belief in the former existence of true cannibalism among these Indians. The winter season, it should be noted, is considered sacred, and it is forbidden to handle or [140] show winter masks, whistles, or other ritual elements during the rest of the year.

Among the Plateau Indians greater importance attaches to the getting of guardian spirits, or manitous, than to the performance of rituals. When a boy arrives at the age of puberty he retires to some lonely spot and undergoes a period of training, consisting of fasting, frequent bathing, and prayer, aiming to secure in a vision the protection of some potent spirit, generally an animal spirit, less frequently that of an inanimate object. Such a spirit generally serves as the individual's protector or luck-bringer in life ever after, bringing him success, according to the nature of the spirit, in hunting, war, gambling, love, or other pursuits. Medicine-men are, in theory, simply a class of individuals that have at one or more periods of their life obtained the protection of spirits that give them the power to locate the cause of disease. By the singing of medicine songs, which the medicine-man has learned in his manitou visions, he is put into an ecstatic state in which he is supposed to see clearly the "pain," generally thought of in quite material terms, that is immediately responsible for the sick man's ailment, and to discover the person whose malice brought it about. Sometimes a

man's soul is supposed to leave him so that he is as though dead; in such cases a medicine-man can put himself into a trance and cause his own soul to bring back the errant one to the invalid, thus restoring him to life and health. There is no doubt that medicine-men, and for that matter medicine-women, often effect cures through the power of suggestion.

The mythology of the Coast Indians is very rich, and is in large part intimately connected with the social organisation and religious beliefs of the natives. Two main types of myth may be recognised in this area — family or clan legends, which, though often embodying mythological ideas that are scattered over a wide area, are in their particular form the property of families or clans, and unattached myths that are not so local in their application. While the clan legends often have a pseudo-historical air about them, the unattached myths have more of the character of folk-tales, in which the actors are chiefly animals thought of as human beings living in a mythological period, the ancestors of the animals of today. The idea of creation is very weakly developed in this area, if at all, though the mythological Raven is believed to be responsible for daylight and other important facts of existence. Curiously enough, Raven, while spoken of as a powerful transformer and benefactor of mankind, is in other myths, and indeed often in the very same myth, put in the most ridiculous roles. The same is true of Coyote (the mythological progenitor of the coyote or prairie wolf) who, among the tribes of the interior, combines the roles of a culture-hero benefiting man, transformer, and clownish, oftentimes obscene trickster.

In this necessarily brief sketch much that is of interest and importance has had to be merely touched upon or even omitted altogether. The effort, however, has been made to make two points stand out somewhat clearly — the existence of several distinct linguistic stocks and physical types within the bounds of the Province, and the essential cultural difference between the natives of the coast and of the interior.

### Editorial Note

Originally published in H. J. Boam (compiler) and Ashley G. Brown (ed.) *British Columbia: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources*. London: Sells, 135–140 (1912). Two photographs have been omitted.







## Review of Franz Boas, *Kwakiutl Tales*

*Kwakiutl Tales*. (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, edited by Franz Boas, volume II.) By F. Boas. New York: Columbia University Press; Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1910.

With this volume of *Kwakiutl Tales* Columbia University begins a series of anthropological publications under the editorship of Dr Boas, thus joining the ranks of Harvard, Pennsylvania, and California, whose museums or departments of anthropology have been issuing from time to time important papers devoted to American Indian ethnology, archeology, and linguistics. It is decidedly encouraging to find the universities sharing in the growth of anthropological research in America, not merely by providing for academic courses in the subject, but also by publishing the results of anthropological research. Two other volumes have already been announced for the new Columbia series, and it is clear that these are intended to be but the first of a long and valuable set of contributions to North American anthropology.

Boas' *Kwakiutl Tales* adds to the considerable body of Kwakiutl text material already published, and it is safe to say that there is now a larger body of native text available for the intimate study of Kwakiutl mythology, ritual, and other aspects of culture than for any other American tribe. This large body of text comprises, besides the *Kwakiutl Tales*, the texts published in *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (Annual Report of the United States National Museum for 1895), the myths and legends taken down by Boas' Kwakiutl interpreter George Hunt and published under the title of *Kwakiutl Texts* (Publications of the Jesup Expedition, vol. III and [194] vol. X, part I), and the native accounts of industries that form a large part of *The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island* (*ibid.*, vol. V, part 2). Some may feel inclined to apply to the publication of texts, beyond a certain point, the law of diminishing returns, but this should seem far from justified from the standpoint of either the linguistic or the ethnologic student. At the present day, when students of American lan-

guages content themselves on the whole with the determination of their mere phonetic and morphologic outlines, a short grammar and a limited number of illustrative texts seem sufficient. Yet there can be small doubt that with more intensive study of American languages the details of phonetic variation, word-structure, and sentence-building will receive increased attention. The necessity of extensive linguistic materials in the form of native texts will then become apparent. A true psychology of language, as of every other form of human thought and endeavor, is possible only on the basis of a close study of its minutiae.

But Boas' body of Kwakiutl text material deserves the careful study of the ethnologist as well as of the linguist, for in them are scattered a host of valuable data bearing on mythologic and religious concepts, ritualistic elements, social organization, and many another ethnological topic. The ethnological data that are to be gleaned from native texts generally acquire an added interest from the fact that they are presented in a specifically native setting. An aspect of the study of mythology that has not yet been given the attention it deserves is style, under which term may be comprised construction of plot, employment of conventional mythological motives, character definition, and mythologic diction. Other literary forms, such as speeches, prayers, and songs, have each their own peculiarities of style. It is obvious that the proper handling of these subjects, which are bound to prove of great psychological interest in the study of primitive culture, requires a great deal of illustrative text, far more, indeed, than is generally at hand. One may well believe, then, that future students of language and culture will complain of a paucity rather than of a superabundance of Kwakiutl text, just as students of earlier cultures find what seems at first sight a vast mass of source material all too scanty for the satisfactory treatment of many a problem.

The volume before us contains fifty-two myths and fragments of myths, of which the first thirty-one are given in Kwakiutl text and English translation, while the remainder, not having been obtained as texts, are given in English form only. Of the texts, the first eighteen (pp. 1–243) were written down by Boas himself in the course of several journeys to British Columbia, while texts 19–31 (pp. 244–442) were [195] written down, like the greater mass of Kwakiutl texts already published by Boas, by George Hunt. As Boas points out in his preface to the volume, linguistic material due entirely to one individual may be suspected of containing personal phonetic and stylistic peculiarities; hence Boas' own texts are of value, apart from their intrinsic interest,

as check material on Hunt's. The phonetic system used in these new texts is the same as that which Boas has already employed in the Jesup set. This does not make excusable, however, the lack of a phonetic key to the *Kwakiutl Tales*, as there is no reason to assume that the key published in the volumes of the Jesup series need be accessible to the readers of the *Tales*. Some of the texts are of comparative linguistic interest in that they are told in some of the more northern Kwakiutl dialects, such as *l'la'lasiqwla* and *Koskimo* (see footnotes on pp. 196 and 296), which differ only slightly, however, from the Kwakiutl proper of Fort Rupert. Where the dialectic word is different from the corresponding Kwakiutl term, Boas often adds the latter in a footnote.

The first set of eighteen myths, collected by Boas himself, consist partly of clan legends of the *Lē'gwilda'x'*, *Awai'la*, *Denáx-da'x'*, *Nimkish*, and *Kwakiutl* tribes (nos. 1–10), partly of mythical tales not belonging to definite clans (nos. 11–18). It is interesting to observe that mythical personages that generally occur in the latter type of myths are sometimes embodied in clan legends. Thus, the transformer *Q!ā'nēqē'lak'* is brought into connection with clan ancestors in legends of the *Lē'gwilda'x'* (pp. 3–7), *Xō'yalas* (pp. 335, 337), *Denáx-da'x'* (pp. 453–455), and the *Mā'malēleqala* (pp. 481–484); in the first case the origin of the whole winter ceremonial, as performed by the *Mā'malēleqala*, is ascribed to the transformer – obviously a quite secondary association of ideas. The tale of *Dzā'wadalalīs* (pp. 455–462), which purports to be a legend of the *Gr-exum* clan of the *Denáx-da'x'*, is characteristically such only in its first paragraph (pp. 455, 456) and its last sentence (p. 462), the greater part of the myth being a typical *Q!ā'nēqē'lak'* myth with the suitor theme as one of its main episodes. The female ogre *Dzō'noq!wa*, a favorite figure in Kwakiutl mythology generally, is also sometimes appropriated in clan legends, as in no. 4, a Thunder-bird clan legend of the *Denáx-da'x'*. In the Kwakiutl tale of *Wā'walē* (no. 48, pp. 487–491), which seems to be a clan or family legend, though not definitely stated to be such, the *Dzō'noq!wa* even grants supernatural power, her gifts being the conventional ones of the supernatural canoe, the water-of-life, and the death-bringer.

Numbers 11–18 make use to a greater extent of the general stock-in-trade [196] of American mythological motives than the clan legends preceding. They consist of a *Dzō'noq!wa* story (no. 11); a series of episodes comprising the Mink trickster cycle (no. 12), the myth of *Meskwá* or Greedy-one, who seems to correspond to the *Tsa'mam* of



Tsimshian mythology (no. 17); the myth of the culture-hero Great-Inventor (no. 14); the culture hero and trickster cycle of  $\bar{o}^{\epsilon}m\bar{a}l$  (no. 18); the transformer cycle of  $Q! \bar{a}'n\bar{e}q\bar{r}!a\bar{x}^u$  (no. 16); and two myths which have specific Nootka analoga (nos. 13 and 15). It is of particular interest that the roles of culture-hero, transformer, and trickster, which are so often in American mythology embodied in one character or a pair of characters, are here distributed among no less than five mythological beings, of which only the trickster Mink is an animal;  $\bar{o}^{\epsilon}m\bar{a}l$ , however, corresponds to some extent to the Raven of the northern coast tribes, one of his characteristic deeds, as of Raven, being the obtaining of daylight for mankind (pp. 233, 235). The myth of  $X\bar{a}'nelk^u$  (no. 15), a Koskimo tale of the obtaining of supernatural power from the wolves, is doubtless genetically related to the Nootka origin myth of the wolf ritual; the wolf-chief's messengers (Quick-Spark, Quick-Raindrop, Quick-Stone-throw) are paralleled in Nootka myth and ritual by four wolf-messengers whose names likewise suggest rapidity of movement, though, it is not uninteresting to note, the implied metaphors differ in every case from the Kwakiutl ones.

An interesting stylistic element in the Mink cycle is the change of a normal  $k$ ,  $g$ ,  $k'$ , and  $x$  to  $ts$ ,  $dz$ ,  $ts'$ , and  $s$  respectively in words spoken by Mink (p. 136, note 1, and footnotes *passim*). Normal  $L$ ,  $l$ ,  $L'$ , and  $l$  are also, though apparently with less consistency, respectively changed to these consonants (see p. 138, footnote; p. 142, footnote; p. 144, note 1). This consonantal play is closely paralleled in Nootka mythology, where Deer pronounces  $L$ ,  $L'$ , and  $l$  for normal  $ts$ ,  $ts'$ , and  $s$ ; curiously enough, the Nootka Deer follows exactly the opposite path of the Kwakiutl Mink. It would be interesting to know the historical or psychological process involved in these strange stylistic devices. Though satisfactory evidence is as yet lacking on this point, it seems plausible that the involuntary substitutions of consonants by children and those having specific speech defects (compare lisp in English) was noted by the Indians and utilized as a conventional literary device. This mythological conventionalization would then be strikingly similar to the social conventionalization of the Eskimo speech defect known as "*ku-tattoo*" in certain villages of the west coast of Greenland.

The texts collected by Hunt are chiefly typical clan and family legends, in which the main interest centers in the acquisition of clan [197] privileges and ritualistic performances; no. 21 deals with the transformation of the mythological animals into the animals of today by  $\bar{o}^{\epsilon}me\bar{a}l$ , doubtless the same as the  $\bar{o}^{\epsilon}m\bar{a}l$  already referred to, while no. 30 is a



Comox tale of jealousy and revenge. The tribes represented in the clan legends are the *l!á!lasiqwtla*, *Koskimo*, *Xō'yalas*, *G'ig'p'émoc'*, *Gwa'sila*, *Bella Bella*, and *A'waitila*. Perhaps the most instructive among these from the ethnological point of view are the *Koskimo* legends of *Dā'p'labē* (pp. 297–309), which gives interesting data on the acquiring of names and masks by marriage, and the story of *Yax-s!al* (pp. 411–442), an origin myth of the Cannibal dance, in which the ancestral novice is initiated by the Cannibal Spirit himself.

The myths in English only, which conclude the volume, are also for the greater part clan legends and contain many passages of great ethnological interest. The *Kwakiutl* tribes to which they refer are the *A'waitila*, the *Denáx-da"x'*, *Nimkish*, *Mā'malēqala*, *Lautis*, *Nák!wax-da"x'*, and *Kwakiutl* proper. One of the most interesting points that come out in these myths, as bearing on the *Kwakiutl* type of totemism, is the rather frequently occurring idea of the descent of the clansmen from the crest animal. This idea, however, is not always very precisely developed, as we sometimes have a purely human ancestor spoken of besides. Thus, in a legend of the *G'ig'ilgam* clan of the *Nimkish* (p. 472) we read that both *Kunō'sila*, the thunderbird transformed into human shape by the removal of his bird mask, and *Xwā'xwas* become the ancestors of the clan; similarly, the *Si'sulē* clan of the *Nimkish* claim to be descended from both an anthropomorphized goose and *'nemō'gwis* (p. 473). Of distinct ethnological interest also is the story of *Gray-Face* and *Twin* (pp. 473–477), as illustrating one of the *Kwakiutl* methods of acquiring status, that of killing one and taking his place. Numbers 49–52 consist of supplementary material to the myths of *Great-Inventor*, *Mink*, *Q!ā'nēqē lak'*, and *ō'māl*.

One criticism which can justly be made of Boas' *Kwakiutl Tales* is that they are inadequately annotated. Outside of references to earlier published versions of *Kwakiutl* myths in his *Indianische Sagen von der nord-pazifischen Küste Amerikas*, *Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, and *Kwakiutl Texts*, practically no assistance is given to the student of *Kwakiutl* mythology and culture toward the understanding of the tales. This is the more regrettable in that the stories are full of ethnological references requiring elucidation. One not infrequently finds himself in doubt as to the exact significance of a passage, for which it would not be altogether easy to find explanation (192) in Boas' other writings. Thus, in the *Xō'yalas* story of *Wealth-coming-up* we read, in connection with the marriage ceremony of the ancestral chief, that "the house came moving from the ground and floated on the

water; and the four attendants of Inviter brought the princess. As soon as she went aboard the canoe of her great husband, the people of Wealth-coming-up tied a rope to the large house, and they came towing the large house" (pp. 331, 333). It immediately occurs to the attentive reader that we are here given the mythological origin of a traditional form of marriage ceremony practised by a specific family: a footnote giving details, if such be the case, in regard to the ceremony would have been highly welcome. Again, in the tale of Mā'lēleqala we read of Great-Smoke-Face that "once he put a copper plate down at the place where the people were in the habit of drawing water, so that the first person to draw water in the morning should find it. This was his way of giving away a copper" (p. 485). Does this refer to a symbolic potlatch feature characteristic of his descendants? We read that the ancestor of the 1.ē'1.gēd clan "wore a very large head-ring, so that it had to be supported on each side" (p. 487). Are we dealing here with a secondary explanation of the familiar cross-pieces characteristic of several types of head-ring? Or, again, when Great-Inventor asks the graves for twins in order that he may procure salmon for the starving myth people (p. 491), an explanatory footnote in regard to the Kwakiutl-Nootka belief in the intimate relation subsisting between twins and salmon seems almost necessary to give the narrative its true significance. In other words, the stories that make up the volume form a mass of mythological raw material with most of the interpretative work left to the reader, a criticism applying to too many collections of American myths. Extensive ethnological discussion is clearly out of place in works of this sort, but adequate annotation may reasonably be expected. Now that an extensive collection of Kwakiutl myths is accessible in published form, a detailed treatment of their structural and stylistic characteristics is a desideratum.

### Editorial Note

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## A Girl's Puberty Ceremony among the Nootka Indians

Puberty ceremonies, both for boys and girls, are widespread and characteristic features of the life of primitive peoples. Among the Nootka Indians of the west coast of Vancouver Island, as among so many Indian tribes of western America, it is the arriving at maturity of girls rather than of boys that is signaled by a definite ceremony and by the observance, on the part of the girl, of various chiefly restrictive measures or taboos. The point of time that determines the maturity of a girl is naturally considered to be the first appearance of menses. Soon after this, generally about two months later, the father or guardian of the girl gives a feast or potlatch, the essential part of which is a religious ceremony, but which is also meant to give the girl a new status in the tribe, that of one entering upon womanhood. This first ceremony is termed *!aitst!ōla*,<sup>1</sup> which may be translated as "menstrual potlatch," from *!aitseil*, "to have a menstrual flow." Though the Nootka Indians, particularly those about Alberni, B.C., are in many respects losing hold upon the traditions of their past, they still cling tenaciously to the observances of girls' puberty ceremonies, although the rigor of the taboos formerly enforced for a length of time upon the matured girl seems to have been allowed to fall away. During a stay of about two and a half months in the fall and early winter of 1910 among the two [68] tribes of Nootka Indians (*Ts!icā'atn* and *Hupatē'atn*) now living

1. Somewhat simplified phonetic orthography is here used: *a, e, i, o, u* have typical continental (Italian) values; *e* and *o* are close, *a* open, *i* close or open, *u* as in *buter*; *ī, ē, ō* are long and close; *ā, ī, ō, ū* are long and open; *ʔ* as final vowel (after *m* or *n*) is weakly articulated open *i*; *ʰ* represents *u*-timbre of breath release following preceding consonant. Some consonants may need explanation: *t* as in English *ate*; *k* as in *chuck*, a voiceless velar stop, i. e. *k* pronounced as far back as possible; *x*, voiceless spirant of *apostrophe*; *ç*, voiceless spirantal *ç*, somewhat like Welsh *ll*; *ʔ*, affirmative of *apostrophe*, generally heard as *tl* or *kl*; *ʔ* represents glottal stop or "catch." *ʔ* immediately following consonants indicates that they are glottalized, i. e., pronounced with simultaneous glottal closure that with glottal release subsequent to their own release (their acoustic effect is of cracked or broken stops). *H* and *ʔ* are difficult consonants that are peculiar to Nootka. They differ respectively from *h* and *ʔ* in sounding rougher and more strangled. Double releases and accents are not indicated here.



on reserves near Alberni. I was fortunate enough to witness three girls' puberty potlatches. In order to give some idea of the actual conduct of such a ceremony, I shall here content myself with describing the one witnessed on the forenoon of October 16, 1910, reserving a more generalized account of the various features that go to make up puberty ceremonials among the Nootka for the future.

The present ceremony took place in the "potlatch house" of the *Hōpatc!as'ath* tribe, to which the people of both tribes had been invited by the father of the girl, Jimmie George; it was he, her paternal uncle (Big George), and another Indian related to her on her mother's side (Big Frank), that took charge of the potlatch, acting as hosts. In earlier days, when large communal houses were in use, the father or other older male relative conducting the ceremony invited the people to the house in which he lived. The people began to assemble fairly early in the morning, the men, as usual, seating themselves on the board platform along the rear wall of the house and along the left wall (as you enter), while the women disposed themselves along the right wall. Properly speaking, the seats along the rear wall are seats of honour, and in earlier days the nobility among the guests were disposed here, each being entitled to a definite seat according to his rank. Nowadays these matters are not taken so seriously, though even today one never sees a woman occupying one of the rear seats in the house. Back of the centre of the room, not very far from the rear wall, was burning a wood fire; a space was left on the bare ground for a fire-place, while the rest of the floor, according to up-to-date fashion, was planked. The floor of the *Ts!icā'ath* potlatch house is more conservative in this respect, being bare throughout. In front of the fire, that is, on the side towards the door, was later placed a big cauldron in which tea was boiled, to be used at the end of the potlatch to feast the people. Up against the rear wall were placed, side by side, two large rectangular boards painted in white, black, and red. The paintings of each of these boards, disposed in a reciprocally symmetrical arrangement, represented a thunder-bird holding a whale in his talons, a wolf at the upper outer corner, and a *He'il!k* (the mythological serpent-belt of the thunder-bird, who, as he zigzags through the air or coils about a tree, causes the lightning) at the upper inner corner; beneath the whale there was a conventional representation of billows. The thunder-bird, who lives on the summit of a mountain difficult of approach, is believed, when in need of game, to fly off to the sea and catch a whale, which he then carries off to his home; the heavy flapping of his wings is what we call thunder. The thunder-bird,



his serpent-belt, and the wolf are three of the most important supernatural beings of the Nootka, and figure [69] largely in myth, design, and masked ceremonial. Such boards as have just been described are termed *qetsāl*, literally "marked thereon," a word that is also used to apply to house boards painted on the outside. They are not restricted in use to puberty ceremonies, of which, however, they seem to be most characteristic, but may also be employed at other types of potlatch. The boards are the property of definite individuals, but, as there are only a very few sets left among the Nootka of Alberni, they have come to be considered as, in a sense, belonging to the tribe as a whole. The designs differ in different sets, but the thunder-bird and whale are nearly always the central subject.

When I entered the potlatch house, Mrs. Frank, related through her husband to the pubescent girl, was seated last on the woman's side of the house, nearest the door, and was engaged in singing, in a loud and high-pitched voice, a *ts'iqa* song, while her husband, Big Frank, beat a rapid and unbroken drum accompaniment on the other side of the house. The song was the property of her own family, or rather line of descent, the right to sing it being acquired strictly through inheritance. Each family has its *ts'iqa* song or stock of *ts'iqa* songs, no outsider being permitted to make use of them, unless deputed to do so by the owner. The melody of these songs is, as a rule, rather bald, but they have a peculiar chant-like solemnity of their own, consisting, as they do, of long drawn-out tones that tend to end up, at intervals, in half-spoken little turns that are very difficult to render adequately in notes. There are different types of *ts'iqa* songs, some, generally of greater length and melodic complexity, being used only in the course of the sacred Wolf Ritual (*Lōkwāna*). Formerly the accompaniment to a *ts'iqa* song was executed by a rattle, as is still done in the case of the Wolf Ritual songs of this general type, but the one-sided hand drum or tomtom has displaced the rattle of late. The purpose of a *ts'iqa* song seems to be primarily that of indicating that an important or noteworthy event is about to take place; thus they are frequently heard in potlatches preliminary to the performance of a masked dance or other ceremonial activity the right to which the host has gained as a hereditary privilege (*topāti*). Very frequently several distinct *ts'iqa* songs can be heard sung at the same time. Any woman may be hired to sing her *ts'iqa* song at a menstrual potlatch, being paid for her services by the giver of a ceremony. Mrs. Frank repeated her song at intervals while the house gradually filled up. Her husband was twice heard to beat the drum

accompaniment for her, but towards the end he handed her the drum and she thenceforth accompanied herself.

As soon as most of the people had come, ten bundles of long sticks were laid on the ground, each bundle tied together, and one end of each was lit by being placed on the fire. These lighted faggots [70] are known as *hitema* or "torches," a word that is also used to refer to torches proper, fir branches gummed and lit at one end, that were in earlier days employed to light one on one's way. The number of ceremonial torches lit at the puberty ceremony is symbolic of the number of months after the ceremony that the pubescent girl is to spend in seclusion and be subject to the menstrual taboos. The number varies between four, six, eight, and ten, according to the tradition of her family; it is rarely less than four, for with two torches the minimum number of four months in seclusion have to be observed, nor is an odd number of torches permissible. Four seems to have been the normal number in earlier days. Each of the ten "torches" were then given to a man apiece, who filed out of the house and arranged themselves in a row, with their backs to the right wall of the house, and facing the river.<sup>2</sup> They stood with their torches planted upright on the ground, whence the name of that part of the ceremony that takes place outside the house, *hīcapas* or "torches standing outside the house." In the centre of the row of torch-bearers was placed the pubescent girl, on either side of her a thunder-bird dancer. These wore thunder-bird masks (*t!itsk!atqox"sim'*) and were wrapped in blankets that covered everything up clear to the masks, so that nothing of the faces or bodies of the dancers was visible. Meanwhile four other men put down on their hair and bedaubed their cheeks with red paint; down and red paint are often used to symbolize a festive occasion, but have no further significance in this connection. Each of the four held a basin in his hands. One after the other they proceeded to the river, which was but a few yards from the house, dipped up water, returned in the same order to the girl, and each in order rapidly turned a short counter-clockwise circuit in front of her and quickly poured out the water at her feet. The four men, always in the same order, again dipped up water, returned to the girl, turned counter-clockwise circuits, and poured out the water at her feet. These actions were gone through four times in all; four, as among many other West Coast tribes, is the ceremonial or sacred number. At the same time

2. Somass River, which flows out of Sproat Lake into Alberni Canal. It runs along the length of the potlatch house.

the thunder-bird dancers moved their arms up and down within their blankets to imitate the flapping of the thunder-bird's wings, while a rattling noise, representing the sound of thunder, was heard to come from inside the potlatch house. The noise, as I learned, was produced by shaking stones in tin wash-basins. As soon as the last basinful of water had been poured out at the girl's feet, all returned inside the house, the still burning "torches" were extinguished, and the four men that had dipped up and poured out the [71] water brushed off their down. This concluded the *hitcapas*. It may be noted that there seems to be no particular rule followed in the choice of the torch-bearers, thunder-bird dancers, or water-pourers, none of these as such exercising an inherited privilege.

I could obtain no explanation of the symbolism of the ritual, which, so far as the Indians of today are concerned, is simply accepted as a matter of custom. It is evident, both from the thunder-bird painting and the employment of thunder-bird masks, that there is some association between the arriving at maturity of a girl and the thunder-bird, but I have not as yet ascertained its nature. Not all times of descent, however, use the thunder-bird. The water-pouring also is clearly symbolic in origin, but it is difficult to say now wherein lies its significance. Perhaps it is permissible to see in it a ceremonial cleansing, a washing away of the impurity that is so universally associated among primitive peoples with the state of menstruation. The girl played no further part in the puberty ceremony. Properly speaking, she should, immediately after the *hitcapas* ceremony was concluded, have gone behind the painted boards, to begin a four days' wake and fast. In the present case this was dispensed with, the more rigorous features of ceremonial activity tending, on the whole, to disappear first among the Nootka Indians. Only chiefs and wealthy people, it may be observed, possessed such painted board screens, the common people contenting themselves with ordinary mat screens.

When all had again seated themselves in the house, Charlie Hutsie, who acted as the ceremonial speaker (*tsiqsqut*) for the hosts (the girl's father and uncle), distributed the "torches" to ten of the guests. He called out various names, after each of which a young man (*yacumilita* "one who walks about in the house," any young fellow that is asked to serve as an attendant for the guests or to carry out the speaker's directions) took a "torch" and carried it to the one thus designated, laying it in front of him on the ground. In former times a girl, such as one or more blankets, was tied on to one end of the "torch." This time



the gift, which should always go with the assignment of a "torch," was given a little later on, during the potlatch proper, in the shape of a coin, the names of the recipients being called out as before and the coins distributed by the same young man. The speaker explained that the money given with the "torches" was what fell off of the thunder-bird while it caused the thunder by flapping its wings during the *hūtcapas* ceremony. Such fictions or metaphors, it is interesting to note, are of frequent occurrence in the ceremonial life of the natives. The recipients of the "torches" are supposed to take them home, put them away in a corner at the back of the house, and preserve them for some time for "good luck." The right to receive a "torch" inheres as a privilege [72] in certain definite lines of descent and was formerly jealously guarded; in other words, it forms what the Nootka Indians call a *topāti*. The "torches" should be distributed in order, according to the rank of the persons receiving them. Among the Nootka Indians of Alberni it is customary for the holder of a "torch" *topāti* to return the value of the gift with 100 per cent interest to the donor at a second and more elaborate potlatch given by the latter for the girl some time after the puberty ceremony. This is in accord with the general practice of the West Coast Indians to return potlatch gifts, generally with 100 per cent interest, at some future time. It is anomalous, however, insofar as it nullifies, from a purely economic point of view, the value of the inherited privilege or *topāti*. There are several other such ceremonial privileges among these Indians that bring with them not emolument, but net loss. However, the Indians say they are proud in this way to make public their claim on the *topāti* and that they count the trifling loss of no moment in comparison with the upholding in this way of their prestige. The paying back of gifts obtained by virtue of one's right to a *topāti* is quite likely, however, to turn out to be a comparatively recent development among the Nootka of Alberni, for other Nootka tribes, such as the Ucluelet of Barkley Sound, do not practice the custom. These last, as I was informed, laugh at the Alberni Indians on this account; they do not see the use of having a privilege that nets one a loss.

When the "torches" had been distributed, the girl's uncle and others of the family got together in a small group near the door of the house, ready to arrange a performance that was intended to be a feature of the puberty potlatch. Among them was the young chief Louis of the *Hō'aiath* tribe of Numakumis Bay, who was related to the family of the girl and who had recently come up to Alberni on a visit; he placed himself on a low improvised platform on the left side of the house above



the rest of the group and, like the others, stood facing the guests in the rear of the house. Mrs. Frank and another woman, who formed part of the group, each sang a *ts'īqa* song, thus giving all to understand that a *topāti* performance of the hosts was to take place immediately. Then the girl's uncle started a song without drum accompaniment, which was very soon taken up by the others in the group, one of them now beating an accompaniment on the hand drum. This song was the property of the girl's father's family and none outside of the small group joined in the singing. Often a family song of this type, sung at a girl's puberty ceremony, was composed for that special purpose and kept secret until it was sprung as a surprise on the guests at the ceremony itself. A few women danced to the song; they held one arm under their shawls, while the other was bent outward [73] palm up, the dance itself consisting of a gentle swaying or turning by gradual rhythmically ordered steps from side to side for the space of about a quarter circle, not of a series of definitely progressing steps.

After the song was completed, the speaker proceeded to explain that a game was to be played, the right to which was held by the host as a *topāti*. A bunch of short sticks was taken and bound together around the middle; they were all white at one end, but two among them were declared to be red at the other. The sticks were handed over to Louis, who, standing on his platform in plain sight of all, held the bunch with the white ends pointed towards the people. Whoever among the guests succeeded in picking out one of the marked sticks was to receive a dollar from the girl's father, while the other red, which was specially marked in some way, would win its guesser two dollars. As soon as this had been explained by the speaker, the same song was sung as before. It was sung once again and was then followed by another family song of the same type, which was sung twice. Meanwhile, while the singing was actually going on, but not during the pauses between the songs, various people walked up, almost always in twos, to try their luck. One of the dancing women pulled out a stick, which, as it turned out to be red, she held up so that everyone might see, continuing with her dance at the same time. When a sufficient number had guessed, the money was paid out as announced, two who had come near to guessing a red being also given something. It is a general practice among these Indians for the host always to do a little better in the way of distributing gifts than he announces, whereby his liberality is made more manifest. At other puberty ceremonies that I have witnessed other such *topāti* games were played. These differ quite considerably in detail, but all have in

common the giving of rewards to such as make successful trials. In some of these games the element of a test of endurance, strength or skill comes in very clearly, less conspicuously in the game just described. I speak of this because the symbolic idea that lies back of these puberty ceremonial games is the same as the test theme which is so common in aboriginal American suitor myths. In these the hero is not allowed to marry the girl whose hand he seeks until his prospective father-in-law has put him through a series of severe tests, generally such as involve danger of life. So also in the more innocent puberty ceremonial tests, as I was definitely informed, there is present the idea that only such a one will eventually be allowed to marry the girl as will, when suing for her hand, succeed in the test or trial submitted to him. In actual practice this may be a fiction, of course. In typical cases the game is a dramatization of a suitor incident in the ancestral legends owned by the family of the girl. Here, then, legend, game, and song form a cohering *topāti* unit, exactly as in the [74] case of inherited dances performed at potlatches, where legend, dance, mask, and song form another such unit.

After the game was disposed of, the women started in to sing *t!amā* songs, which are generally sung at puberty ceremonies, though songs of the same style are also in use elsewhere. These have a rather bright and rapid movement to them and are accompanied by briskly executed drum beats. To drum well and precisely for a *t!amā* song, indeed, is considered quite an art. Differing in this respect from so many types of Nootka songs, they are not, as a general rule, the exclusive property of particular families, but are popular tunes that may be used by all. One of the women who were seated on the floor beat an accompaniment on the hand drum, while other women beat sticks or clapped hands in the same rhythm. Several women danced or rather swayed as for the other songs, except that both hands were held out and, at certain beats, held to one side of the body and parallel to each other. The texts of *t!amā* songs are in part burdens, in part connected words that are often sung out loud while the drum stops beating, so that all may hear clearly. The reason of this is that, while the tunes and burdens are well known and preserved intact, the texts proper (or "choruses," as they were sometimes termed by my interpreters) are very frequently changed to suit the occasion. A *t!amā* singer or singers will often get up surprises in this way. The content of the texts is of a satirically sexual character, very often a jibe aimed at some man who was known to have done something of a sexual character to make him seem ridiculous. Thus, the words of one of the songs were to the effect: "When a man hugs a woman, he is



not supposed to suck her breasts," evidently a sally at somebody's expense. Some women are said to be particularly expert at making up such *t'amā* texts and are called *t'amik*. After the women had sung and danced a number of these songs, the drum was handed over to one of the men. It was now the men's turn to sing *t'amā* songs, which they now proceeded to do to the accompaniment of drum and beating of planks, leveling good-humoured shafts of ridicule at the opposite sex. In this way the men and women relieved each other from time to time, singing one *t'amā* song after another. A spirit of high good-humor prevailed, with plenty of laughter. The men's and women's *t'amā* songs are quite distinct; sometimes the former will join in with the women in their songs, very rarely, if at all, the women in the men's songs.<sup>3</sup> [78]

Meanwhile a small potlatch or distribution of gifts by the girl's family was in progress. This potlatch was not so much in honor of the pubescent girl herself as of the infant daughter of her brother Hamilton George: she was thereby "made high" and they thus indicated how much they thought of the little member of their family. The potlatch for the pubescent girl, according to the speaker's announcement, was to be given later on in the season, after all the Indians had dried their salmon for the winter; the exact time to be fixed for this event, however, was still left open and was to be announced, according to a rather pleasing fiction, whenever the girl's infant niece should make up her mind to have it. At a puberty potlatch, such as was now going on, anyone has the right to ask for whatever he wants of the one who conducts it, and it must be given to him; this is known as *o'yū'il* "to ask for a gift in a *t'amā* song." The proper way to do this is to sing out one's request in the tune of a *t'amā* song, improvising the words as a "chorus" so as to fit the melody. Sometimes requests for gifts have been made quite some time before, and are then granted at the puberty ceremony. In such cases the speaker announces that such and such a person had asked for a certain thing and that it was going to be granted to him now, after which the article is displayed and handed over to him or her. It is said that some people used to be rather unreasonable in their *t'amā* requests. Thus, according to one informant, a man once asked beforehand for a

3. The singing of satirical songs at a girl's puberty ceremony finds a rather striking parallel among the Diegueño Indians of Southern California; among them, at a girl's adolescence ceremony, it is customary to sing "bad" songs in ridicule of people of other villages who have recently died. See T. T. Waterman, *The Diegueño Peoples of the Colorado Desert* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 8, 1910, p. 290).

sheep. As there was none to be had thereabouts, the man that intended to give the puberty potlatch had to go down to Victoria, B.C., for the express purpose of purchasing the animal desired. He came back with two sheep, which he presented at his potlatch to the man that had made the request, for, as has already been noted, in fulfilling a request or promise, the host always aims to act more liberally than seems strictly called for.

In the present case, one of the gifts that had been asked for was a gill-net. This was accordingly now produced, a pair of paddles and oar-locks being added as an extra, for, as the speaker remarked, in assigning the gift, its receiver might find an extra outfit of paddles and oar-locks come in handy when going out fishing in his canoe with his new net. So also in other cases, the aim was always evident to make the extra gift appropriate, even if only theoretically so, and to make some remark in explanation of its appropriateness. Another man had asked for a dog. When this was given to him, a long new rope was added, ostensibly for the purpose of tying the dog. The man, as he received the dog and rope, jocosely remarked that he would use them to keep the women at a distance when they followed him in the bush. This was in keeping with the spirit of raillery that now obtained [76] between the men and women. A woman had asked for a sideboard. This was brought in and chairs added as the extra. Still another woman asked for some chewing-gum, for, as she explained, in passing basket splints through her mouth in order to wet them for basket-making, she was apt to get dry, and she therefore wanted something that would provide a steady flow of saliva. Accordingly, she was given a dollar and a half with which to buy the gum. In accepting the money, she said that she did not want it for herself, but for a friend of hers; this was a fiction intended to show that she had no hard feelings and was not covetous. Another old woman wanted an iron root-digger; she was given this, with an extra of several yards of calico. Still another woman received some pillows. In some cases, the women who were engaged in singing *t!amā* songs improvised words of thanks for some of the gifts to fit the *t!amā* tunes.

After the requests had been granted, smaller monetary gifts were distributed to various people in the house; Big Frank also distributed some fishing tackle to each of the men. All were now in high good-humor. Douglas, one of the *Ts!icā'atH* men, expressed the wish that "the white man" (as I was the only white man present, he referred to myself) give him a bottle of gin. Entering into the spirit of substitutory gifts, I thereupon sent over a dollar to him, to do with as he saw best.



As reciprocating the friendly spirit thus shown, several return gifts were made to me on the spot. Big Frank presented me with a salmon-spear point, while one of the *Hopate'as'ath* women gave me a twilled cedar-bark mat and a basketry-covered ink-well, such as are nowadays made for sale by the Nootka women. Douglas' return gift was accompanied by thanks expressed in two *t'amā* songs sung by some of the men. Douglas, it may be remarked, is considered one of the most expert of the *t'amā* singers among the Indians. While these two songs were being sung, Mr. Bill, another *Ts'icā'ath* Indian, danced while holding out a stick at arm's length between his palms. The dance consisted of a series of short steps within the range of about a quarter circle, now pivoted about one foot, now about the other, while the dancer sometimes held the stick high above his head, sometimes straight ahead, and then again vertically on a side. These rather briskly careering solo dances in which the gift, or its representative, is held or displayed, are characteristic accompaniments of such *t'amā* songs as are sung with the presentation of a gift. When he had finished dancing, Mr. Bill announced that the stick stood for an old whaling harpoon and lanyard that Douglas was giving me. I was then requested to go up and accept the stick in token of the gift itself. Later in the day Douglas himself brought me the harpoon and lanyard. This method of delivering a token, where the gift itself is either not at [77] hand or, as in the case of a canoe, is too cumbrous an object to be easily handled at the potlatch, is well established among the West Coast Indians.

Some time in the course of the potlatch, Tom, a blind and conservative old *Ts'icā'ath* Indian, delivered a rather long speech, in a loud hoarse voice, thanking the hosts and explaining how they had the right to the performance of the *topāti* game that all had witnessed. As his speech threatened to be too long, one of the women shouted out to him that his daughter-in-law wanted to sing a *t'amā* song, whereupon Tom submissively took the hint and rapidly brought his words to a close. Thereupon old David, a small and rather decrepit *Ts'icā'ath*, also began to make a speech of thanks, but nobody listened to him and his voice was soon drowned in the noise of singing and talking. These speeches of thanks, it may be noted, are set affairs, the contents of which are more or less rigidly prescribed by custom and varying somewhat according to the family that the host addressed is a member of. Hence, as all the Indians have generally heard these speeches any number of times, their repetition is almost entirely a matter of form and but little attention is paid to them.

Towards the end of the potlatch tea and biscuits were served to all on planks which had been put down on the ground before each. The speaker announced that the names of the pubescent girl and of two of her female relatives, her brother Hamilton George's infant daughter and another brother's wife, had been changed. Her former name had been *T̄enisō* (apparently one of the stock of Coast Salish names that are current among the *Hōpatc'as'ath*, who, according to reliable evidence, once spoke a now extinct Salish language); the new name given to her was *Lūtismāyul* "makes the whirring noise (of the thunder-bird) wherever she goes," a name which was said to have originally belonged to the Makah Indians of Cape Flattery, Washington, the southernmost Nootka tribe. The change of name of a pubescent girl at the puberty ceremony is obligatory. Changes of name, whether for reasons of taboo or otherwise, are regularly made public at the end of some feast or potlatch in progress at the time. After the feast the Indians disbanded.

This will serve to give an idea of the course of a typical puberty ceremonial or *tāitst'ōla* among the Nootka. The main features involved are the "torch" and water-pouring ceremony with accompanying thunder-bird or other dance, the distribution of the "torches," the performance of one or more games which the father or guardian of the girl claims as a hereditary privilege, the singing of satirical *t'amā* songs of sexual content, a potlatch given by the girl's people, and the assignment to her of a new name. The details naturally differ considerably, partly owing to the varying circumstances of each case (this would apply more particularly [78] to the potlatch proper, always necessarily the most flexible part of a ceremonial), partly to the exercise of varying *topāti* features, and partly owing to differences in the exact rendering of ceremonial elements that depend on the varying traditions of different families (thus, in a puberty ceremonial that took place two weeks later among the *Ts'icā'ath* there were only one thunder-bird dancer and four "torches").

We left the pubescent girl at the end of the "torch" ceremony. The rest of this paper may be appropriately taken up with a brief account of the menstrual seclusion and taboos that were formerly rigidly enforced but are now only laxly, if at all, attended to. At the puberty ceremonial the girl is supposed to wear over her forehead an ornamented head-band known as a *ts'isāsīm'*. This consists of a horizontal row of strips of sea-lion or other skin strung with dentalia; sometimes the head-band of a chief's daughter consists of two such rows, one being less in length than the other. The *ts'isāsīm'* is covered solid with dentalia for



its full length around the head. For the first four days following the "torch" ceremony (a period known as *tsitsapsh'il*) the girl must stay behind the painted boards (or mat screen) night and day. During this period she must not eat or drink anything; she must not sleep, but must remain seated with folded arms; she must not scratch her body with her fingers, but must use a cedar-stick scratcher (*kits'yak*) for the purpose. An even number of girls (generally six, eight, ten or twelve) sit with her and sing *t'amā* songs for her more or less continuously; they are known as *tsitsō'il*. Older women sit around in front of the boards and help sing; the father or guardian of the girl pays the girls and women for their singing. No men are allowed behind the boards. The girl is allowed to go out of the house for the necessities of nature only once during the twenty-four hours, at night, so that no one may see her.

At the end of this period of rigorous seclusion, the pubescent girl, often accompanied by three or four other girls in the same condition as herself, goes out unseen to a creek and takes ten or other appropriate number of bunches of hemlock branches (*tite'im*), each of which she ties about at one end. She washes herself vigorously with each of these once, then lays them down against a log with their "heads" pointing to the east. This is supposed to keep her from getting old quickly. Bathing and rubbing oneself with hemlock branches are (or were) very frequently indulged in by the West Coast Indians in connection with secret prayers for health, long life, or powers of various sorts. The bathing of the girl cleanses her from the impurity of her condition and marks the end of the first period of taboo. She is now termed *tsitslāt* "one who has done with her menstrual (period)." In distributing the gifts at the main (second) puberty potlatch the speaker always [79] remarks that so and so is presented with such and such a gift "for having finished his bathing." This alludes, of course, to the bathing of the girl, she being supposed to have bathed for all.

She then dons a hair ornament known as a *hohopqtsitum* (which may be literally translated as "round objects at the sides of the head"); this is worn at the sides of the head, the hair being braided and made into two round clumps which are put into its two sides. As soon as this article of headwear is put on, the girl may begin to partake of food. There now starts for the girl a longer period of less rigorous taboos (*nomāk*) which lasts, from the day of the puberty ceremony, for as many months as there were "torches" employed therein. During this period (excluding, of course, its first four days) she may eat dried salmon or

other fish, but fresh fish is strictly tabooed to her; if she transgresses this taboo, it is believed that she will get old quickly. She must also eat no fresh meat of any kind, such as whale meat, seal meat, or venison; nor should she drink any but cold water, for else, it is believed, her teeth will soon fall out. She has a comb of yew wood tied to a cord around her neck, with which alone she is allowed to touch her hair for the ten or other appropriate number of months; should she use her fingers on her hair, it will soon fall out. The hair-comb is decorated with the carving of a snake, eagle, or man's face. She must go to bed after everyone else has retired, and she keeps under her blanket a little toy wedge (*LatsaqLil* "to sleep with a wedge") which she cuddles under her blanket like a baby. If she goes to bed after the others and always gets up first, she will live a long life. During this period of menstrual taboo, whenever the girl is outside the house or goes into a canoe, she must have her yellow-cedar bark cape (*L!itinik*) tied around her hair and falling behind; otherwise her hair will soon fall out. Evidently two main ideas are involved in these and similar menstrual taboos — that of the impurity of the menstrual state itself and the consequent necessity of avoidance of too close contact with the normal world, which would suffer defilement (the infraction of the taboo against fresh fish and meat would doubtless bring about the anger of the fish and game animals and would thus lessen the game supply); and that of the training of the girl for her future duties as wife and mother (she must learn to get up early and be useful around the house; cuddling the toy wedge is evidently a training, by sympathetic magic, of the maternal instinct, or it may be intended to bring about fertility). These two ideas and, indeed, the taboos and practices that go with them are peculiarly widespread in aboriginal America.

At the end of the longer period of taboo all the people may be invited by the father or guardian of the girl to a potlatch known as the [80] *:aitst'ato*, which may be literally translated as "menstrual (period) falls off (i. e. has come to an end)." The guests are informed that she has finished her period of taboo and are feasted and presented with gifts. Potlatch and *t!amā* songs are sung and *topāti* dances and games are performed.

There are thus three potlatches or ceremonials normally given in connection with the arriving at maturity of a girl: — the puberty ceremonial proper or *hītcapas*, which begins her period of taboo; the potlatch given in her honor or main *:aitst!ōla*, which may or may (more normally) not coincide with the potlatch given at the time of the puberty



ceremonial (in the case of the ceremonial we have described this second potlatch was promised but not definitely announced; it took place about a month later in conjunction with a "wolf ritual" or *lak-wana* given by the girl's father), at which the "torches" are returned with return gifts at 100 per cent interest; and the *salts:ato*, which ends her period of taboo.<sup>4</sup>

### Editorial Note

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4. Cf. F. Boas' report on "The Nootka," *British Association for the Advancement of Science*, Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, pp. 46–47. There given a description of a painted board-screen, also two *thand* songs.



## Indian Tribes of the Coast [of British Columbia]

### General Characteristics

The Indians of the north-west coast of America from Southern Alaska to Juan de Fuca strait consist of a group of tribes which, differing as they do very materially in language, physical characteristics and details of culture, are nevertheless conveniently grouped together by ethnologists as exhibiting several distinct cultural traits which separate them definitely from their Eskimo neighbours to the north-west and from the various tribes of the plateaus to the east. The coast tribes have developed a characteristic aboriginal culture which exceeds in complexity and intensity that of their neighbours: the north-west coast culture area may indeed be considered as the most specialized of the ethnological areas recognized by anthropologists north of Mexico, unless perhaps we except that of the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico. Nowhere north of Mexico have the aborigines brought certain industries, particularly wood-carving and blanket-weaving, to such a high degree of perfection, and few areas offer to the anthropologist such interesting problems of social organization. In the course of the last fifty years or so the native industries, customs and beliefs have suffered considerable decay owing to the influence of the whites, with whom the Indians have been coming in contact from year to year. In certain parts of the coast region the natives have become almost completely demoralized as tribal units, and are largely dependent for their economic subsistence on the neighbouring whites. In others, however, as in some of the villages of Northern Vancouver Island, they have been more conservative, but even here much of the early intensity and picturesqueness of aboriginal life [316] has vanished. In one important respect the anthropologist's task in Western British Columbia is simpler than in Eastern Canada. The tribes of the latter area, even where they have distinctly maintained their identity, have become assimilated in both physical type and culture to their neighbours of European descent to a much greater degree than in the Far West. Hence the student has constantly to deal with the oft-times perplexing problem of just which elements in any given industry, custom, or belief are European in origin, and which are truly aboriginal.





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Such considerations have far less weight in the study of the aborigines of the coast of British Columbia, not so much for the reason that the influence of whites has been less profound, as that it has been of shorter duration. This means that the old life of the Indians and the new life with which they are now confronted have not had time to be thoroughly welded together. Hence it follows that most of the traits of aboriginal culture among the coast tribes can be studied in relative purity. Often enough this or that industry or custom has dropped entirely out of use, or, in extreme cases, has been entirely forgotten, but survivals of the older life in the form of compromises are, fortunately for the anthropologist, less frequently met with than in the eastern part of the Dominion.

### Linguistic Stocks

The tribes of the west coast are most easily and satisfactorily classified according to the linguistic stocks to which they belong; in other words, according to the various unrelated groups of languages that are spoken by these Indians. Of these linguistic stocks, which can no more easily be shown to be divergent forms of a common stock than can Aryan and Semitic, there are no less than five in the region from Yakutat Bay to Puget Sound: the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Wakashan or Kwakiutl-Nootka, and Salish. Of these, all but the Salish are confined to the strip of coast just defined. Salish languages, however, are spoken in the southern interior of British Columbia and in large parts of the adjoining States of Montana, Idaho, and Washington, [317] most of the coast of the last state being occupied by tribes of this stock; a Salish tribe, the Tillamook, is found in North-Western Oregon not far south of the mouth of the Columbia. The division of tribes according to linguistic stocks is made primarily from the point of view of the linguist, yet it so happens that a purely ethnological classification can be brought into correspondence with the linguistic one. The Tlingit tribes inhabit the islands and fiords of the long strip of coast of Southern Alaska as far south as Portland Canal. Though the dialects spoken by the Tlingit tribes seem to differ only slightly from one another, these can hardly be said to form a political unit, but must be considered as independent of one another. These tribes, proceeding from south to north, are: the Tongas, Senya, Henya, Kuiu, Kake, Sundum, Stikine, Taku, Auk, Hutsnuwu, Huna, Sitka, Chilkat, and Yakutat. Though falling outside the



limits of British Columbia, the Tlingit Indians are typical representatives of the west coast culture area. The Haida occupy the islands forming the Queen Charlotte group as well as the southern part of Prince of Wales archipelago, where they are known as Kaigani. Haida is now chiefly spoken in two dialects, that of Massett on the northern island (Graham) and that of Skidegate in the southern part of the group. There were several important villages besides Massett and Skidegate, such as Cumshewa, Tanu, and Ninstints, but these are now practically abandoned. The Tsimshian stock is represented by tribes occupying the shores of Nass River and Skeena River (from a point some distance above Hazelton), the main coast from Portland Canal to about as far south as Douglas Channel, and the islands along the coast as far south as Millbank Sound. There are three dialectic subdivisions in Tsimshian spoken by as many groups of related villages: the Niska of Nass River, the Kitksan of the upper Skeena, and the Tsimshian proper of the lower Skeena and of the islands to the south. The Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian Indians may be grouped together both physically and culturally in contrast to the coast tribes south of them. In regard to social organization they may be considered as the most typical tribes of the region; their technical achievements [318] (as, for example, the Chilkat blankets, canoes, and horn spoons) often reveal a finish not attained by the other coast tribes.

The Wakashan tribes inhabit a long stretch of coast land and adjacent islands from Douglas Channel to Juan de Fuca Strait. The stock is composed of two linguistically quite divergent members, the Kwakiutl and the Nootka, also known as the Aht. The Kwakiutl tribes embrace the Haisla, of Douglas and Gardner Channels; the Heiltsuk, who occupy the country between Gardner Channel and Rivers Inlet, and whose best known village is Bella Bella; and the Kwakiutl proper, a number of tribes that are divided between the mainland of British Columbia, from Rivers Inlet to Valdez Island, and the northernmost part of Vancouver Island from Cape Cook on the north-west of the island round to Cape Mudge on its east coast. The various tribes collectively referred to as Nootka (though this term is used locally only to refer to the natives of Nootka Sound) occupy the west coast of Vancouver Island from Cape Cook south to Juan de Fuca Strait. There is a distinct line of dialectic cleavage at Barkley Sound, the Nootka Indians south of which are often known as Nitinat. To the Nitinat belong properly also the Makah Indians of Cape Flattery in the extreme north-west of the State of Washington. The Salish tribes consist of two main groups, which differ

markedly in physical characteristics, culture, and grammatical features of the languages respectively spoken in the two areas. Here we need refer only to the coast Salish, whose tribes, as we have seen, are continued south to the lower Columbia. The coast Salish of British Columbia include two geographically disconnected peoples, the Bella Coola of Dean and Burke Channels, who can be shown to have separated themselves some time in the past from the main body of coast Salish, and the coast Salish proper, who occupy the mainland south of Cape Mudge and Bute Inlet to the American line as well as the east coast of Vancouver Island south of the Kwakiutl to Juan de Fuca Strait. The coast Salish Indians are composed of a rather large number of distinct tribes speaking mutually unintelligible languages, which, for British Columbia, [319] can be grouped into six divisions, excluding the Bella Coola. These are the Comox and allied tribes near the present town of Comox and at Toba Inlet on the opposite mainland; the Pentlach, a small tribe now practically extinct, south of the former; the Sishiatl of Jervis Inlet; the Skomish of Howe Sound and Burrard Inlet, in the neighbourhood of the present city of Vancouver; the Cowichan of the lower Fraser; and the Songish and related tribes of the south-east of Vancouver Island. The Kwakiutl and Bella Coola are the most typical representatives of the west coast culture area among all these southern tribes, the northern Kwakiutl (Haisla and Heiltsuk), who are nearly cut off from the southern tribes of the group by the Bella Coola, in particular more closely approximating in culture the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian. The Nootka and coast Salish are generally reckoned the least typical of the west coast tribes, though the Nootka have attained considerable complexity of cultural development in ways peculiarly their own.

Differing as the various languages of the west coast do in grammatical structure, there are several phonetic characteristics which they have in common: naturally this does not mean that they do not differ more or less markedly among themselves in phonetic respects also. To European ears these languages are apt to sound remarkably harsh, the flow of speech seeming to be interrupted at every step by uneuphonious chokes and clicks. To some extent this harshness of acoustic effect is due to an accumulation of consonants such as we are not used to in English or other European languages; to a larger extent, however, it is due to the occurrence of types of consonants that are entirely unfamiliar to European ears. Among these are deep *k*-sounds which are pronounced much farther back in the mouth than ordinarily (ordinary *k*-sounds also



occur); peculiar *l*-sounds, which have often been inadequately rendered by untrained observers as *tl* or *kl*; and a set of consonants of peculiar formation which impress the ear as cracked or exploded in quality.

Grammatically the five linguistic stocks represented on the west coast differ very considerably from one another, some, [320] particularly Kwakiutl and Nootka, being more synthetic in character, that is, expressing by formal means a greater number of concepts within the limits of a single word, than such others as Tlingit. The west coast languages are one and all characterized by grammatical systems of great complexity, a complexity that may seem startling to one who occupies himself with their study for the first time. Thus, in Tsimshian, Kwakiutl-Nootka and Salish there exist distinct series of numerals for various classes of objects, while in Haida there is a large series of elements prefixed to verb-forms indicating the class of object with which the action of the verb is concerned. Local ideas, such as position at or movement to or from, are grammatically expressed with great nicety in many west coast languages; various parts of the body are also often referred to by means of grammatical elements, affixed to verb or other forms, that in themselves have no etymological relation to the independent words expressing such parts of the body. An interesting example of grammatical complexity of a type that is unfamiliar to speakers of European languages is the suffixing in Kwakiutl to verbs and nouns of grammatical elements that define with exactness the demonstrative relation of the nouns of the sentence—that is, whether they are thought of as being near the person speaking, the person addressed, or the person spoken of—and the fact of their visibility or invisibility from the point of view of the speaker. Thus an English sentence such as 'He killed my dog,' is rendered 'He killed my visible (or invisible) dog near you (me, or him).'

The various west coast languages differ considerably in regard to the formal means employed to express grammatical concepts. Thus, while Haida and Tsimshian make a very liberal use of prefixed elements, such are absolutely unknown in Kwakiutl and Nootka, which, on the other hand, possess a truly astounding number of suffixed elements. Again, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, Nootka and Salish make an extended use of a grammatical device known as reduplication, that is, the prefixing to the word itself of a fragment of it (in a manner parallel to the formation of the perfect tense in Greek). There are several types of this grammatical device, [321] which are employed to express the ideas, among others, of repetition, plurality, and diminution. Tlingit and Haida, on the other hand, know no more of reduplication than does English.



Unlike the more advanced Indians of Mexico and Yucatan, the west coast Indians did not develop any system of expressing ideas that could be truly termed a system of writing, though symbolism in decorative art is naturally not lacking. This fact, however, did not in the slightest militate against the growth of a vast body of what may be termed oral literature, handed down in practically unchanged form from generation to generation. This oral literature embraces innumerable legends, myths, and songs, chiefly such as are of ceremonial importance. The mind of a typical old-time Indian was, and in many cases still is, saturated with such literary lore. It is thus strongly borne in upon us that neither in language nor literature can the Indians of the west coast be termed truly primitive. It is well indeed to remember that the term 'primitive,' as applied to so many native peoples less advanced in most respects than ourselves, has but a relative meaning.

### The Question of Origin

The question is often asked, 'What is the origin of the Indians?' and close upon this is apt to follow the inquiry, 'Are not the East Asiatic peoples of Mongolian type physically related to the American Indians?' The first question has not perhaps now the interest for anthropologists that it at one time had; at any rate, it can be answered only by more or less plausible surmises, hardly by tangible evidence. The second question, however, gives more opportunity of arriving at definite results. The high cheek-bones and straight black hair of both American Indians and Mongolians are points of physical similarity that must undoubtedly be assigned considerable significance. Add to this the fact that though the American Indian is not characterized by the so-called slanting eye found among peoples of the Mongolian race, there is nevertheless some tendency for this type [322] of eye, or rather characteristic fold of eyelid, to be found among American women and children, with whom it tends to disappear with age. It may be too much to say that the American Indians and Mongolians form together one of the great races of mankind, but there is good reason to believe that the American Indians as a whole form a sort of divergent sub-race of the Mongolian race. At any rate, the American Indian contrasts far less with the typical Mongolian than with either the white or the negro.

In comparing the west coast tribes with the Mongolian tribes of Eastern Siberia we find that there obtains between them a degree of

physical similarity that exceeds the general similarity between the American Indians taken as a whole and the Mongolian race. This similarity extends not only to the colour and texture of the hair, but also to the colour of the skin and to the shape of the head and face. The main differences between the west coast Indians and the Mongolians of Eastern Siberia are stated by Dr. Boas to be the more constant appearance of the slanting eye among the latter and the greater absolute size of face among the former. The physical similarity between these two North Pacific peoples is accentuated by the great divergence physically of the west coast Indians from such American Indian types as those of the prairies or of Southern California. From the point of view, then, of physical anthropology, it seems necessary to look upon the west coast Indians and the Mongolians of North-Eastern Asia as members of the same fundamental race of mankind. Whether the west coast Indians should be considered as representing a transitional type, between the American Indians and the Mongolians proper, which is historically of secondary origin, or whether they should be regarded as a definite sub-type falling within the limits of variation of a generalized Mongolian-American race, is, of course, not easy to decide. There are several striking resemblances in culture between the west coast Indians and some of the primitive tribes of Eastern Siberia (Chukchee, Koryak, Yukaghir), but it cannot be too strongly emphasized that such resemblances need have no connection at all with the points of physical similarity that have been [323] noted, as they more likely than not represent purely secondary borrowing of cultural elements from tribe to tribe. Bering Straits and Sea naturally forming no insurmountable barrier. The importance of the raven in the mythology of both the Koryak and the northern tribes of the west coast Indians may be given as merely one of the points of cultural similarity.

### Physical Sub-Types

Taking the Indians of the coast of British Columbia as a unit, there seem to be three distinct physical sub-types, which Dr Boas has called the Northern type, the Kwakiutl type, and the Lillooet type. All these are distinguished from the generality of American Indian tribes by their lighter hair and skin colour; they are of medium stature. The Northern type embraces the Haida and the tribes of Tsimshian stock, very probably also the Tlingit, of whose physical characteristics, however, very

little is known from actual measurements. The typical Indian of this sub-type has a large head with great diameter from side to side; to match the head, the face also is extremely broad. In height, however, the face is not above normal, so that the general effect is of a low face. The nose is not markedly elevated above the face and is either concave, particularly among the women, or straight. The Indians of the Kwakiutl sub-type have heads of similar relative dimensions to those of the Northern sub-type, though the absolute measurements do not seem to be quite so great. The type of face, however, is very different, being remarkable for its great height. The nose is high and narrow and is greatly elevated above the face. It is typically convex in form. The existence of the third, or Lillooet sub-type, as distinct from other types, is not quite satisfactorily determined. The name of the sub-type is taken from the Lower Lillooet Indians of the neighbourhood of Harrison Lake, where it seems to appear in its greatest purity, though culturally the Lillooet are generally considered an interior tribe (yet they have been very considerably influenced by the neighbouring tribes of the coast). The Lillooet sub-type includes the coast Salish of the Fraser [324] River region and of Southern Vancouver Island south to Puget Sound. The main characteristics of the sub-type are very short stature, marked breadth of head as compared with length (they would be described as markedly brachycephalic by physical anthropologists, though the former practice of head-flattening in childhood makes it difficult to secure reliable data on the natural dimensions of the head), great breadth of face, flat nose, thick lips, and receding chin.

### Environmental Influence

It is one of the favourite ideas of today that the geographical environment exercises a profound influence on the life of a people. To a not inconsiderable extent geographical environment undoubtedly does play its part in the moulding of a type of culture, particularly in less advanced stages of society. The west coast of British Columbia affords an excellent example of such environmental influence. Being a coast country, it gives the life of its native inhabitants a distinctive tone. The natives were primarily a littoral people whose villages were generally drawn up back of the beaches, whose sustenance came primarily from the fish and mammals of the sea, and who therefore had developed numerous ingenious devices for the obtaining of these, and whose chief means of



transportation from village to village were dug-out canoes. The influence of the sea makes itself strongly felt even in the less material aspects of their culture. Thus, much of the ceremonialism of the Indians was bound up with the performance of rites intended to bring about success in fishing or sea-hunting; the legendary accounts told by Nootka families often dwell on the whaling achievements, generally under supernatural guidance, of their ancestors; among the Haida the dreaded killer-whale is invested with the powers belonging to a supernatural being; and so on indefinitely. The west coast is one of the most rainy parts of the American continent, and this environmental factor also has left its mark on the life of the natives. The heavy rainfall meant that the tent-like lodges covered with hides, bark or mats, which are characteristic of the [325] Indians of the plateaus and plains, could hardly be of service here; hence we find that the west coast Indians built heavy plank houses of great size and durability, the presence of large trees easily worked into lumber assisting the Indians materially in solving the problem of shelter. The rainy climate of the coast has also had much to do with determining the character of the clothing worn by the Indians. A coast people continually splashing in and out of canoes would be hampered by tight-fitting skin garments and by moccasins; hence we find cedar bark garments in use, and note the absence, on the whole, of moccasins and leggings. Conical hats woven of vegetable fibres and cedar bark rain-capes, both of which are characteristic west coast articles of wear, again indicate a rainy country. A third environmental factor which we may note is the heavily wooded character of the coast, coniferous trees (red cedar, spruce, hemlock, and yellow cedar) being particularly characteristic of the coast flora. The red cedar is indeed to the coast natives what the palm is to many tropical peoples. From the hollowed-out trunks were fashioned dug-outs, often gigantic in size, hewn timbers of cedar served as material for house-posts and totem-poles, while cedar planks were used to form the roof and walls of the houses; cedar wood was worked into a vast number of useful or ceremonial objects, in many cases carved, such as boxes of various types, trays, dishes, ladles, canoe bailers, buckets, masks, whistles, and numerous other objects; out of twisted cedar withes were made stout ropes strong enough to hold a harpooned whale; cedar bark was used for a great variety of purposes, its strands being twisted into cordage or utilized as wool in twined basketry, cedar bark strips serving as material for matting, bags, and garments, shredded cedar bark being often employed for ceremonial head, neck, arm, and leg wear, while the innermost bark could be

pounded so fine and soft as to serve as a wool-like padding for the baby in its cradle; finally, the roots of the cedar were split into strands suitable for basket-making. The inner bark of the yellow cedar was woven into blankets and garments of finer make than those of red cedar bark.

So obvious is the influence of the coast environment on [326] the culture of the aborigines that we run more danger of overestimating than of underestimating its extent. For it is, after all, clear on further reflection that by no means all the elements of west coast aboriginal culture are immediately or even indirectly traceable to the character of the land and climate. The physical environment has given to the west coast culture a colouring all its own, and has in many cases, as we have seen, even directly called forth some of the elements of that culture, yet by far the greater part of the mental culture of the Indians can hardly be explained on the score of geographical environment; this environment is doubtless reflected in innumerable ways in the beliefs and customs of the people, yet their actual form and content must owe their origin to historical causes lying largely beyond our knowledge. Even in material culture the geographical environment often hardly does more than determine the material of the object. We can point out that the cedar forms an indispensable factor in the industries of the natives, yet the mere existence of the cedar does not help us to explain why the utensils have such and not other definite forms, or why the totem-poles are carved into such and not other definite figures. In other words, the geographical environment, here as elsewhere, cannot be made to explain more than the superficial aspects of a culture.

### The Food of the West Coast Indians

The diet of the west coast Indians was almost exclusively animal in character, though vegetable foods were by no means wholly lacking. By far the most important source of the food supply was the many varieties of marine fish, the most important of these being the different kinds of salmon that come up the rivers at different seasons to spawn. Various kinds of fishing took place at definite times throughout the year; besides salmon, some of the more important kinds of fish secured were herring, halibut, and a number of varieties of cod. The oulachan or candle-fish was particularly valued for the oil that was obtained from it, and candle-fish grease mixed with berries was to many of the tribes the [327]



greatest delicacy that could be offered at a feast; among the Nootka, however, where whale oil was plentiful, the *oulachan* was of much less importance. The methods employed in securing fish were quite diverse. Some of these were spearing (both three-pronged spears, of a type found widely distributed in North America, and spears with detachable points were extensively employed); fishing with hook and line (a typical method of catching halibut was by means of bone-pointed hemlock-knot hooks and kelp line); fishing with nets; and trapping with weirs and a great variety of types of basket traps, this last type of fishing being particularly adapted to the securing of salmon in the creeks. Freshwater fish were also utilized, particularly salmon trout, but to a much less extent. Fish were either boiled in cooking boxes, the water being heated by means of red-hot stones, or roasted in ashes; a supply was dried and smoked to be set aside for use in the winter.

Next to marine fish may be noted the use of sea mammals (whales of various kinds, sea-lions, hair-seals, fur-seals, and sea-otters), though these formed a far less dependable source of the food supply than the former. The majority of west coast tribes, including even such expert seamen as the Haida, did not go out whaling, but contented themselves with such dead whales as stranded on the shore. Among the Nootka, however, certain families possessed the hereditary privilege of going out in canoes to harpoon whales. A whaling harpoon consisted of a long shaft of yew wood and a double-barbed bone harpoon head tipped with a cutting edge that was formerly of mussel shell, latterly of iron; the harpoon, which was socketed on the shaft and came loose on striking the animal, was secured by means of a lanyard of whale-gut, to which was looped a long rope of cedar withes which was paid out till the exhausted whale came to a standstill, whereupon it was killed and towed to shore. The stranded or caught whale was invariably cut up and distributed, generally according to fixed hereditary rights, to the leading men of the village, who thereupon might proceed to give whale feasts to their tribesmen. Sea-lions were harpooned in a manner similar to that of whales, except that the sea-lion outfit [328] was less strong and that the lanyard was generally made of sea-lion gut. Sea-otters and seals were generally secured by spearing.

A large number of invertebrate animals of the sea was also utilized for food purposes, chief among these being several kinds of clams, which were gathered in large open-work baskets and steamed. A certain amount of land hunting was done by most of the coast tribes, yet the deer was hardly used at all as an article of food by the Kwakiutl and



Nootka tribes. Among the mainland tribes whose territory extended into the interior, such as the Tsimshian and Bella Coola, the hunting of land animals was of economic importance. Of vegetable foods, the most important were various kinds of berries and edible roots; the former were partly eaten fresh, partly dried and laid aside in the form of tightly packed cakes for winter use. Less normal types of vegetable food that were in use among the west coast Indians were dried cakes of hemlock sap and kelp.

No agriculture worthy of the name was practised by the natives of the coast, though tobacco and clover patches were looked after with some care. This fact is interesting as showing that a very considerable advance in culture can be reached by a society not economically dependent upon agriculture. There is more than one American Indian tribe farther to the east, among whom agriculture was developed to a fair extent, whose degree of industrial and social advancement must nevertheless be considered as below that of the west coast Indians. The only domesticated animal known before contact with the whites was the native dog, more savage and long-haired than his successor of today.

### Dwellings

The dwellings of the coast Indians, as we have already seen, were large quadrangular structures built of hewn timbers and planks. The framework of the typical west coast house consisted of a pair of heavy posts at either end of the central line of the house supporting a ridge pole, and four corner posts to support beams parallel to the first; cedar [329] planks were used for the walls of the house and the rafters of the roof. The floor of the house, which was simply the stamped-down soil, was generally excavated a few feet below the level of the ground, leaving a surrounding quadrangular raised space that was utilized for storage and bed platforms. The fire was built in the centre of the floor space, exit for the smoke being provided for by pushing aside two or three of the rafters of the roof. The door was often an opening at the base of a huge heraldic column, generally known as a totem-pole, erected at the front of the house. Not only these totem-poles, but frequently also the house-posts, were carved into human or animal figures referring to the legendary history of the family occupying the house. The plank houses of the coast Salish were generally communal houses occupied by several families, whose quarters were separated from one another by means of

partitions, each section having its own fire. These houses, in consequence, often reached an astonishing length, some of six hundred feet or more having been reported on good authority. Among the coast Salish the houses lacked a central ridge pole, though the roof was given a gentle pitch for the shedding of rain by having one of the side walls a trifle higher than the other; on the roofs of the houses ceremonial dances were often performed and speeches delivered.

A typical west coast village always consisted of a single street levelled in front of the line of houses facing the beach. A long row of totem-poles and the many canoes drawn up on the beach lent a very picturesque appearance. In front of the houses were often erected summer platforms, where, early in the morning in fair weather, the old men were fond of lounging and conversing.

### Clothing and Ornamentation

The clothing of the west coast Indians, as we have already seen, was rather scanty. Blanket robes were made either of animal hides (sea-otter skins were in particular demand among the wealthy) or woven out of mountain-goat wool, dog's hair, or yellow cedar bark strands; among the coast [330] Salish woven fabrics were also made of a mixture of the last two materials. Besides hats, woven of spruce roots and cedar bark, and rain capes, which have already been referred to, mention may also be made of cedar bark women's aprons, forming the chief article of dress among the women, and woven ponchos and dancing aprons.

Curiously differing in this respect from most of the North American Indians, the men did not remove the hair of the face with tweezers, but allowed it to grow; scraggy beards are thus not uncommon among the Indian men of the west coast. Various styles of head flattening were practised by the Kwakiutl, Nootka, and coast Salish tribes; among these tribes it was a mark of social inferiority to have the head of normal shape. Tattooing was practised to some extent, particularly among the more northern tribes. Ear and nose rings, chiefly of abalone, were worn, also necklaces of dentalium shells, bear claws, and other materials. The women of the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian were careful to wear lip plugs or labrets, which were made of various materials. These latter were often quite heavy, pulling down the lower lip and exposing the teeth; inconvenient as they must have been to the wearer, no self-respecting woman would dare show herself in public without one.

## Industries

Of all the industries of the coast Indians, wood-work was by far the most characteristic and highly developed, easily worked wood being plentiful in the well-forested coast-land. For the great majority of objects of daily use red cedar, which is easily split and carved, formed the most suitable material, while implements requiring a stronger material, such as bows, whaling-spear shafts, and needles for rush-mat making, were made of yew, spiraea, or other hard woods. The process of felling a full-sized cedar in the days when iron tools had not yet come into use required considerable care and often lasted several days. The chief implements used were wedges of wood or antler and stone hammers, which in the north were attached to long wooden handles, while in the [331] south, where they were pestle-like in shape, they were operated directly with the hand. Planks and other wooden objects were fashioned out of timbers by means of bone-bladed or stone-bladed adzes with handles of peculiar form, which were generally carved into animal figures. The wood was carved by means of long curved knives and was often given a smooth polish by rubbing with dog-fish skin. There seems little doubt that before the use of iron tools the accomplishments of the natives in wood-work were somewhat more limited than in recent times, yet the use of iron tools seems to have been responsible rather for work on a larger scale than for finer finish. Perhaps the most skilfully constructed objects of wood were the boxes which were used for storage of valuables, cooking, burial, and other purposes. The sides of a box were ingeniously constructed out of a single plank, which was steamed and bent into the desired shape, the corners having first been provided for by cutting out notches. The bottom of the box was made of a separate piece of wood fitting tightly into the side frame. Various types of box-lids were employed, and were often tied to the boxes by means of cedar bark strings. The most striking objects of wood were the totem-poles and canoes. The latter were dug-outs constructed out of a single tree-trunk, which was hollowed out by a careful process of charring and adzing; the proper width amidships was secured by steaming and tightening with thwarts. These dug-out canoes were of various characteristic models, differing according to tribe and purpose for which used. The longest of all was the Haida war canoe with separate bow and stern pieces; sixty feet was quite a normal length for canoes of this type.

The natives were not only expert in the use of wood, but also worked in stone, horn, and bone. Archaeological evidence discloses the former



existence in the coast region of a considerable number of types of stone implements, such as mortars, hammers, spear points, and adze blades or chisels. A variety of stone material was employed, including slate and often beautifully polished jade or nephrite. It is worth noting that the practice of fashioning stone points by means of flaking, which was almost universal in other parts of [332] aboriginal America, was unknown here, its place being taken by rubbing and pecking. Perhaps the most remarkable examples of stone-work in this area are the hammers of the northern tribes, which are often carved into realistic figures; even masks of stone were made to some extent. Bone was used in the preparation of a number of types of implements, such as points of hooks, spears and arrows, awls, spindle whorls, sap scrapers, bark beaters, bark shredders, adze handles, and various ceremonial objects, such as medicine-men's charms and ceremonial war clubs. Horn was naturally less extensively used than bone; yet many beautifully carved examples of horn-work, particularly the horn spoons of the Tsimshian and Haida, were found. Work in metal was of far less consequence than work in wood, stone, horn, and bone. Before contact with the whites, copper was the only metal employed, and even this hardly to as great an extent as in more recent times. The copper was merely beaten into the desired shape, the art of smelting metals being entirely unknown in aboriginal America. The most characteristic objects of copper among the west coast Indians were the so-called 'coppers,' large or small plates of conventional form, often with incised designs; these 'coppers,' which seem to have been in particular use among the Kwakiutl, were symbolic of wealth, being often exchanged at ceremonial feasts in the manner of our paper currency.

Upon the women devolved the work of spinning, netting, matting, and basket-making. Thread and cordage were spun of cedar bark strands, spruce and cedar root fibres, nettle fibre, and sinew; spindle and whorl were used in the process of spinning. Nets were constructed chiefly of nettle fibre with the help of netting needles and mesh blocks of wood. Mats were of two types, some being made of rushes sewed together by long wooden needles with thread; other mats, as well as bags and certain garments, were made of strips of cedar bark that were woven into checker-work or twilled patterns, ornamental border effects being often obtained by dyeing certain strands red or black (chewed alder bark and black mud were respectively used as dyes). The basketry of the west coast Indians is much less highly developed than in [333] the interior of British Columbia, its place being largely taken by wooden

vessels. Besides the twilled cedar bark bags already spoken of, which are almost as much examples of matting as basketry proper, all the baskets made in this area were of twined technique, coiling being entirely unknown. Many of the larger twined baskets were of open-work, others, often ornamented in geometric patterns with coloured overlay, were closely woven. Baskets of this latter type were made particularly by the Tlingit and the southern tribes among the Nootka.

### Games and Decorative Art

Quite a number of games, both of chance and dexterity, were played by the coast Indians. Gambling for stakes was an invariable accompaniment of most games of chance, the chief of which were the stick game, played with a large number of smooth cylindrical sticks that were often ornamented with painted designs; the hand or guessing game played with a pair or two pairs of cylindrical bones; and a dice game played with marked beaver teeth. The two former were games for men, the last a game for women. The hand game was practically universal in one form or another among the aborigines of North America west of the Rockies; the guessing side sang gambling songs to the accompaniment of beating of sticks.

Decorative art was highly developed. Simple geometric designs were brought out in matting by dyeing and in basketry by coloured overlay strands. This style of art, however, is more characteristic of other parts of aboriginal America than of the west coast Indians, whose decorative art was pre-eminently one of conventional realism. Despite the great diversity of forms in which this style of art is expressed, it has throughout the same general characteristics. Whether the designs are carved in relief on totem-poles, house-posts, boxes, and trays, painted on boxes, house-boards, or at bow or stern of canoes, woven in blankets of mountain-goat wool, or even incised in modern copper or silver bracelets, they are unmistakably west coast in character and treatment. The [334] subjects represented are practically always either animals or supernatural beings, but often so stylized and distorted by the conventions of artistic tradition as to be quite unrecognizable to the unprepared observer. In massive relief work the figures preserve their realism best of all, but a typical design painted on a Haida hat or woven in a Chilkat blanket suggests little, if any, of the intended realism. Conventionalization is due primarily to two factors: first, the desire to cover the whole field

of decoration; secondly, the substitution for realism pure and simple of conventional symbols which, in the mind of the native, unambiguously refer to the animal or being represented. In consequence of the former tendency, parts of the field that would normally be empty are filled in with oval designs or 'eyes,' which seem originally to have symbolized joints; moreover, the animal must often be thought of as cut through and spread out, or distorted in some other conventional way, so that the parts of the body may be disposed in symmetrical fashion (thus the two halves of an animal's tail are often represented in the right and left of the design). By virtue of this conventionalizing tendency animals are often given human form, but are provided with characteristic decorative elements that make them recognizable as animals. Thus the beaver is indicated by his flat incisor teeth or cross-hatched tail, the eagle by his curved beak, and the bear by his erect ears or lolling tongue. In actual practice several distinct designs are often combined or interlaced in complicated fashion (as in the superimposed series of figures on a totem-pole, which hold, sit on, or support one another), whereby the symbolic interpretation is rendered more difficult. Painted designs are chiefly in black, white, or red, sometimes also in blue or green; relief designs on boxes are not infrequently painted at the same time. Among the Nootka and Salish this conventionally realistic style of art is only slightly developed, true realism, though often crude in execution, taking its place. Such realistic designs, representing supernatural beings and animals, have been found carved into the rock at various points on Vancouver Island. [335]

## Music

The musical art also of the west coast Indians is far from being truly primitive in character. It is chiefly vocal, drums and rattles being often used as accompanying instruments. There are several types of skilfully constructed whistles or trumpets in use, which, however, serve merely to produce various kinds of calls and other sounds in religious ceremonies. Among the different types of drum used are the hand-drums or tom-toms and the large box-shaped drums of the northern tribes. Many different types of rattles are found, among them being the large bird-shaped wooden rattles of the Nootka, the globular wooden rattles of the Kwakiutl, the smaller bird-shaped rattles of the Tsimshian and Haida, which are very elaborately decorated in relief, pecten-shell rattles,



and hoop-shaped rattles with attached penguin [puffin] beaks. Besides rattles and drums, hand-beating and striking of sticks on planks are also often employed to mark time. The singing of songs plays a very important part in the life of the Indians, particularly in the conduct of the rituals. There are quite a number of distinct types of songs, which differ considerably in their melodic and rhythmic qualities; particular types of accompaniment are often limited to definite classes of songs. The music of the songs offers interesting problems in intonation, the intervals apparently not corresponding exactly to those that we are accustomed to, and in rhythm. In the latter respect the songs exhibit a complexity that not seldom far surpasses such rhythmic subtleties as we are familiar with. Such time schemes as  $5/4$ , which are quite uncommon in even our most daring modern music, are not at all infrequent here; moreover, drum beats do not always follow the accents of the song, but follow their own course, yet in a manner definitely related to the song beats. Much attention is given by the natives to the proper execution of the rhythmic niceties of their music; in earlier times mistakes in rhythm made by dancers in certain sacred songs of the Kwakiutl were punished by death. [336]

The texts of the songs are in some cases definite words, in others meaningless syllables or burdens. Not infrequently the words are not in the ordinary prose forms of daily speech, but are special song-words modified, phonetically or otherwise, from the normal forms. Many types of song are used in connection with dances, in which various steps, according to the character of the music, are used. Women have dance steps peculiar to themselves; their dancing consists largely of posturing and of swaying movements of the arms and body.

### Classes of Society and Clan Organization

Three distinct classes of society are recognized in the social structure of the west coast Indians—nobility, common people, and slaves. The chiefs may be looked upon as constituting the highest subdivision of the nobility. These three classes were, at least in theory, fixed once for all, each individual being assigned his rank by inheritance. The chiefs exercised considerable authority and enjoyed a number of privileges and property rights that went with their office. Not only did the nobility constitute a class higher in rank than that of the common people, but they were carefully graded in rank among themselves, the bearer of

each grade of nobility being distinguished by a hereditary name, which inhered in a definite family, and by a definite seat assigned to him at ceremonial gatherings.

Intercrossing the division of the community into social classes was the clan organization, which, however, obtained in strictness only for the more typical west coast tribes. A clan is a group of individuals held together by ties of real or fancied relationship, and generally supposed to have common descent from a legendary ancestor; there is good evidence to show that the clans of the west coast were in every case merely village communities in origin which, by migrations and intermarriages, came in time to lose their distinctly local character. Closely connected with the clan organization was totemism, or a system of clan crests. A crest is an animal, supernatural being, or object, generally an animal, [337] which in the mind of the natives is associated with a particular clan and which often, though by no means always, gives it its name. A crest animal or totem is not, as a rule, thought of as the ancestor of the clan, nor are there, generally speaking, specific taboos in force against killing or eating it; among the Kwakiutl, however, belief in the ancestral character of the crest animal is not entirely absent, though it is not as systematically developed as in other parts of the world, as, for instance, in aboriginal Australia. Each clan has its stock of names, songs, privileges, and traditions. These traditions always recount the manner in which, in the remote past, the totem became associated with the clan ancestor, the most typical style of legend in this respect being that in which the ancestor is believed to have met the totem (the mythological prototype of the animals, supernatural beings, or objects that today bear his name) and to have been awarded privileges and supernatural gifts by it.

The clans are subdivided into families, which often have their own special traditions, privileges, and crests. In the more typical tribes of the north the clans are not the largest totemic units of society, but are grouped into larger social units, known among ethnologists as phratries. These are always few in number and have their distinctive crests. Among the Tlingit there are two such phratries, whose crests are respectively the raven and the wolf. Among the Haida the two phratries, corresponding respectively to the Tlingit raven and wolf, are the eagle and the raven; the Haida raven phratry, curiously enough, corresponds to the Tlingit wolf phratry—not the raven phratry—and indeed its chief crest is not the raven but the killer-whale. Among both the Haida and Tlingit the phratries are exogamous; in other words, an individual is debarred

from marrying a member of his own phratry, but must seek his or her partner from among the individuals of the opposite phratry. Both clan and phratry are, in these tribes, inherited through the female line, whence it follows that a man is in some respects considered more intimately related to his mother's brother than to his own father. Among the Tsimshian there are four phratries, whose crests are [338] respectively the wolf, raven, bear, and eagle. The same laws of exogamy and maternal inheritance that we have noted in the case of the Haida and Tlingit apply to the Tsimshian phratries. The grouping of clans into phratries seems to be absent in the other west coast tribes, but the Northern Kwakiutl clans resemble the phratries of the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian in that they have animal names, are exogamous, and follow the rule of maternal descent. The rule of exogamy is not carried out in the other west coast tribes, the Southern Kwakiutl clans being apparently indifferent on this point, whereas among the Bella Coola it seems that the opposite tendency obtained, at least among the nobility, of the members of a clan marrying among themselves (endogamy). The Southern Kwakiutl system of inheritance is in effect maternal, yet not purely so in form. Among the Nootka and coast Salish the crest system, though apparently not entirely absent, does not seem to be as definitely connected with social units as in the other tribes.

Properly speaking, a definite clan with its crest or crests is represented in but one of the phratries of the tribe, yet this is not quite consistently carried out: thus we find that among the Haida the raven is used as a crest by certain clans of both the raven and eagle phratries. To illustrate the fact, however, we may enumerate some of the more important crests of the Haida phratries. Among the ravens we find, in the order of their importance, the killer-whale, the grizzly bear, the rainbow, a certain supernatural being, the sea-lion, the moon, the thunder-bird, the cumulus-cloud, the dog-fish, the wolf, the flicker, and the raven; among the eagles we find represented the eagle, the beaver, the sculpin, the frog, the whale, the raven, the halibut, the hummingbird, the cormorant, the dog-fish, the heron, and another supernatural being. Crests are not only obtained by inheritance but, in the case of the chiefs and nobility, may be acquired by purchase or gift from neighbouring tribes, whence is explained the fact that families and clans often possess several crests subsidiary to the main one. A crest is concretely symbolized in carved figures, masks, tattooing, and face-painting. Not all the figures of a totem-pole, however, [339] necessarily represent crests of the owner of the house; the crest or crests of his wife, and supernatural beings that



have reference to the legendary history of his family, are also sometimes represented.

One of the most deeply rooted ideas in the culture of the Indians of the coast is that of property, with which is connected that of inheritance. Not only is property in the narrow sense of the word inheritable, but many intangible forms of wealth, such as names, songs, legends, dances (which generally go with certain masks), membership in religious societies, ritualistic privileges, and knowledge of secret rituals of many sorts, are transmitted by inheritance. It is indeed these latter quite as much as material wealth that give one social position and prestige. Inheritance of privileges does not necessarily take place at the death of their former possessor. One of the most characteristically developed procedures among the west coast Indians is the transfer of status and accompanying privileges to the heir. Thus it frequently happens that the titular chief of a village or clan is a young man whose maternal uncle, father, or other appropriate predecessor in office is yet alive and active.

### Media of Exchange and the Potlatch

Though a definite coinage can hardly be said to have been developed in aboriginal times, there were several media of exchange whose value was as much symbolic as real. Among these were the 'coppers' already spoken of, strings of dentalia, triangular-shaped box-covers, which often formed part of dowries, and, in later times, blankets of unit value.

A chief or nobleman was ever on the alert to exhibit in public his wealth and prestige, seeking at the same time, wherever possible, to add to both. The chief means employed for these purposes was the potlatch or ceremonial feast at which the host gave away property (consisting of slaves, canoes, strings of dentalia, sea-otter skins, blankets, or other objects) to the assembled guests. Such a potlatch was often given in connection with some such event as a marriage, the coming of age of a daughter or niece, a religious [340] ceremonial, a memorial feast, the assignment of adult name and status to a young man or woman, and many other occasions of ceremonial or social significance. A typical potlatch was always rather an elaborate affair, consisting partly of ceremonial activities, including songs and dances appropriate to the particular type of potlatch, and of the potlatch proper, that is, the distribution of property. This distribution was, however, rarely in the nature of a gift pure and simple, as it was always understood that the

recipients were to return the gift at one hundred per cent interest in a potlatch given before the end of the year. Thus a potlatch was to a large extent the public announcement of business transactions of one kind or another, at which debts were paid and investments made. Failure to return with interest the value of the property obtained in a potlatch meant loss of prestige and would arouse the contempt and derision of the rest of the tribe. Not infrequently a tribe as such invited another tribe to a potlatch, and the mere expense of feasting all the guests for a number of days was in such cases very considerable. A spirit of rivalry between chiefs and tribes often ran high in potlatches, each seeking to outdo the other. Grandiloquent speeches delivered by formal speakers extolling the wealth and dignity of the host and his ancestors, and taunts levelled at the rival chief, were the order of the day. Sometimes a chief would destroy much of his own property (the killing of a slave was one form of such destruction) in order to show how reckless he could be with the disposition of wealth. If his rival failed to do likewise, he was deemed outdone. The most dreaded form of destruction of property was the breaking of a 'copper,' whereby the destruction of a very large amount of wealth was symbolized, for to copy such an example might lead to impoverishment. The desire to amass wealth and the spirit of rivalry may be said to have been the mainsprings of action among the west coast Indians.

### Ceremonial Customs and Taboos

Many ceremonial customs and taboos, that is, prohibitions or restrictions of various kinds, accompanied the most [341] important periods of an individual's life. The chief of these periods may be said to have been birth, puberty (in the case of girls), marriage, and death. At birth the parents of the child had many rather irksome taboos to observe in regard to eating certain kinds of food and sharing in certain activities. The ears of the child were pierced and its head flattened; it received a child's name from among the stock of names owned by the family, later to be exchanged for an adult name, this in turn to give way to an old man's or old woman's name. The arrival of a girl at the age of puberty was probably the most important event in her life and was hedged about by ritual performances and many taboos. Until the prescribed period, often lasting for a year, was over, she was looked upon as unclean, and lived in seclusion from the rest of the household. During

this period she was trained in her future duties of a full-grown woman. Marriage, generally preceded several months before by a formal courting visit of the bridegroom and his people to the house of the future bride, was accompanied by the giving of purchase-money to the bride's people, and, in return, the granting of a dowry. The marriage ceremony, which took place on the arrival of the bridegroom at the house of his bride's people, his suit having meanwhile been granted, often took the form of a dramatic performance symbolizing the legendary marriage of an ancestor. Death was followed by the burial or destruction of the personal property of the deceased. The methods of burial differed somewhat in different tribes, one of the characteristic forms being the burial of the body in a box, which was then placed in the branches of a tree; some families possessed private caves in which they buried their dead. There was a definite period of mourning followed by a memorial feast, at which the various taboos in force during this period were lifted. One of the most interesting of these taboos was the avoidance of the name or of any word sounding like the name of the deceased, a consequence of which was that many individuals in the tribe changed their names and that certain words would drop out of use for some time. [342]

### Belief in the Supernatural

The west coast Indians believed in a large number of supernatural beings who were supposed to be powerful for good or ill. The idea of a supreme being is not absent; thus among the Haida we find a belief in an all-powerful being called 'Power of the Shining Heavens,' while among the Nootka prayers were addressed to the 'Sky Chief.' However, it cannot be said that this belief in a supreme being occupied an important place in the religious system of the natives. Of far greater importance, as reflected in their mythology and rituals, are a large number of beings, definitely localized in air, sea, or land, that are believed capable of bestowing definite powers on mankind. Among the Haida the sea was believed to be peopled by a vast number of such beings, who were regarded, curiously enough, as members of either the raven or eagle phratry. The thunder-bird, particularly among the Nootka, was looked upon with great awe; it is the flapping of his wings as he leaves his mountain home to go out in pursuit of whales that constitutes thunder, while his belt, itself a supernatural serpent-like being, twists in the air and makes the lightning. Besides supernatural



beings of this sort, there were believed also to be a great many kinds of more or less uncanny supernatural peoples corresponding to our own fairies, mermaids, and other imaginary beings. Some of these could bestow favours on men, others were of small account.

Some of the religious ceremonials of the natives were performed in connection with specific events, such as the arrival at maturity of girls, the first appearance in the season of salmon, or the capture or stranding of a whale. The most important of all rituals, however, was held in the winter, which was looked upon as the sacred season. The masks, whistles, and other ceremonial regalia that were used in the course of the winter ritual had to be concealed during the rest of the year, and their exposure constituted a sacrilege that was sometimes punished with death. The main idea at the basis of the winter ceremonials may be said to be that [343] of the introduction of novices or initiates into the protection of certain supernatural beings, who were supposed to reveal themselves in secluded places and to bestow their customary gifts upon them. We are here face to face with the widespread American Indian belief in the acquirement of power or 'medicine' from some manitou or guardian spirit. The west coast practice, however, differs fundamentally from the normal process in that the individual does not put himself into religious association with any supernatural being at will, but always with one to which he is entitled by virtue of his inherited privileges. Moreover, the supernatural beings involved were strictly limited in number and graded in rank. Among the Kwakiutl, who seem to have developed the winter ceremonials in their greatest complexity, this state of affairs resulted in a peculiar social organization which obtained only during the course of the ritual season. In place of the clan organization in effect during the greater part of the year, the so-called profane season, the members of the tribe were divided into religious fraternities (the so-called secret societies), which were each composed of members initiated by the same supernatural being. All the members of the tribe that had already been initiated into some fraternity were grouped together as 'Seals,' in contrast to the uninitiated and superannuated individuals, who were grouped together under the name of 'Sparrows.' The fraternities constituting the 'Seals' had each its assigned rank, its definitely prescribed mode of action, its songs, its dances, its whistles, its masks, and its cedar bark regalia. Many also made use of symbolic objects of various kinds, while among the Nootka and other tribes specific face-paints were used. The most important fraternities were the Cannibals, who were initiated by the cannibal spirit and who acted in a frenzied manner and practised

ritualistic cannibalism, the Ghosts, the Fools, whose function it was to police the proceedings, and the Grizzly Bears. The general conduct of the ceremonials was dramatic in character and the state of mind of the participants was often one of religious ecstasy. A novice was never introduced at his initiation into the highest fraternity to which his inherited privileges entitled [344] him, but advanced from one fraternity to another in the course of successive winter ceremonials. A typical initiation consisted in the abduction of the novice into the woods, theoretically by the supernatural being, his ceremonial capture and return after a stated period, the exorcism of the spirit that caused his frenzy, and the performance of the dances that he is supposed to have learned from his newly acquired protector.

Disease, as among most primitive peoples, is believed to be due to the entry of a disease-object or 'pain' into the body of the sick person, and it is the business of the shaman or medicine-man to find the nature and seat of the 'pain,' also, if possible, the one responsible for its entry, who, if discovered, may then be summarily dealt with. A medicine-man is believed to have gained supernatural power from some uncanny or rarely seen being that he has met in the woods or other secluded spot; most medicine-men claim more than one such tutelary spirit. There are different types of doctoring procedures, in most of which the singing of medicine-songs plays an important part. Generally the medicine-man puts himself into a supernormal state, often a trance, in the course of which he is enabled by the help of his medicine spirits to ascertain the cause of a disease. The main object was always to expel the foreign substance causing the disease, and this is often shown in the shape of a hair or other small inconspicuous-looking object. Distinct from shamanism or primitive doctoring, which might for revenge or other reasons be employed to cause as well as to cure disease, is witchcraft, in so far as it may be practised by any one, of which many forms were in use among the Indians. Among the Nootka each family had its own inherited stock of curative herbs and other medicines for ailments of different kinds, methods of bewitching, and methods of warding off witchcraft.

## Myths

The existence of a large body of mythological lore among the natives of the west coast has been referred to more than once. As a rule, a strict difference is made among all the [345] tribes between myths pure and

simple, which are the common property of the whole tribe, and family legends, which, though for the most part quite mythical in content, have a more historical ring about them than the myths of the first type. The clan or family legends are the property of particular clans and families and detail the acquirement of powers and privileges by ancestors of the families laying claim to them. It is not possible to draw a hard and fast line between the subject-matter of myths proper and that of family legends, as much of the myth motives and folk-lore current in west coast mythology, and, for that matter, in some cases in American Indian mythology generally, has been incorporated into the pseudo-historical framework of the legends. Not infrequently genealogies are introduced into these family legends.

The typical myths, in the narrower sense of the word, tell of the experience of animal beings who, as so often in American Indian mythology, are believed to have existed in human or semi-human form in a remote mythological epoch, and who constitute the progenitors of the transformed animals of today. The idea of a definite creation of the world, such as we find in typical Californian and other Indian mythologies, hardly finds a place here. The world is always supposed to have been very much as it is now, except that things were originally in a much more chaotic state. Culture heroes are believed to have transformed various features of the mythological world into those we are familiar with now. Among some tribes the culture hero is thought of as a human being endowed with supernatural power, in others he is an animal being. Curiously enough, the culture hero is not always spoken of with unmingled respect, for many incidents are told of him which reveal him as clownish, gluttonous, and obscene. This so-called 'trickster' note is often conjoined in American Indian mythology with that of the culture hero or transformer. The raven is the culture hero and trickster of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian. Some of his exploits, as his liberation, for the benefit of future generations, of daylight, which had been kept enclosed in a box by a greedy individual, almost entitle him to be considered a kind of [346] god; yet almost in the same breath incidents are related of him that would put him on the level of a Reynard the Fox or Till Eulenspiegel. Among the more southern tribes his role as culture hero is assumed by other characters and he has degenerated into a trickster pure and simple.



### Editorial Note

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# A Sketch of the Social Organization of the Nass River Indians

## INTRODUCTION.

In February, 1915, a deputation of four Nass River Indians visited Ottawa on business connected with the Department of Indian Affairs. Through the kindness of Mr. D. C. Scott, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, their attention was drawn to the anthropological work of the Geological Survey and to the ethnological exhibits in its museum. Opportunity was thus gained, on February 18 and 19, for the writer to secure a sketch of some of the outlines of the social organization of the Nass River division of the Tsimshian stock, a sketch which is confessedly imperfect in many respects, but which may, for the present, contribute its share towards the comparative study of the problems of West Coast sociology.

The Indians constituting the deputation were:

(1.) Chief T. L. Derrick (see frontispiece), living at the village of Aiyansh ('a'ya'nc). He formerly lived at the village of *kulaxla-mikc*, whence he moved to Aiyansh along with most of his tribesmen. He is 59 years of age and is the third chief by rank of the *kut'anw'likc* tribe. His present Indian name is *k'c'xk'u*, one of the noble names of the *kutwil'na-k'c'* clan, to which Chief Derrick belongs and of which he is head chief.



His father was head chief of the *kispor'dw'wda* phratry of the *kutwankc'lk'* tribe. He is also known as *lv'c'mc*, a nickname going back to his child name. Despite his age, Chief Derrick has quite a good command of English, and this, combined with his great intelligence and evident knowledge of aboriginal social conditions among his people, made it possible to obtain a larger amount of material in a short time than is perhaps ordinarily feasible. He is responsible for practically all the data contained in this paper. He was assisted by the interpreter, Mr. Woods, only part of the time.

(2.) Chief W. J. Lincoln, living at the village of Kincolith (*k'in'yo'l'ix*). He is about 40 years of age and is the youngest chief of the *kutxate'n* tribe. His Indian name is *qada'xe''x*, one of the noble names of the *laxlo'kct'* clan, to which Chief Lincoln belongs.

(3.) Chief A. N. Calder, living at the village of Greenville (*laxqallsa'p*). He is about 46 years of age and is the head chief of the *kutgige'ntx* tribe. His Indian name is *'nagwa'o'm* "long hand," one of the noble names of the *laxk'ibo'* or Wolf phratry, to which Chief Calder belongs.

(4.) Mr. R. S. Woods, living at Kincolith. He is about 22 years of age and belongs to the noble class of the *kutxate'n* tribe. His Indian name is *ntx'djo'nt'*, one of the noble names of the *laxsgi'k'* or Eagle phratry, to which Mr. Woods belongs. Mr. Woods is only part Indian, his mother having been half-breed and his father white. He speaks perfect English and proved useful as interpreter.

I may say that the data here presented were obtained without any reference whatever to the material on Nass River social organization that Boas gives in his account of the tribe (Report of the 65th meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895, pp. 569-583). Correspondences between his and my own data have, therefore, all the force of mutually corroborative evidence.

## TRIBES AND VILLAGES.

The Tsimshian tribes of Nass river are known collectively as *nisqan*. Though held together by identity of language and common interest, they can hardly be said to form a political entity, each tribe being an independent unit and occupying its own village or villages. There are four of these tribes, occupying villages along the Nass in the following order, beginning with the mouth of the river:

(1.) *k̥it̥x̥al̥eːn* "people of (fish) traps," located at the mouth of the river. They occupy the two villages of *k̥inyoːliːx̥* "place of scalps", or Kincolith, and *lax̥qaltsaːp* "old village site" (literally "on the town"), or Greenville. The former village is said to be so named because the scalps of enemies used to be dried there.

(2.) *k̥it̥giːgeːniːx̥* "people further up stream" (from the point of view of the preceding tribe). Their village is named *lax̥'anlaː* "mountain slide." They are considered the main tribe of the Nass River Indians.

(3.) *k̥it̥wank̥eːlk̥* "people of home-of-lizards" (from *k̥eːlk̥* "lizard"). They used to inhabit the old village of *k̥it̥wank̥eːlk̥*, from which the tribe receives its name. At present they are located at *lax̥ʷl̥* 'yāːns "under leaf", or Underleaf, a recently established village situated across the river from the old one.

(4.) *k̥it̥'anw̥eːliːk̥* "people moving regularly from and back to their home village." The name refers to their periodic descent to the mouth of the river to get olachen (*s̥āːk̥*), but no other fish. They occupy the two villages of *k̥ulax̥laːm̥ik̥* "village on ponds," or Gitlakdamix, and 'a'yāːns "leaves coming out," or Aiyansh. The latter is a new village (only about forty years old), to which most of the inhabitants of the tribe have moved over, few being left at the older village of *k̥it̥lax̥laːm̥ik̥*.

## PHRATRIES, CLANS, AND CRESTS.

The Nass River Indians, like their southern neighbours, the Tsimshian proper, are divided into four exogamous phratries (*p̥teːq̥*) with maternal descent, i.e., the crests and other privi-

leges descend from a man to his sister's son; one's predecessor in the holding of any title or right is thus not his father, but his maternal uncle. The phratries are the *laxk̓ibow* "on the wolf," generally referred to simply as Wolves (cf. *k̓ibow* "wolf"); the *laxsk̓ik̓* "on the eagle," generally referred to simply as Eagles (cf. *x̓g̓ä'k̓* "eagle"; *x̓g̓ik̓* is the Tsimshian proper dialectic form); the *k̓ispo'udwɨd̓ə*, a name of unknown meaning; and the *qana'da*, also of unknown meaning. The name *qana'da* was said by Chief Derrick to be derived from *qana'w* "frog," one of the crests of this phratry; it is more than likely, however, that this is merely a folk etymology to explain an otherwise meaningless term. The main crest of the Wolves is the wolf, of the Eagles the eagle, of the *k̓ispo'udwɨd̓ə* (at least in part) the killer-whale (*'ne'q̓l*), of the *qana'da* the raven (*qa'q̓*).

As far as present distribution is concerned, these phratries are found well scattered among the four Nass River tribes, though not all of them are represented in each tribe.<sup>1</sup> The Wolves are found in all four tribes, but they do not occupy the same rank in each; they are the head phratry among the *k̓u'anwɨl'k̓*, *k̓ut̓gig̓e'n̓ix̓*, and *k̓it̓x̓at̓e'n̓*, but the third and last among the *k̓it̓wan̓k̓c̓'lk̓*. The Eagles are found represented in three of the tribes, being absent among the *k̓ut̓gig̓e'n̓ix̓*. The *k̓ispo'udwɨd̓ə* phratry again is absent among the *k̓ut̓gig̓e'n̓ix̓*, but represented in the other three tribes. The *qana'da* phratry, finally, is found to be lacking among the *k̓it̓wan̓k̓c̓'lk̓* only. The relative importance of a phratry seems to depend on the number of members it counts.

The phratries are subdivided into smaller groups that may be termed clans or, perhaps preferably, families. The Indian term for these subdivisions is *wil'nätä'l*, though the more inclusive term *p̓'te'q̓* seems also to be used to apply to them; *wil'nätä'l* may be translated as "being together with one another" (cf. Tsimshian reduplicated *na-təttä'l* "company"), i.e. "group of kinsmen dwelling together." The clans have their definite order of rank within the phratry of a particular tribe and are characterized by the ownership of special crests, legends, songs,

<sup>1</sup>It is quite likely, as Mr. Barbeau points out, that the facts of distribution as given in this paper apply only to the nobles.



individual names, houses, hunting and fishing territories, and numerous other inheritable privileges. On the whole, a clan seems to be confined to a single tribe, though there are cases of a single clan name being represented in two distinct tribes. Thus, the *kispo'dwe'da* clan of both the *k'wank'elk'* and *k'u'anwel'ke* bears the name of *kisqa'st'*, though the crests, as far as they were obtained, do not correspond at all; the main crest of this clan among the *k'wank'elk'* is the killer-whale, among the *k'u'anwel'ke* the moon. In other words, rank and privileges can not be safely predicated of either phratry or clan (insofar as covered by a name of more than unilocal distribution), but must always be studied with reference to a particular tribe or, what amounts to the same thing, village.

While each of the four phratries, as we have seen, has its characteristic or head crest, it does not at all follow that this crest figures as the main crest of each of its clans. Thus, among six Nass River clans belonging to the Wolf phratry, only two possess the wolf as their main crest (in one of these, moreover, this crest has the special name of "wolves moving about"); in two others the wolf occurs as one of the crests, but not as the main crest, this position being occupied by the "son of black bear" and "white grizzly" respectively; in the two other families, finally, the wolf is apparently not owned as crest at all, the main crest in each of these being the "black-bear prince." Similar conditions prevail with reference to the other phratries. The ascription of a single definite main crest to each of the phratries must, therefore, not be understood inclusively. However, there seems to be no doubt that some connexion is recognized between the member of a phratry and his phratric crest or crests, even in cases where it is not looked upon as one of the specific crests of his clan. Thus, while the *k'itwil'nä·k'·'* clan of the *k'u'anwel'ke* tribe, the second clan in rank of the Wolf phratry as represented in the tribe, does not possess the right to use the wolf as a real crest, it nevertheless can show it in a potlatch "for fun," as it is their phratric emblem; the point is that they may not use the wolf crest to increase their prestige, as by the giving away of property in connexion with it. Chief Derrick went on to say that any member of the Wolf phratry could use both wolf and

black-bear as ordinary crests, but as specific "high" crests only insofar as his clan had the definite privilege of using one or both of them. The right to use a crest can be transmitted only within the limits of matrilinear inheritance. However, it is sometimes customary among the Nass River Indians for a chief to lend his main crest to be shown at his son's potlatch, without his son thereby securing the right to the regular use of the crest. There is also a tendency to reserve the use of the most important crest or crests to the head chief and his titular successor, the other members of the clan being permitted to use only the minor crests. Thus, among the *k'atwıl'nä-k'ı'*, the second family of the Wolf phratry of the *k'at'awwı'lık*, the two main crests, the "prince black-bear" and the *lo'ayo'q'* crest, were reserved, as far as representation at potlatches was concerned, for the chief (Chief Derrick himself) and his chief sororal nephew, while the minor crests of the family, such as the "underground people," "doorkeepers," and "stone platform," could be used either by himself or his inferiors of the same family. It goes without saying that a special crest of a family can not be used by a member of another family of the same or another phratry, even if the latter is superior in rank. According to Mr. Woods, one cannot even pay a neighbour a visit and wear a garment decorated with a minor crest without justifying the use of such regalia by the expenditure of property at the house visited. In view of these circumstances I think it may be more proper to speak of an individual having the right to use a crest than owning a crest. The latter terminology implies, or may be taken to imply, a mystico-religious relation between the individual and the crest-being, an implication which it seems safest to avoid. Connected with the attitude of jealous respect towards the crest is the custom of not showing more than one crest at a single potlatch.

There seems to be a marked tendency for each clan to show its crests in some more or less definitely circumscribed concrete form, different from that in which the same crests are exhibited by other families. In quite a number of cases this tendency is reflected in the formal name of the crest, the name of the crest animal being modified by some descriptive epithet. Thus, as we have already seen, the wolf crest occurs also in the special form

of "wolves moving about," the black-bear crest also as "black-bear prince" (the epithet "prince" is found also with other crests, e.g., "killer-whale prince" and "mountain-goat prince," and seems to indicate that the crest as used by the particular family stands higher in rank than the simple unqualified crest of other families) and "son of black-bear." In many cases the modified crest name indicates clearly the type of ceremonial object shown as a representation of the crest. Thus, we not only have the eagle crest, but also "stone eagle," "wooden eagle," "abelone-covered eagle," and "eagle garment." Similarly, the raven crest appears also in the special forms of "abelone-covered raven" and "two ravens," the mountain-goat crest also as "mountain-goat hat." It is significant to note that while the mountain-goat is primarily a *kispor'dawda* crest, the special "mountain-goat hat" was given as one of the crests of a *qumida* clan. The tendency towards a concrete interpretation of the crest idea comes out still more strongly in the case of crests which refer not to animals or celestial bodies but to peculiar ceremonial objects connected with legends. Thus, one of the crests of an Eagle clan is a ceremonial ladle bearing the name of "small coffin," and a Wolf clan has as one of its crests the "foolish grease-dish." There can be little doubt that crests of this type are of lesser age than the typical animal and celestial crests, as they seem in every case to be peculiar to special clans and thus to have arisen, on the whole, subsequently to the splitting up of larger groups into the present clans. It is not probable that historically they are strictly comparable to the more general crests; it seems quite likely that they are to be explained as a result of the ever-increasing tendency to identify the crest with a specific representation of it. Psychologically it is important that the same term, *ayu'k's*, is applied to both types of crests, as well as to the privilege of using a distinctive house name.

We shall now give the ranking of phratries and families in each of the four tribes, beginning with the *k'ulanwet'ke* and proceeding down stream, also the crests used by each family, so far as they have been ascertained. I can naturally not claim completeness in this outline of clans and crests and so would like to emphasize the caution that too much must not, in most



cases, be made of negative evidence. Chief Derrick did not in any case enumerate all the crests of a clan. This was due partly to forgetfulness, partly to the impossibility of doing more than skimming the surface in the short time at our disposal. The crests are given in the order in which Chief Derrick dictated them. This should not be taken to imply that the order indicated rigidly reflects their ranking, even assuming that a definite ranking of crests is obtainable. Nevertheless, I believe the order at least approximates to such a ranking, the less widely distributed crests generally coming last. At any rate, there was no doubt in Chief Derrick's mind as to which was the highest crest for any given clan.

(1.) CLANS AND CRESTS OF THE *k̥it'anwɪl'k̥c*.

The phratries, all four of which are here represented, with their clans, rank as follows:

- I. *lax̥k̥ibɔ̃* "on wolf." This is the head phratry of the tribe and is divided into three clans, ranking in the following order:
  1. *k̥isq̥ansn̥ä't* "people from *sq̥ansn̥ä't*, home-of-berry-bushes"; *sq̥ansn̥ä't* is the name of their former village. The head chief is *sk̥ale'n*.
  2. *k̥itwɪl'nä·k̥ɪ'* "all in one (though living in different houses)." The head chief is Chief Derrick.
  3. *k̥itwɪllw̃ya'x̃* "people of hiding place."
- II. *lax̥sgɪ'k̥* "on eagle." This also is subdivided into three clans, ranking in the following order:
  1. *səmlax̥sgɪ'k̥* "real *lax̥sgɪ'k̥*," i.e. "foremost Eagles."
  2. *lax̥tsəme'l̥ɪx̥* "on beaver."
  3. *k̥itq̥ane'q̥s* "people of ladders."
- III. *k̥ispo'dwɪ'də*, consisting of only one clan:
  1. *k̥isq̥ä'st̥* "people living among *h̥ä'ct̥*, certain green bushes."
- IV. *q̥ana'da*, not further subdivided.

Chief Derrick gave the last two phratries in this order, but stated that they were alike in rank.

The crests of these clans are as follows:

# I. Wolf phratry.

## 1. *k̥sq̥ansnā't* clan.

- a. *k̥tbo'w* "wolf." Main crest of this clan specifically, as well as general crest of the Wolf phratry.
- b. *cmāx̥* "black bear." This is the ordinary bear, not the "prince bear" of the second family of this phratry. The word *cmāx̥* is probably identical with Tsimshian *sa'mi*, which, according to Boas, means "meat," but is also used as plural for *ol* "black-bear." The proper term for black bear in Nass River is *'ol*.
- c. *hai̯k̥elaxa'* "something to poke (or stab) the sky with" (properly *ha-k̥el-lax-ha'*, cf. Tsimshian *gal* "to spear").<sup>1</sup> This is a long ceremonial staff that is shown in potlaches; there are songs that go with it.

## 2. *k̥t̥w̥il'nä-k̥r'* clan.

- a. *l̥ko'w̥l'k̥c̥alkum cmāx̥* "prince black-bear." Main crest of the family. When shown as a crest, the eyes and ears of the bear are inlaid with abalone.
- b. *lo'ayo'q'* "controlling the law (of seating at potlatches)," literally perhaps "where-in is law, custom" (cf. Tsimshian *aya'wux̥* "law, custom"). This term refers to the skull-like mask, representing the head chief of the ghosts, worn by a man at the door whose business it is to usher

<sup>1</sup>Tsimshian forms are taken from F. Boas, *Tsimshian Texts* (New Series), Publications of American Ethnological Society, vol. 111, 1912, vocabulary (pp. 234-284).

guests to their proper seats at the potlatch given by the host to show this crest. The masked usher represents the mythical head chief of the ghosts who, according to the family legend accounting for the origin of the crest, gave power to the family ancestor. Chief Derrick explained that his own right to use the *lo'ayo'q'* crest is due to the fact that his legendary ancestor took the skull-mask away from the one who first had it, i.e. the ghost. This crest is evidently identical with Boas' *lo'ayo'qs* "the commanders," given, however, as a Nass River *k̄ispo'udw'də* crest.<sup>1</sup>

- c. *k̄ädəmc'ä'x̄u* "underground people." This crest is shown in the form of a wooden carving of a man (*k̄ädəmə ɣa'n* "wooden man").
- d. *k̄tlu'ce'ɫ* "doorkeepers." This crest has no song or story connected with it. When a potlatch is given, the man showing it erects two posts outside of the house (they do not constitute regular totem poles or *p'ɬsä'n*).
- e. *tä'qamlə'əp* "platform of stone."

3. *k̄itwillya'x̄u* clan.

- a. *lɔɣmk̄ibə'ru* "great number of wolves moving about," literally perhaps "wolves moving into the house through the smoke-hole." When this crest is shown in a potlatch, the members of the host's family come out wearing wolf skins.
- b. *'a'xqwdəmə hatse'ə'gwa'a* "foolish greasedish." This refers to a ceremonial dish which, at a potlatch, would be shown to the invited chief to eat out of.

<sup>1</sup> See F. Boas, *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, p. 327.



- c. *'anyock'it* "roasting a man." In exhibiting this crest at a potlatch they used to put a stick through a slave and roast him. This practice refers to a legend according to which a Tsimshian chief was once taken captive to the *k'at'anw'el'ke* and so treated because he was in the habit of ill-treating his wife, a princess of the Wolf phratry of the *k'at'anw'el'ke*.

## II. Eagle phratry.

### 1. *səmlaxsgi'k'* clan.

- a. *xçgä'gim l'p* "stone eagle," the main crest of the clan. The crest name refers to a small stone eagle found ages ago, according to the legend, in the mountains.
- b. *k'el'bil'x'*, a supernatural being living under the water.
- c. *dolts səm'w'git* "vagina chief." This refers to a ceremonial dish shown at potlatches, that was carved into the shape of a vagina.

### 2. *laxtsəme'l'ix* clan.

- a. *l'p'* "humpbacked whale," the main crest.
- b. *tsəme'l'ix* "beaver."

### 3. *k'itqane'qs* clan.

- a. *mä'c hāl* "white marten," the main crest.
- b. *tsinl'k'* "grey squirrel."
- c. *lgw'ancgi'ict* "small coffin." This refers to a large feast ladle in the shape of a coffin.

III. *k̥tspoːdwɪˈdə* phratry.1. *k̥tsqäːst* clan.

- a. *lɔqs* "moon," the main crest. Note that though the killer-whale is the main crest of this phratry as a whole, it cannot be used by the *k̥tspoːdwɪˈdə* of the *k̥t'anwɪˈl'k̥c*.
- b. *pctäːi* "grouse."
- c. *haq* "wild goose."

IV. *qanaːda* phratry.

- a. *qaːq* "raven," the main crest.
- b. *qanaːu* "frog."
- c. *cwq̣* "robin redbreast."

(2.) CLANS AND CRESTS OF THE *k̥tɪwankcɪˈlk̥u*.

The phratries, only three of which are here represented, with their clans, rank as follows:

I. *k̥tspoːdwɪˈdə*, the head phratry. The *k̥tɪwankcɪˈlk̥u* are considered the main Nass River tribe for representatives of this phratry. According to Chief Derrick, it consists of only one clan:1. *k̥tsqäːst*.II. *laxsgɪːk̥* "on eagle," consisting of two clans:

- 1. *laxlɔːkct̥* "bundle of things."
- 2. *k̥t̥scɪːq̣* "in the bow."

III. *laxk̥ɪbuːu* "on wolf," consisting of a single clan:

- 1. *laxtɪːyɔːql̥*. This is said to be the name of a village in the "Flathead" country to the south, somewhere on the mainland about halfway between Nass river and the present city of Vancouver.

The *qanaːda* phratry is not represented among the *k̥tɪwankcɪˈlk̥u*.

The crests of these clans are:

I. *k̥s̥p̥o̥ˀdw̥e̥d̥ə* phratry.1. *k̥s̥q̥äˀst̥* clan.

- a. *lg̥u̥w̥e̥l̥k̥e̥d̥g̥om̥ ˀn̥e̥ˀql̥* "prince killer-whale," the main crest.
- b. *k̥ul̥k̥on̥u̥ˀk̥e̥* "owl."
- c. *m̥äde̥ˀg̥om̥ ts̥aˀäy̥ḁk̥s̥* "water grizzly".
- d. *ˀn̥e̥q̥anc̥g̥e̥ˀ* "bending over," referring to a ceremonial representation of the rainbow. *m̥ax̥maˀˀai̥*, the ordinary term for "rainbow," is a more common name of the crest.
- e. *lg̥ow̥e̥l̥k̥e̥d̥g̥om̥ m̥äˀt̥x̥* "prince mountain-goat."

## II. Eagle phratry.

1. *l̥ax̥l̥o̥ˀu̥k̥t̥* clan.

- a. *tag̥at̥q̥adaˀˀt̥kut̥* "man of the woods," a supernatural being who lives off by himself and flies in the air. This is the main crest of the family.
- b. *q̥äˀt̥* "shark."
- c. *ˀan̥l̥o̥ˀlg̥om̥ w̥e̥l̥p̥* "bird's-nest house." This is the name of one of the houses of the village (see section on House Names), but it is at the same time considered a crest.
- d. *x̥c̥g̥äˀg̥am̥ ʃaˀˀ* "wooden eagle." The crest is represented as a pole surmounted by an eagle's head.
- e. *ct̥ḁ̈xt̥xoˀˀx̥* "halibut on one side, half halibut."

2. *k̥t̥s̥e̥ˀˀq̥* clan.

- a. *ts̥ame̥ˀˀl̥ix̥* "beaver," the main crest.
- b. *x̥c̥g̥äˀk̥* "eagle."

## III. Wolf phratry.

1. *l̥ax̥l̥e̥ˀy̥w̥ql̥* clan.

- a. *c̥ˀhaˀˀwaˀˀlk̥u̥*, translated as "son of a black-bear," main crest. The term evidently



means, "new taboo, recently forbidden" (cf. Tsimshian *ha'wa'lk* "taboo"), and seems to be a periphrasis for another term which, for reasons of taboo, was not mentioned.

- b. *k'ibv'u* "wolf." This crest was stated to be less important here than the *ci'ha'wa'lk*, though it gives the phratry its name.

### (3.) CLANS AND CRESTS OF THE *k'itgigε'nix*.

There are only two phratries represented in this tribe. These are, in the order of their rank:

- I. *laɣk'ibv'u* "on wolf," which consists of only one clan:

1. *k'itgigε'nix*.

- II. *qana'da*, which also is said not to be subdivided but to consist of one clan:

1. *qana'da*.

The Eagle and *k'ispo'dwɪ'də* phratries would seem to be lacking. The crests of these clans are:

- I. Wolf phratry.

1. *k'itgigε'nix* family.

- a. *lgo'wɪ'l'kɛɬgum cmä'x* "prince black-bear," the main crest.
- b. *yw'pɣ*, a mythical water animal resembling an inflated balloon (*yw'pɣ* "to inhale"). When this crest is to be shown, a house is built with a door in the form of the opening and closing beak of the mythical animal.
- c. *nɔxc k'ä'lhɔ'dumqɬ* "mother of Not-quite-completed." This refers to a ceremonial feasting spoon, named after *nɔxc k'ä'lhɔ'dumqɬ*, a large mythological woman.

II. *qana'da* phratry.

- a. *qä'q'* "raven," the main crest. The full name of this crest here is *txab'da'dam'qä' q'* "raven all covered with abelone" (cf. *bilä'* "abelone").
- b. *te'bin* "sea-lion."
- c. *qana''u* "frog."
- d. *galxmä'tx* "mountain-goat hat," referring to a ceremonial hat worn during a potlatch.

(4.) CLANS AND CRESTS OF THE *kityal'u*.

All four phratries are represented in this tribe. They rank as follows:

- I. *laxk'ibv''u* "on wolf," which was stated not to be subdivided but to consist of only one clan.
  1. *laxk'ibv''u*.
- II. *laxcig'i'k'* "on eagle," which is subdivided into four clans, ranking as follows:
  1. *k'isqabənä''x'* "people dwelling among thorns."
  2. *laxlo''ukci'.*
  3. *k'itlaxwusä'x* "people living on a sand-bar."
  4. *k'icqä'ä'kc* "people living on water."

III. *k'ispo''dwidä*, not subdivided into clans.

IV. *qana'da*, not subdivided into clans.

The crests of these clans are as follows:

## I. Wolf phratry.

- a. *mäkegom l:k'ä''nck''u* "white grizzly," the main crest.
- b. *mäc 'o'ä'* "white bear."
- c. *k'ibv''u* "wolf."

## II. Eagle phratry.

1. *k'isqabənä''x'* clan.
  - a. *n''qam qä't'* "shark with big dorsal fin," the main crest.

- b. *xcgä'k'* "eagle."
- c. *tsəme'l'ix* "beaver."
- d. *ləyɔgɛ'bil'ix* "rotten *gr'bil'ix*" (the *gr'bil'ix* is a supernatural being living under the water).

2. *laxlo'ukt'* clan.

- a. *tʃa'bilädəm xcgä'k'* "eagle all covered with abelone," the main crest.
- b. *'nax'nəyəm tʃo'x* "supernatural halibut halibut shaman."
- c. *tsəme'l'ix* "beaver." Its proper name here is *he'tgwutl tsəme'l'ix* "standing beaver."
- d. *lgo'wɛ'l'kɛɪgum haults* "prince shag."
- e. *tʃabilädəm tsä'ʔ* "face all covered with abelone."

3. *kɪlaxwusä'x* clan.

- a. *xcgä'k'* "eagle" (i.e. plain eagle, not qualified in any way).

4. *kɪcqa'ä'ke* clan.

- a. *kwe'xcgä'k'* "eagle garment," referring to a ceremonial garment made of eagle skins.
- b. *xga'nəll tsəme'l'ix* "beaver eating wood."

III. *kɪspo'dwɛ'də* phratry.

- a. *ləqc* "moon," the main crest.
- b. *pɪlɪ'ct'* "stars."
- c. *kʷut'kʷunv'ke* "owl."
- d. *səyailha'ʔ* "two men with the same intestines."
- e. *măc wa'm* "white deer."
- f. *maxma'ai'* "rainbow."
- g. *tɪ'ait'kʷ* "thunder."

IV. *qana'da* phratry.

- a. *gamä'ts* "star-fish,"<sup>1</sup> the main crest.

<sup>1</sup>This was translated as "barnacle," but Mr. Barbeau informs me that it is obviously mistranslated for "star-fish," a *qana'da* crest.



- b. *tapxa'dam ya'q'* "two ravens."
- c. *qana'w* "frog."
- d. *cidea'te* "bird-skin hat."
- e. *haqjlgar'k'* "lance, spear."
- f. *lotse'tal'amge'k'* "saw-bill duck spitting into."

## (5.) DISTRIBUTION OF CRESTS.

The following tables conveniently summarize the preceding data. Each column is headed by a combination of numbers referring to one of the clans; the first (arabic) numeral refers to the numbered list of tribes (see page 3), the second (roman) to the phratry as ranked in the tribe, the third (arabic) to the clan within the phratry. Thus, the column headed 3. II. 2 contains the crests, so far as recorded, of the second clan of the second phratry of the third tribe, i.e. the crests of the *kilse'q'* clan of the Eagle phratry of the *kutwanket'k'*. The occurrence of any one of the crests enumerated in the first column in a particular clan is indicated by a letter in its column corresponding to the order in which the crest occurs in the preceding outline. The main crest of a clan may be readily ascertained by reference to "a" in its column.

Summary of Wolf Crests.

Crest	4 I. 1	4 I. 2	4 I. 3	3. III	2 I	1 I	Total
Wolf.....	a			b		c	3
Wolves moving about.....			a				1
Black-bear.....	b						1
Prince black-bear.....		a			a		2
"Son of black-bear".....				t			1
White grizzly.....						a	1
White bear.....						b	1
Underground people.....		c			b		1
yə'pə.....							1
Sky-stabber.....	c						1
"Wherein-is-law" (ghost).....		b					1
Doorkeepers.....		d					1
Stone platform.....		e					1
Foolish grease-dish.....			b				1
Roasting a man.....			c				1
"Mother of Not-completed" (grease dish).....					c		1

## Summary of Eagle Crests.

Crest	4. II. 1	4. II. 2	4. II. 3	3. II. 1 <sup>1</sup>	3. II. 2	1. II. 1	1. II. 2 <sup>1</sup>	1. II. 3	1. II. 4	Total
Eagle.....						b		a		3
Stone eagle.....	a									1
Wooden eagle.....				d						1
Abelone eagle.....							a		a	1
Eagle garment.....		b			a	c				3
Beaver.....							c			1
Standing beaver.....									b	1
Beaver eating wood.....										1
Humpbacked whale.....		a	a							1
White marten.....			b							1
Grey squirrel.....				b		a				1
Shark.....										1
Shark with big fin.....		a								1
(Halibut).....										1
Half-halibut.....				e						1
Halibut-shaman.....										1
Prince shag.....										1
gr. bdx <sup>u</sup> .....	b						b			1
Rotten gr. bdx <sup>u</sup> .....							d			1
"Man of the woods".....				a		d				1
Vagina chief (dish).....	c									1
Small coffin (ladle).....			c							1
Bird's nest house.....				c						1
Abelone-face.....						e				1

<sup>1</sup> These two clans are known by the same name, *loxlo-<sup>u</sup>ket*.

Summary of *kispa'dwida* Crests.

Crest	4. III <sup>1</sup>	5. I <sup>1</sup>	1. III	Total
Moon	a		a	2
Stars			b	1
Rainbow			f	1
"Bending over"		d		1
Thunder			g	1
Grouse	b			1
Goose	c			1
Prince killer-whale		a		1
Owl		b	e	2
Prince mountain-goat		e		1
Water grizzly		c		1
White deer			e	1
Two men with same intestines			d	1

<sup>1</sup>These two clans are known by the same name, *kisq'a'st'*.

Summary of *qana'da* Crests.

Crest	4. IV	2. II	1. IV	Total
Raven	a			1
Abelone-raven		a		1
Two ravens			b	1
Frog	b	c	c	3
Robin redbreast	c			1
Sea-lion		b		1
Star-fish			a	1
Saw-bill duck spitting into			f	1
Mountain-goat hat		d		1
Bird-skin hat			d	1
Lance			e	1

These tables show the presence of a minimum of forty-eight distinct crests among the Nass River Indians; if we count special forms of the same crest as distinct crests, we obtain a total of sixty-three. Most of these occur in only one clan of a tribe; the only crests that are more widely distributed, so far as can be gathered from this material, being the wolf, black-bear, eagle, beaver, shark, halibut, *kr'bulx'*, moon, rainbow, owl, raven, frog, and mountain-goat. As a matter of fact, however, the total number of crests represented among the Nass River tribes is undoubtedly several times as great as here indicated. Moreover, the failure of such well-known crests as the grizzly bear, water grizzly, and killer-whale to appear more than once is clearly due to the fragmentary character of our data. Each



of the crests, with the one exception already noted (the mountain-goat occurs both as a *kʷispoːdwɪˈdə* and *qanaˈda* crest) is restricted to a single phratry; the grizzly bear of the Wolf phratry is, of course, not the same being as the water grizzly of the *kʷispoːdwɪˈdə*.

There is no doubt that at least one reason for the appearance of the same crest in more than one clan is the fact that clans often originated by the splitting of earlier more inclusive units, so that they share the same tradition up to a certain point. Moreover, the fact that any particular clan possesses only one form of a given crest points to the secondary origin of the more special forms of the typical crests; thus, the beaver, "standing beaver," and "beaver eating wood" of various Eagle clans doubtless represent special developments of a common beaver-crest tradition.

On the other hand, if any weight is to be attached to the non-occurrence of characteristic phratric crests in certain clans, there would seem to be very good reason to believe that at least some of these originally stood outside the phratry and were only later, perhaps owing to the stress of some systematizing tendency, included in one of the four main phratries now recognized. In this way would be explained, for instance, why two of the three Nass River *kʷispoːdwɪˈdə* clans recorded have the moon as their main crest (without at the same time owning the killer-whale), while the other has the killer-whale as its main crest (without at the same time owning the moon). Here two originally distinct clans, or groups of clans, one characterized by the killer-whale crest, the other by the moon crest, seem to have become consolidated into a *kʷispoːdwɪˈdə* phratry. Equally instructive examples occur among the Wolf and Eagle families. That, e.g., two of the nine Eagle clans recorded, the *laxʷsəmeˈlɪx* or Beaver clan of the *kʷitˈanwɪˈlɪk* and the *kʷitqaneˈʷeqs* clan of the same tribe, do not own the eagle, their phratric crest, is best explained by assuming that they originally had nothing to do with the true Eagle clan or phratry, but were only secondarily amalgamated with it. The former of these two exceptional families is, significantly enough, characterized by a name that directly refers to one of its crests, the beaver; the very form

of the name, *lax̣təməḷx̣*, is strictly analogous to that of the phratric names *lax̣ḳiboṛ* (Wolf) and *lax̣gịḳ* (Eagle), thus directly suggesting that in the remote past the group characterized by the beaver crest was a distinct social unit quite independent of and parallel to the groups characterized by the wolf and eagle crests. The evidence derived from the family legends would naturally be of the greatest assistance in establishing these and other such reconstructions. One thing seems very clear at present—that the present fourfold (not to speak of a simpler tripartite) arrangement into phratries cannot be forthwith assumed as the historical nucleus from which the present complex clan system, with its irregularities of crest distribution, has arisen.

#### HOUSE NAMES AMONG THE NASS RIVER INDIANS

One of the privileges owned by certain families was the use of a distinctive house name, a privilege to which the same term 'ayuḳs is applied as to the crest. According to Chief Derrick, by no means every chief house of a clan has such a name. At any rate, he knew of only eight such house names among the Nass River tribes, three of which belong to the *ḳaṭanẉeḷḳ*, two to the *ḳiṭwanḳeḷḳ*, and three to the *ḳaḷx̣aṭ*; the *ḳag̣ig̣eṇ*, according to Chief Derrick, have no ceremonial house names.

Beginning with the *ḳaṭanẉeḷḳ*, we find that their old village of *ḳaḷx̣aṭaṃḳ* possessed the following three house names (the new village of 'ä'yä'nc has naturally no new house names of its own, but simply uses the older names from *ḳaḷx̣aṭaṃḳ*):

1. Of *ḳiṣq̣anṣnạoṭ* clan (Wolf phratry): *woc̣iṇḳiḷ-  
p̣äḷəṃ'äḷạ̈* "fire going through two smoke-holes"  
(cf. 'äḷạ̈ "smoke hole"). This house is inhabited  
by chief *ṇị'ic̣ 'ỵoq̣* "father of (i.e. owner of) (slave  
named) 'ỵoq̣."
2. Of *ḳiṭẉiḷ'ṇạ̈ḳị* clan (Wolf phratry): *wiḷlọ'ạ'ṃḷ  
q̣ọ'oṭ* "(house) entrance of which is attended by joy"  
(literally, "being-good-therein heart"). This is  
Chief Derrick's (*ḳẹx̣ḳ*) house, recently built at  
'ä'yä'nc.

3. Of *laxtsame'lix* clan (Eagle phratry): *lpinəm w'lp* "whale house." *lpin* "humpbacked whale," it will be remembered, is the main crest of this clan. This house is inhabited by chief *le'q* "used up" (this word is used, e.g., of hair falling out of fur or using up of floor planks).

The two house names found among the *kutwankc'lk* are:

1. Of *laxlo'ukct* clan (Eagle phratry): *'anlo'lkəm w'lp* "Eagle's nest." This house was owned by Chief Derrick's maternal grandfather. It is inhabited by chief *kwi'xma''a'u* "salmon spearer" (cf. *ma''a'u* "two-pronged salmon spear").
2. Of *laxtyɔ'ql* clan (Wolf phratry): *willoxc 'a'no'lk* "drumming all over in the house" (cf. *'a'no'lk* "drum"). This house is inhabited by chief *paxkəp'ł xsgä'k* "ten eagles on a tree."

The three house names found among the *kutxatēn* are:

1. Of *laxlo'ukct* clan (Eagle phratry): *'anwucindjɔ'q* "(house) that one gets ashamed in after entering (because it is so long)" (cf. *djɔ'q* "to be ashamed"). It is inhabited by chief *kutxɔ'n*.
2. Of *laxkəibo'u* (Wolf) phratry: *'angc'lmä'x* "where black-bear lies down to sleep." It is inhabited by chief *nɪ'ic'lic 'yä'n* "father of (slave named) 'yä'n, Excrement."
3. Of *kispo'dwɪdə* phratry: *w'lp'ł laxa* "sky house." It is inhabited by chief *nɪ'ic 'yo'ct* "father of (slave named) 'yo'ct."

#### PERSONAL NAMES OF THE *kut'anw'li'kc*.

Anything like a complete survey of the men's and women's names characteristic of the different clans of the Nass River Indians was, of course, entirely out of the question under the circumstances. It was necessary to content ourselves with a selection of typical names belonging to the different clans of one of the tribes, the *kut'anw'li'kc*. The names of highest rank are kept apart from the more common names. It is believed that at



least some idea is given of the spirit of the very interesting system of naming that obtains among the tribes of Tsimshian stock.

# I. Wolf phratry names.

## 1. *kisqansna't* clan, noblest names:

*wə'c: lə'p* "stone dish," the noble male name of highest rank in the family.

*minlkokckum giba'yuk' l xcgä'k* "eagle flaps his wings slowly," a prince's name.

*ni'ic 'yɔq* "father of (slave named) 'yɔq," a male name. *ḡiplä'x* "little trout" (cf. *lä'x* "trout"), the noble female name of highest rank in the family.

*'axtəbo'x* "whale spouts," a princess' name.

More common names are:

*his 'no'ot'ks* "lying stunned," a man's name.

*wi'bänl mäs qaya'it* "big belly of *mäs qaya'it*, a small salt-water fish" (cf. Tsimshian *qayə'it* "bull-head"), a woman's name.

A slave name owned by this clan is:

*no'ni*, a man's name.

## 2. *ḡitwil'nä-ḡi'* clan, noblest names:

*'axḡəpa'yuk* "(eagle) remains on a tree, unable to fly," the noble male name of highest rank.

*tsasqä'x* "white wind," a prince's name.

*ḡe'xk*, a male name.

*ni'kwäl'lik* "(eagle's) head drooping as he rests on a tree," the noble female name of highest rank. It was borne by Chief Derrick's mother.

*t'qakctəx wəql tsəm:lə* "beaver's tail lying on the ground," a princess' name.

More common names are:

*xpaye'x* "people sitting down in a row," a man's name.

*qwadzaxḡä'ḡl* "mouse passes right through (anus) when swallowed" (cf. *ḡä'ḡl* "mouse"), a man's name.

*nəxc 'e:l* "mother of (slave named) 'e:l," a woman's name.

*paita''* "sit in the middle," a woman's name.

3. *kitwillo'ya'x* clan, noblest names:

*tcincgibayuk* "(eagle) flies away (without salmon which he had been eating when sitting down)," the male name of highest rank.

*c'dä''* "(lake frozen over with) new ice," a man's name.

*c'o'dä'l* "new lady," the female name of highest rank.

*kcimk'iy'q'*, a woman's name.

More common names are:

*tik'* "get ashamed (when entering the house and seeing many people)," a man's name.

*tel lo''laq'* "some rotten ones in a box" (cf. *loq'* "rotten"), a man's name.

## II. Eagle phratry names.

1. *səmlaxsgi'k'* clan, noblest names:

*qade'labəm haya'tsk* "anchor for a copper" (cf. *haya'tsk* "ceremonial copper"), the male name of highest rank.

*ni''c k'it'kc* "father of (slave named) *k'it'kc*," a man's name.

*nitse'ts qa'l* "grandmother of (slave named) *qa'l*," the female name of highest rank.

More common names are:

*x'tsye''* "come passing through a strait," a man's name.

*nəxc ha''at'k* "mother of (slave named) Woodpecker," a woman's name.

2. *laxtsəmə'l'x* clan, noblest names:

*qald'xma'qt lo'laqt k'ibo''* "he throws behind corpse of wolf" (cf. *lo'laqt* "corpse"), the male name of highest rank.

*qam'nä''het'k* "(wolf) stands looking on bank and starts back," a man's name.

łe'q' "used up," a man's name.

'okcqiice' "grizzly bear's foot," the female name of highest rank.

'nä'mw'w'k' "(wolves) stand whining on bank of river," a woman's name.

More common names are:

q'wadza'kco'o' "fresh fish (eaten by bear or wolf) passes through quickly," a man's name.

lo'iskum tsəmto'k' "stinking in the navel" (cf. lo'k' "navel"), a man's name.

cayaitqa'a'q' "wolf pack comes together and howls," a woman's name.

### III. k'ispo'w'da phratry names.

#### 1. k'isqa'st' clan, noblest names:

wucn'xpe'lik' "dividing copper into ten pieces," the male name of highest rank.

wit'ckena'agc "wide bracelet," the female name of highest rank.

More common names are:

ne'ic hai wa'xs "father of (slave named) wa'xs."

cailk'cd' "school of small fish all run out under water when touched by a man," a woman's name.

### IV. qana'da phratry noblest names.

ts'la'ut', the male name of highest rank. Its meaning is not known.

qalk'itap'xa'at' "two (wolves) go together," a man's name.

'axdc'wello'γ' "much property left behind in a box," a man's name.

k'ul'g' " (wolf) swims from river across bay," the female name of highest rank.

More common names are:

täli'ick' "socks," a man's name.

qe'lxk' "shouting," a man's name.

ya'ak' "a woman's name.

ligahaty'e' " (wolf) walks along the beach," a woman's name.



Two types of name illustrated in this material are of particular interest. The first is comprised by names like *ni'ic k'it'kc* "father of *k'it'kc*," *nəxc ha'at'ku* "mother of Woodpecker," *ni'tse'its qa'l* "grandmother of *qa'l*." The second element in such names is generally the name of a slave, while the first element (father, mother, [grandfather], or grandmother) indicates not the relation of kin but that of ownership. The names are purely traditional and do not, of course, necessarily imply that the bearer has or had a slave of the indicated name. That an ancestor may have had a slave of that name, thus accounting for the origin of the full name, is naturally another matter.

Of still greater interest are the names that refer to crests. The chief point to note with regard to these is that such names refer not to a crest of the clan or phratry to which they belong, but to a crest of one of the other three phratries. Thus, several Wolf phratry names refer to the eagle, the main crest of the Eagle phratry (e.g. "Eagle-flaps-his-wings-slowly," "Eagle-remains-on-a-tree-unable-to-fly," "Eagle's-head-droops-as-he-rests-on-a-tree," "Eagle-flies-away-without-salmon"); to the hump-backed whale, also an Eagle crest (e.g. "Whale-spouts"); to the beaver, an Eagle crest (e.g. "Beaver's-tail-lying-on-the-ground"); and to the bullhead,<sup>1</sup> a *qana'da* crest (e.g. "Big-belly-of-white<sup>2</sup>-bullhead"). Conversely, several Eagle phratry names refer to the wolf, the main crest of the Wolf phratry (e.g. "He-throws-behind-corpse-of-wolf," "Wolf-stands-looking-on-bank-and-starts-back," "Wolves-stand-whining-on-bank-of-river," "Wolf-pack-comes-together-and-howls"); or to the grizzly bear, a Wolf (or possibly *kispo'dwi'da*) crest (e.g. "Grizzly-bear's foot"). Some of the *qana'da* names also refer to the wolf (e.g. "Two-wolves-go-together," "Wolf-walks-along-the-beach"). It is important to note that the strict linguistic analysis of the name does not in every case make the reference to the crest animal

<sup>1</sup>The bullhead does not occur in my list of Nass River crests. I learn from Mr. C. M. Barbeau, who has recently made an exhaustive study of the social organization of the Tsimshian proper, that the bullhead is a *qanha'da* crest.

<sup>2</sup>I do not know whether *māc* of this name is to be translated "white" or "red." It means properly "red," but it seems to be regularly translated "white" in crest names, e.g. *māc wa'n* "white deer," *mā'c hūi* "white marten," *māc 'g'i* "white bear." Mr. Barbeau's testimony is corroborative of this curious fact, for he finds *mes-'g'l* translated as "white bear," in spite of Boas' rendering of this term as "red bear."

seem at all necessary. In other words, there is no doubt that the custom of what may be termed cross-phratric naming, once established, led to the habit of reading extra-phratric crest interpretations into names that may have originated quite differently. This type of reinterpretation of names is analogous to other methods of reinterpreting names current among other American tribes, e.g. reading references to clan animals into names belonging to corresponding clans or reading mythological allusions into them. From a linguistic standpoint it is interesting to note that many Nass River names are really sentences consisting of several words, e.g. *qaldix-ma'q-t lo-laqt k:bo'* "he-throws-behind-corpse-of-wolf," (*qaldix*- local particle "behind the houses"; *maq*- verb stem "to put down, throw"; *-t* third person subjective; *lo-laqt*- "corpse," object of preceding verb; *-k* connective syntactic element, here showing that following noun is genitively related to preceding; *k:bo'* "wolf"). Such sentence names are full ceremonial forms that undoubtedly appear much abbreviated in ordinary usage. It seems highly probable to me that many, if not all, such names arose from a desire to give a full legendary or crest-referring context to older simpler names (e.g. *qaldixma'qt* "he throws behind") that only implied or were secondarily made to imply such a reference.

When Chief Derrick's attention was called to the cross-phratric character of several of the names, he explained that such names were due to the fact that they were bestowed by the father, who, in a matrilineal society with phratric exogamy, necessarily belonged to a different phratry from his son or daughter. Thus, in a name like *'axg:pa'yuku* "Eagle-remains-on-a-tree-unable-to-fly," borne by a Wolf man of the noble class, he stated specifically that the reference was to the crest of his Eagle father. Chief Derrick further connected the giving of a cross-phratric name with the fact that a child is born in a house belonging not to his own phratry, but to that of his father; when still young, however, he was sent away to be brought up at the house of his maternal uncle, where he would live with his family kinsmen. This custom of change of residence early in life finds its exact counterpart among the Haida.

## CEREMONIAL DANCES.

One or two incidental facts were obtained in regard to the ceremonial dances of the secret societies, and are here given for what they are worth. Among the ceremonial dances whose performance was regarded as an inheritable privilege are:

1. 'o'lälä', in which the performers practised cannibalism.
2. lo'lim, in which the performers ate dogs.
3. ho'nä'nä'l, in which the performers broke objects with a long club, later paying for the property destroyed with objects of greater value.

Chief Derrick claimed that the 'o'lälä' and lo'lim were the two head dances and that the ho'nä'nä'l was used only by princes. He claimed to have the right to the performance of the lo'lim and ho'nä'nä'l but not to that of the 'o'lälä'.<sup>1</sup>

## CLASSES OF SOCIETY.

A few scanty notes were obtained on the classes of society formerly recognized among the Nass River Indians. Chief Derrick recognized three main classes:

1. camgigät "nobles, chiefs."
2. wa'a'in "common people."
3. lü'ngit "slaves."

The term lü'ngit is evidently the reduplicated plural of lü'ngit (cf. Tlingit lü'ngit), the Tlingit word for "people." It implies that the main source of the slave class among the Nass River people was constituted by captives taken in war with the Tlingit Indians to the north.

The common people, as well as the nobles, were represented in all four of the phratries or p'te'q't. They were allowed to show the less important crests in potlatches, but not the main crests.

<sup>1</sup>A relatively full account of the secret societies of the Nass River Indians is given by F. Boas in his report on *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (Report of U. S. National Museum for 1895), pp. 651-659.

## PHONETIC KEY.

## Vowels:

*a*, like *a* of German *hat*. It often, in fact normally, is slightly palatalized, corresponding to *a* of French *la*.

*ā*, like *a* of English *hat*.

*u*, like *u* of English *but*.

*e*, like *e* of French *tête*.

*ɛ*, like *e* of English *men*.

*i*, like *i* of French *fini*.

*ɪ*, like *i* of English *it*.

*o*, like *o* of English *note*.

*ɔ*, like *o* of German *voll*.

*aw*, approximately like *aw* of English *law*. It stands acoustically midway between *a* and *ɔ*.

*u*, like *ou* of French *bouche*.

*u*, like *u* of English *full*.

*ə*, *ɛ*, *ɪ*, *o*, *ɔ* are weakly articulated forms of *a*, *e*, *i*, *ɔ*, *o*, and *u* respectively. They generally occur as rearticulations of preceding fuller vowels.

## Consonants:

*b*, as in English *be*; softened form of *p*.

*p*, intermediate in articulation, i.e. acoustically midway between English *b* and *p*.

*p'*, surd *p* followed by aspiration; developed from *p*.

*ɸ*, glottalized *p*, i.e. *p* pronounced with simultaneous glottal closure, release of oral closure being earlier than that of glottal closure; between vowels *ɸ* is pronounced with less stress, so as to suggest *b'*.

*m*, as in English.

*m*, *m* pronounced with glottal closure immediately preceding.

*w*, as in English *we*.

*w*, *w* pronounced with glottal closure immediately preceding.

*d*, as in English *do*; softened form of *t*.

*t*, intermediate in articulation, i.e. acoustically midway between English *d* and *t*.

*t'*, surd *t* followed by aspiration; developed from *t*.

*ɸ*, glottalized *t* (defined similarly to *ɸ*); between vowels it suggests *d'*.

*n*, as in English.

*n*, *n* pronounced with glottal closure immediately preceding.

*g*, anterior palatal *g*, approximately as in English *argue* (including *y*-element of *u*); softened form of *k*.

*k*, intermediate in articulation, approximately like *c* of English *excuse* (including *y*-element of *u*).

*k'*, surd *k* followed by aspiration; developed from *k*.

*ɸ*, glottalized *k* (defined similarly to *ɸ*); between vowels it suggests *g'*.

*y*, as in English *yes*.

*y*, *y* pronounced with glottal closure immediately preceding.

*x*, voiceless anterior palatal spirant, like *ch* of German *ich*.

*g*, as in English *gun*; softened form of *k*.

*k*, intermediate in articulation, i.e. acoustically midway between English *g* and *k*.

*k'*, surd *k* followed by aspiration; developed from *k*.

*ɸ*, glottalized *k* (defined similarly to *ɸ*); between vowels it suggests *g'*.

*gw*, *kw*, *k'u*, *k'w*, (*k'u*), labialized forms of *g*, *k*, *k'*, and *ɸ* respectively.

*x*, *x'u*, voiceless spirants corresponding in position to *k* and *k'u*.

*g*, velar *g*; softened form of *q*.

*q*, intermediate in articulation, i.e. acoustically midway between *g* and *q*.

surd *q*.

*q'*, surd *q* followed by aspiration; developed from *q*.



- q*, glottalized *q* (defined similarly to *ḡ*); between vowels it suggests *g'*.  
*ɣ*, voiced velar spirant corresponding in position to *g*, from which it is developed.  
*x*, voiceless velar spirant, approximately like *ch* of German *ach*.  
*gw*, *qw*, *q'u*, *q'w*, *ɣw*, *x'u*, labialized forms of *g*, *q*, *q'*, *q̄*, *ɣ*, and *x* respectively.  
*s*, as in English *so*.  
*c*, acoustically midway between *s* and *sh* of English *ship*. *s* and *c* are variants of one sound.  
*dj*, approximately *j* of English *just*, but verging towards *dz*.  
*ts*, *tc*, approximately like *ts* and *ch* of English *hats* and *child* respectively; variants of one sound.  
*ts*, *tc*, glottalized forms of *ts* and *tc* respectively (defined similarly to *ḡ*); variants of one sound.  
*l*, as in English.  
*l̥*, *l* pronounced with glottal closure immediately preceding.  
*l̥*, voiceless spirantal *l*.  
*n̥*, *l̥*, *t̥*, *k̥*, weakly articulated forms of *n*, *l*, *t*, and *k*, occurring in final position.  
*ʔ*, glottal closure.  
*ʰ*, breath release.

*Diacritical Marks:*

- ˘, denotes that preceding vowel is long.  
 ˊ, indicates that preceding vowel is stressed.

## Editorial Note

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## The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes

As is well known, the aborigines of America had developed at the time of the discovery a number of more or less distinct types of social and political organization, ranging from the loosely organized hunting or root-gathering band, with little or no internal complexity and with no definite formal affiliations with other groups, to the complex state found, for instance, in Mexico or Peru, in which a large number of relatively small tribal units were united into a larger body politic, comparable in some measure to the states that we are familiar with in our own history. It is obvious that to a large extent the type of social organization developed by a particular group of people must be due to the economic status attained by it. A roving habit of life will not encourage the formation of social and political solidarity. Conversely, the conditions for social development are more favourable in a community occupying a relatively small territory, to certain parts of which it is bound for at least considerable periods. Typical of the most primitive type of social organization in America are the Eskimo. Among them the unfavourable climatic conditions and the consequent difficulty of maintaining life cause them to form small village groups which change their habitat according to the exigencies of the season, and every individual in which is obliged to procure means of subsistence for himself and his nearest kin. A sea-mammal hunting people like the Eskimo, that cannot find a continuous livelihood in a single spot, cannot be expected to evolve a complex social life, and we are therefore not surprised to find the individual as such more strongly emphasized among them than among most other people. Somewhat analogous, though vastly different in actual detail, is the condition of the roving bands of the Great Basin area of Utah, Nevada, and adjoining states. Here it is the semi-arid character of the soil that makes it impossible for a primitive community to develop a settled mode of life. The necessity of frequently changing camp in order [356] to follow the game or visit the favourite root-gathering spots according to season, again militates against the formation of large and complexly organized social units.

The economic basis of a people is of course not in every case simply determined by the character of the country inhabited, for, with the

increase of culture, means are evolved whereby the difficulties of an unfavourable environment are largely conquered. We need only point out that the limitations enforced by the semi-arid country referred to on the present inhabitants of the region are vastly different from those enforced on the Shoshonean tribes who preceded them. There are, indeed, numerous analogous cases among the Indians themselves. Thus, the Pueblo tribes of New Mexico and Arizona, while occupying the same general region as their neighbours the Navaho, differ vastly in social organization from these. While the Navaho are a nomadic sheep-raising people forced by their manner of life to cover a vast territory and to split up into a large number of small groups, which form into larger bodies only at the ritual performances that bring the people together from time to time, the Pueblos are enabled by their intensive system of agriculture to form into perfectly coherent well-knit communities that are housed in permanent villages comparable in many ways to our own towns. Here the conditions are evidently favourable for the development of authority vested in certain individuals and of a number of complex social inter-relations. Similarly, it seems not improbable that the more intensive pursuit of agriculture by the Iroquoian tribes than by their Algonkian neighbours, among whom hunting occupied a relatively more important place economically, was fundamentally responsible for the greater social and political elaboration characteristic of the former.

I do not, of course, mean to urge that a type of social organization is directly dependent on economic factors to the exclusion of everything else. As a matter of fact, it is perfectly clear that many historic causes may bring about social developments in no way connected with the economic status of the community. For one thing, no group of people is ever entirely isolated and free to develop entirely from within and as influenced by purely environmental causes. The influence exerted by neighbouring peoples must always be borne in mind, and frequently enough in America we find that much in the social constitution of certain tribes remains unintelligible until we take into consideration the stimulus of contact with neighbouring tribes. Thus, there is no doubt that the so-called Wabanaki Confederacy of certain Eastern Algonkian tribes was brought into being largely by the suggestive influence of the powerful [357] Iroquois Confederacy that harassed these tribes. Similarly, there is no doubt that the relatively greater degree of social complexity obtaining among certain Athabaskan hunting tribes of British Columbia, such as the Carrier and Chilcotin, when contrasted with



their more simply organized kinsmen to the north and east, was more or less directly due to imitation of social features found among the Coast tribes that neighboured them to the west.

This note of warning is here sounded because it is too often assumed by facile system-makers that the social organization of a people can be more or less directly inferred from its economic conditions. With all reservations, however, I believe it is fairly clear that the peculiar environment of the West Coast tribes of British Columbia had much to do with the development of their rather complex social life. Not so much that these conditions explain in every case the actual forms of organization that we find to prevail among these tribes, as that they seem to furnish a general stimulus for the growth of relatively settled communities with intricate social ramifications. In the first place, the Indians of the West Coast had abundant means for subsistence at their disposal. The streams teemed with various kinds of salmon throughout the year, and the sea offered a great variety of edible sea-mammals and invertebrates. It was thus possible for a rather large group of people to make a comfortable living in a quite restricted bit of coast territory. Access to the sea at a few points and the control of a few streams up which the community could follow the salmon at their spawning periods were all that was needed to insure ample means of subsistence for all. Furthermore, the unusually great rainfall of the coast country made it necessary for the Indians to house themselves in substantial shelters, and at the same time gave them the ready means wherewith to fill this want. I refer to the heavily wooded character of the coast. The inexhaustible supply of readily worked wood, particularly the red cedar, gave the Indians all that was necessary for the building of large houses. In a word, the West Coast Indians were fishermen and sea-mammal hunters who, unlike the Eskimo, were able to thrive within relatively restricted territories, and who dwelt for the greater part of the year in permanent villages consisting of a long row of large wooden houses strung along the beach. Most of these houses were large enough to provide not merely for a family in the narrower sense of the word, but for a large house group forming a family in a larger sense and dominated by one man who, on grounds of descent, took precedence of all others in the house group. The village community with its definite number of house groups may, then, be expected to be the most fundamental social unit in this area and, indeed, [358] in spite of all complications that have been brought about among some of the tribes, the legends of the Indians themselves and the study of the facts involved seem, in practi-



cally every case, to argue back to the village community as the primary social unit.

The social groupings that prevail among the West Coast Indians may be classified under four heads: groupings according to rank, groupings based on kinship, local groupings, and ceremonial or ritualistic groupings. The last of these may hardly be considered as coming within the scope of social organization; but among certain of the West Coast tribes, more particularly the Kwakiutl, they have become so intimately connected with the social structure that it is difficult to exclude entirely a reference to ceremonial groups. These four types of social units naturally intercross in a great many different ways, so much so that it becomes no easy matter to present a thoroughly intelligible picture of the social structure of a typical West Coast tribe.

Before examining each of these types of organization somewhat more closely, it will be well to acquaint ourselves briefly with the distribution of the tribes we are considering. The northernmost of the tribes generally included under the term of West Coast Indians are the Tlingit, who occupy the long strip of coast forming the panhandle of southern Alaska. They are subdivided into a large number of distinct tribes, among the better known of which are the Yakutat, Chilcat, and Sitka Indians. These speak a number of mutually intelligible dialects forming a linguistic unit that is only very remotely related to certain other American languages. The Haida Indians occupy the Queen Charlotte Islands and part of the Prince of Wales archipelago north of these. These Indians formerly inhabited a large number of villages distributed along the coasts of the Islands; but are now almost entirely reduced to the two villages of Skidegate and Massett in the Queen Charlottes, and a number of villages in the Prince of Wales archipelago, occupied by the Kaigani. South of the Tlingit on the mainland are the Tsimshian, who inhabit the region of Nass and Skeena rivers. They are divided into three closely connected dialectic groups which form one of the isolated linguistic stocks of America, at least so far as is at present known. The Haida and Tlingit languages, on the other hand, can be shown to be distantly related. South of the Tsimshian are the Bella Coola, in many respects a peculiar tribe, that form an isolated offshoot of the great Salish family which has representatives as far south as Columbia river. The north-western, northern, and northeastern shores of Vancouver Island and the mainland opposite are occupied by a large number of tribes that are closely connected linguistically [359] and may be embraced under the general term of Kwakiutl, which term, however, applies strictly speaking

only to the Indians of Fort Rupert in northern Vancouver Island. The more northern of the Kwakiutl tribes, such as the Bella Bella and Kitamat, offer a contrast in social organization to their southern neighbours, being more closely allied in several important respects to the linguistically unrelated Tsimshian. The western coast of Vancouver Island is inhabited by a number of tribes grouped together under the term Nootka. The Nootka language is genetically related to Kwakiutl, though only fairly distantly so. Finally, in the southeastern part of Vancouver Island and on the mainland opposite, there are a considerable number of linguistically quite divergent but related tribes making up the bulk of the Coast Salish, as far as they are represented in Canada. From our present point of view the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, and northern Kwakiutl are to be grouped together in contrast to the southern Kwakiutl, Nootka, and Coast Salish. The former of these may be considered as the more typical in regard to social organization. It is interesting to observe that the broad line of division runs through a linguistic group, an example of the failure of linguistic and cultural classifications to coincide such as we have numerous parallels of in America, and indeed all over the world.

All these tribes are characterized by a clear development of the idea of rank; indeed, it may be said that nowhere north of Mexico is the distinction between those of high and those of low birth so sharply drawn as in the West Coast tribes. Three classes of society may be recognized — the nobility, the commoners, and the slaves. It is not practicable to distinguish between chiefs and nobles, as has been done for instance by Hill-Tout for the Coast Salish, as the lesser chiefs or nobles grade right in continuously with the head chiefs. Intermarriages between nobles and commoners or slaves, and between commoners and slaves, were in theory quite impossible, and in earlier days could at best have been but rare. We learn here and there from their legends that individuals of low rank were sometimes raised to a higher rank by marriage into a chief's family; but the very point made in such cases serves to emphasize the essential differences of rank. High rank is determined primarily by descent — whether in the male or female line depends on the tribe. A very important factor, furthermore, in determining rank is wealth, as illustrated more particularly by the distribution of great quantities of property at ceremonial feasts generally known as potlatches. It is not enough for one of high birth to rest in his hereditary glory. If he wishes to preserve the respect of his fellow tribesmen, he must at frequent intervals reassert his rank by displays of wealth.

otherwise he incurs the risk of [360] gradually losing the place that properly belongs to him on the score of inheritance. We read, indeed, of cases in which men of lower rank have by dint of reckless potlatching gained the ascendancy over their betters, gradually displacing them in one or more of the privileges belonging to their rank. Among the West Coast Indians, as in Europe, there is, then, opportunity for the unsettling activities of the parvenu.

A necessary consequence of the division of the village community into a number of large house-groups is that, associated with each chief, there is, besides the immediate members of his own family, a group of commoners and slaves, who form his retainers. The slaves are immediately subject to his authority and may be disposed of in any manner that he sees fit. The commoners also, however, while possessing a much greater measure of independence, cannot be considered as unattached. Everything clustered about a number of house-groups headed by titled individuals, and in West Coast society, as in that of mediaeval feudalism, there was no place for the social free-lance. If the number of commoners and slaves connected with a chief's family grew too large for adequate housing under a single roof, one or more supplementary houses could be added on to the first; but they always remained under its sphere of influence. In this way we can understand how even a group of houses forming an outlying village might be inhabited entirely by people of low birth, who were directly subject to one or more chiefs occupying houses in the mother village. From this point of view the whole tribe divides into as many social groups as there are independent chiefs.

The rank of chief or noble is connected in most cases with a certain degree of personal power, but real communal authority is naturally vested in only the highest chief or chiefs of the village, and then not always as absolutely as we might be inclined to imagine. Even the highest chief is primarily always associated with a particular family and house, and if he exercises general authority, it is not so much because of his individual rank as such, as because the house group that he represents is, for one reason or another, the highest in rank in the community. In legendary terms this might be expressed by saying that the other groups branched off from or attached themselves to that of the head chief.

Fully as characteristic of high rank as the exercise of authority is the use of a large variety of privileges. The subject of privileges among the West Coast Indians is an exceedingly complex one and cannot be adequately disposed of here. Privileges include not only practical rights



of economic value, such as the exclusive or main right to a particular fishing ground or the right to receive a certain part of [361] a whale which has drifted on to the tribal shore; but also, and indeed more characteristically, many purely ceremonial or other non-material rights. It is these which form the most important outward expression of high rank, and their unlawful use by those not entitled to them was certain in every case to bring about violent friction and not infrequently actual bloodshed. One of the most important of these privileges is the right to use certain carvings or paintings, nearly always connected with the legendary history of the family which the chief represents. We shall have somewhat more to say of these crests later; here I wish to point out that from our present point of view the crests are but one of the many privileges that are associated with high rank. A further indication of such rank is the right to use certain names. The right to the use of any name is, properly speaking, determined by descent, and the names which have come to be looked upon as higher in rank than others naturally descend only to those that are of high birth. These names comprise not only such as are applied to individuals and of which a large number, some of higher, others of lower rank, are at the disposal of the nobleman; but also names that he has the exclusive right to apply to his slaves, to his house, very often to particular features of his house, such as carved posts and beams, and in some cases even names applied to movable objects such as canoes or particularly prized harpoon-heads or other implements. Further indicative of rank is the right to perform particular dances both in secular feasts or potlatches and, though perhaps to a somewhat less extent, also at ritualistic performances.

Perhaps the clearest outward manifestation of rank is in the place given a chief whenever it is necessary to arrange in some order the various participants in a public function. Thus, in a public feast or potlatch, those of high rank are seated in certain parts of the house that are preserved exclusively for the nobility. These are the rear of the house and the halves of the sides which are nearest the rear. These seats are graded as to rank, and it is perhaps not too much to surmise that the obvious grading made visible to the eye by a definite manner of seating at feasts was in a large measure responsible for the extension of the idea of grading of ranks and privileges generally. The exact seat of honor differed somewhat with the different tribes. In some it was the centre of the rear; in others that seat on the right side of the house, as one faces the door, which was nearest the corner. Other arrangements into series which could give a concrete idea of the ranking enjoyed by



an individual are the order in which gifts are distributed to the chiefs at a potlatch; furthermore, the order in which they are called out when invited by a representative of another tribe to attend a feast which is to be given some time in the near [362] future by the latter. The ranking orders thus arrived at by seating, distribution of gifts, invitations to feasts, and in various other ways that it is not necessary to enter upon here, might be expected to coincide. To a certain extent they do tend to approximate, and the highest in rank in a community will nearly always be found to head any such list that might be constructed. In practice, however, one finds that the various orders do not necessarily strictly correspond, in other words, that a person might individually be of lesser rank than another from the point of view of seating, but would have a prior claim to be invited, say. This curious state of affairs shows clearly enough that at last analysis rank is not a permanent status which is expressed in a number of absolutely fixed ways, but is rather the resultant standing attained by the inheritance of a considerable number of theoretically independent privileges which do, indeed, tend in most cases to be associated in certain ways, but may nevertheless be independently transmitted from generation to generation.

Nowhere in America is the idea of grading of individuals carried to such an extent as among the West Coast Indians. It applies, however, only to the nobility, the commoners and the slaves not being differentiated among themselves with regard to rank. It has already been indicated how the ceremonial seating, for instance, of the nobility is expressive of their higher or lower status relatively to each other. In those tribes, like the Haida and Tlingit, that are subdivided into phratries and clans, a matter that we shall take up presently, this grading of chiefs represents something of a political or administrative basis, inasmuch as subsidiary to the town chief we have a number of clan heads. Subordinate to these, in turn, are the heads of the various house groups. Here again, however, it is important to notice that the town chief is always at the same time the chief of the particular clan that is dominant in that village and that the clan chief is at the same time the head of the particular house group that forms the nucleus of, or is the highest in rank in, the clan. In other words, ranking is not so much of a political or administrative character as it is determined by the handing down of status and privilege from holder to heir. It follows that the political organization, such as it is, impresses one as superimposed on the house group or family organization by inner growth of the latter. So strong a hold has the idea of ranking taken upon the Indians that we find it

operative even in cases where it would naturally not be expected to find application. Thus, it is often customary for a number of invited tribes as such, as represented of course by certain chiefs, to be assigned definite ceremonial seats and thereby by implication to be ranked relatively to each other — at times a somewhat risky proceeding. Furthermore, in some tribes it is even [363] customary for medicine men to be organized on the basis of rank, such ranking not necessarily depending entirely on the individual supernatural powers displayed by the medicine men as on the fact that they are entitled by inheritance of medical lore to such and such honours.

As already indicated, the subject of privileges is a vast one, and a complete enumeration of all the economic, ceremonial, and other privileges of one high in rank would take a long time. To a certain extent a man has the right to split his inheritance, in other words, to hand down to one of his sons or nephews, as the case might be, certain privileges, to another certain others. Very often such a division is reducible to the association of privileges with definite localities, a point which is of primary importance in connection with the village community as the fundamental unit in West Coast organization. Thus, if one by the accidents of descent has inherited according to one line of descent a number of privileges associated with village A, in which he is no longer resident, and a number of other privileges according to another line of descent originally associated with village B, in which he is resident, it would be a quite typical proceeding for him to bring up one of his heirs, say the one naturally highest in rank, to assume control of one set of privileges, a younger heir of the other. If the privileges originally connected with village B, let us say, tend to give one a higher place in the tribe than those connected with village A, the chances are that the first heir will be induced to take up his permanent residence in that village, while the transmitter may take the younger heir down to the more distant village and take up residence for a period in order to introduce his heir, as it were, to the privileges designed for him. In other words, there is a more or less definite tendency to connect honours with definite villages and, indeed, no matter how much rights of various sorts may become scattered by the division of inheritances, by the changes of residence due to inter-marriage, and by other factors which tend to complicate their proper assignment, a West Coast Indian never forgets, at least in theory, where a particular privilege originated or with what tribe or clan a particular right, be it name, dance, carving, song, or

what not, was in the first instance associated. In short, privileges are bound to the soil.

This brings us to what I believe to be one of the most fundamental ideas in the social structure of these Indians, that is, the idea of a definite patrimony of standing and associated rights which, if possible, should be kept intact or nearly so. Despite the emphasis placed on rank, I think it is clear that the individual as such is of very much less importance than the tradition that for the time being he happens to represent. The very fact that a man often bears the name of a remote [364] ancestor, real or legendary, implies that the honours that he makes use of belong not so much to him individually as to his glorious ancestry, and there is no doubt that the shame of falling behind, in splendour and liberality, the standard set by a predecessor, does much to spur him on to ever greater efforts to increase his prestige and gain for himself new privileges. There is one interesting fact which clearly shows the importance of the family patrimony or of the standing of a particular line of descent as such, as distinct from the individual who happens to be its most honoured representative. This is the merging of various persons belonging to three or four generations into a single unit that need not be further differentiated. Among the Nootka Indians, for instance, an old man, his oldest son say, the oldest son of the son, and, finally, the infant child of the latter, say a daughter, form, to all intents and purposes, a single sociological personality. Titularly the highest rank is accorded, among the Nootka, to the little child, for it is always the last generation that in theory bears the highest honours. In practice, of course, the oldest members of the group get the real credit and do the business, as it were, of the inherited patrimony; but it would be difficult in such a case to say where the great-grandfather's privileges and standing are marked off against those of his son, or grandson, or great-granddaughter. In some cases even a younger son, who would ordinarily be considered as definitely lower in rank than his elder brother, might represent the standing of his father by the exercise of a privilege, say the singing of a particular song in a feast, that belongs to the patrimony of the family. "For men may come and men may go," says the line of descent with its distinctive privileges, "but I go on for ever." This is the Indian theory as implied in their general attitude, though there is no doubt that tremendous changes have in many instances gradually evolved by the dying out of particular lines of descent and the taking over of their privileges by other groups only remotely perhaps connected with them by kin, by the introduction of a new



privilege gained say as a dowry, and by numerous other factors. The best way to gain a concrete idea of such a structure of society is to think of the titled portion of the tribe as holding up a definite number, say 15 or more, honoured names, or occupying that number of seats, that have descended from the remote past. The classification of the tribe according to kin intercrosses with that based on rank, as by it individuals are brought together who, from the latter point of view, would have to be kept apart. It is clear that not all the members of a large family group can inherit the standing and all the privileges that belong to it. There must be a large number, particularly the younger sons and daughters and those descended from them, who are less favoured than their elders and who [365] will inherit only some, probably the lesser, privileges. In the course of time, as their relationship to the heads of the family or clan becomes more and more remote, they must be expected to sink lower and lower in the general social scale, and there is no doubt that a large proportion of the commoners are to be considered as the unprivileged kinsmen of the nobles. This is no doubt the attitude of at least some of the Indian tribes, such as the Nootka, among whom such a notion of the relation between the classes of society as we find among the castes of India, say, is certainly not found. There is no doubt, however, that with the growth of power attained by the chiefs and with the increasing remoteness of the ties of kinship binding them with most of the commoners, the chasm between the two would gradually widen. The slaves must be left out of account in this connection. They do not enter into the genealogical framework of the tribe, but seem to a large extent to have been recruited from captives of war.

Indian legend, at least among the Nootka and Kwakiutl, generally conceives of the village community as having grown up out of the small family immediately connected in the remote past with a legendary ancestor. All the members of the village community are therefore looked upon as direct descendants of a common ancestor and must therefore, at least in theory, bear definite degrees of relationship to one another. Whether or not the members of a village are actually so connected is immaterial, the essential point being that even in those tribes where there is no clan organization properly so-called, there is, nevertheless, a distinct feeling of kinship among all or most of the members of each of its village communities. This is borne out by the fact that individuals are taught to address each other by certain terms of relationship, even where the appropriateness of such terms is not obvious to them. Thus, a man well advanced in years might call a little child his older brother.

for the reason that they are respectively descended from ancestors who stood to each other in that relation. Naturally intermarriages would bring about intercrossings of all sorts, and in course of time the more remote degrees of relationship would be forgotten and new ones, brought nearer home by more recent marriages, take their place.

Let us suppose that a village community is strictly homogeneous in structure, that is, contains no members that cannot count their descent in either the male or female line from the common ancestor. It is obvious that this state of affairs cannot last indefinitely. The accidents of war will doubtless bring it about that sooner or later some neighbouring village community, that has suffered considerably at the hands of an enemy and that finds itself subject to extermination at their hands, will seek protection from the first village community [366] and, in order to gain this end, will receive permission to take up residence with it. It is immediately apparent that the new enlarged village community, provided it is permanent, will have increased in complexity of structure. Their adherence to their respective traditions will be such that neither of the former village communities will give up its peculiar set of privileges, so that a twofold division of the community, as accentuated by these privileges, will persist. If we imagine this process to have occurred several times, we will gradually arrive at a community which is subdivided into several smaller units which we may call septs or bands, or perhaps even clans, each of which has its distinct stock of legendary traditions and privileges exercised by its titled representatives and whose former connection with a definite locality is still remembered. The growth of the village community does not need, of course, to have taken place only in this fashion. Many other factors may be at work. The group added to the original community may be the survivors of a conquered village who are given a subordinate place. Furthermore, a member of another tribe or community that has married into the community may, if he (or she) has sufficient prestige, be able to assert the higher rank that he (she) brings with him (her) and found a new line of descent which will take its place side by side with those already represented. We see, then, a number of ways in which the typical division of a tribe into clans, such as we find among the Haida, may be expected to originate. Such a clan, from the point of view of West Coast conditions, may be defined as a group of kinsmen, real or supposed, who form one of the subdivisions of a village community and who inherit a common stock of traditions associated with a definite locality, the original home of the group.



Clans in this sense we have among the southern tribes that we have enumerated; but it is not until we reach the more northern tribes, such as the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian, that the clan becomes a clearly defined and perfectly solidified unit. This is brought about primarily by the restriction of inheritance. Among the Nootka Indians, for instance, it is possible to inherit privileges in both the male and female lines, preference, where possible, being given to the former. This being the case, it is often hard to see exactly to which sept or clan a person properly belongs, and the decision is generally based on the character of the privileges that are transmitted to him, for, as we have seen, a privilege is always connected with a definite locality, sept, or original village community. In other words, a person steps into certain rights to which he has claim by descent, and in the exercise of these becomes identified with the particular sept or clan with which they are associated. As the septs have their [367] definite seating at feasts, it is easy to see how the identification of an individual with one sept rather than with another can be made visible. This will indicate also that there are certain natural limitations to the inheritance of all privileges that one has a theoretical claim to. This sort of clan division, however, for the reason that it is too ill-defined and vacillating, can hardly be considered as typical of what we ordinarily understand by clan organization. If, however, we once limit the inheritance of status and privileges to either the male or female line, to the absolute exclusion of the other, we obtain a series of septs or clans that are once and for all rigidly set off against each other. Among the more northern tribes, then, who inherit through the female line alone, there can never be the slightest doubt as to what clan a person is to be identified with.

Furthermore, among the more southern tribes intermarriage is prohibited only between such as are demonstrably related by blood, even if fairly remotely so. Owing to the structure of the village community, this would in many cases mean that there are few persons in a village that one is legally entitled to marry; but it is important to note that the village community as such need not be exogamous, that is, does not specifically prohibit intermarriage among its members. The clan of the northern tribes, which is more rigidly defined by descent and which therefore gains in solidarity, is further accentuated by strict exogamy. Whether such exogamy is a primary feature of the clan itself or is only a necessary consequence of the exogamy of certain larger groups known as phratries, which we shall take up in a moment, is a question which I would not venture to decide and which need not occupy us here. We



spoke before of the fact that the original village communities, before amalgamating, each had its peculiar privileges. Certain of these privileges, particularly the crest paintings and carvings, are emblematic of the communities and may be said to give the septs or clans a totemic character. Among the southern tribes, however, it would seem that the crests, which are generally animals or supernatural beings, are employed exclusively by the nobles and that a commoner, even though identified with a particular sept, cannot be said to be in any sense associated with the crest. To what extent the crests are characteristic of the clan generally in the north and to what extent they are more especially in the nature of privileges enjoyed by the nobles, has not been made perfectly clear. It would seem that certain crests, whose origin is particularly remote, have lost such individual value as they may have had and have become clan emblems properly speaking, whereas others are more restricted in their use and would seem to be the peculiar privilege of certain titled individuals or families. [368]

We shall now briefly review the main facts of clan organization among the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Kwakiutl, concerning whom our published information is fullest. The Tlingit are divided into two main divisions, known respectively as Ravens and Wolves, the latter being in some of the villages referred to also as Eagles. In at least one of the southern Tlingit tribes, the Sanya, there is a division which stands outside of the grouping into two phratries, and the members of which may intermarry with either the Ravens or the Wolves. The Ravens and Wolves are respectively debarred from intermarriage within their own ranks. A Raven man must marry a Wolf woman, a Wolf man a Raven woman, while the children of the pair belong to the phratry of the mother. It is important to bear in mind that this dual division of the Tlingit Indians is not associated with particular villages or even tribes, but applies to all the Tlingit tribes. A Raven, for instance, from Tongas, the southernmost Tlingit village, is as strictly debarred from marrying a Raven woman of Yakutat, in the extreme north, as a Raven woman of his own village. When we remember that he may never have been within miles of Yakutat and may know few or no Indians from that region, we see clearly that whether or not phratric exogamy is in origin an outgrowth of an interdict against marriage of those of close kin, an interdict which we find to be practically universal, it is certainly rather different from it psychologically. The leading crest or emblem of the Raven people is the raven, who is at the same time the most important mythological being in the beliefs of the Tlingit Indians. The main crest

of the Wolf people is the wolf. The phratries stand to each other as opposites that do each other mutual services. Thus, the Wolves conduct the funeral ceremonies of the Ravens and, when they give a feast, distribute the property to the Ravens.

Each phratry is subdivided into a considerable number of clans, each with its own distinctive crest or crests, generally in addition to the general crest of the phratry to which it belongs. Unlike the two main phratries, the clans are not found in all the villages of the Tlingit, though many of them are found represented in more than one village. If we assume, as I believe to be the case, that the clans were originally nothing but village communities, it follows that the present distribution of clans is secondary and due to migrations or movements of part of the clansmen away from the main body of their kinsmen. Should a number of clansmen of the original clan village be induced for one reason or another to take up residence in another village, the home primarily of another clan, it is clear that they would, to begin with, be an intrusive element in their new home; but would in course of time be looked upon as forming an integral part of the village community, [369] though of lesser importance than the dominant clan. The legends of the Indians themselves clearly indicate that such whole or partial clan movements have frequently taken place. Many of the names of the clans themselves plainly indicate their local origin. Thus, the Kiksadi are a Raven clan that are found represented in several Tlingit tribes, such as the Sanya, the Stikine people, and the Sitka Indians. The name means nothing more than People-of-the-Island-Kiks and clearly implies that the clan was, to begin with, at home in a particular locality and gradually became distributed over a large area by various movements of population. The force of tradition would always be strong enough to keep up the old clan crests and other clan privileges, wherever the clansmen moved. In course of time the appearance is attained of a clan distribution which has nothing to do with local communities as such.

Very similar conditions prevail among the Haida Indians. Here again we have two main phratries, subdivided into a large number of clans. As among the Tlingit, the Haida phratries are exogamous and descent in them is reckoned through the female line. One of them is termed Raven, though, curiously enough, the main crest of this phratry is not the raven but the killer-whale. The opposite phratry is termed Eagle, this animal being the chief crest of the phratry. Among the Haida, as among the Tlingit, the native legends indicate that the clans were originally confined to certain definite localities, but that in course of

time the clansmen moved about in various ways until now, when they are represented in a number of villages. One concrete instance will serve to illustrate the actual state of affairs. In the town of Skidegate there were represented in earlier times three distinct Eagle clans, and three distinct Raven clans, each of these six clans occupying its own houses. Of the six clans the dominant one was an Eagle clan known as People-of-the-great-house, claiming as their crests the Raven (this in spite of the fact that they do not belong to the Raven phratry), a supernatural being known as *wāšgō*, the dog-fish, the weasel, the eagle, the sculpin, and the halibut. Presumably this clan formed the original nucleus of the present town of Skidegate about which the other clans in course of time clustered. The Haida clan names are generally either local in character, like most of the Tlingit names, or of an honorific character, like the one that we have just quoted.

The Tsimshians are organized similarly to the Tlingit and Haida, except that their clans are grouped into four phratries: the Raven, Eagle, Wolf, and Grizzly Bear.

Among the southern Kwakiutl also the single tribes are subdivided into a number of clans, each of which, there is reason to believe [370] on legendary and other evidence, originally formed a separate village community. These have chiefly honorific titles, such as "The-chiefs," "Those-who-receive-first," and "Having-a-great-name." Some of these names occur in more than one of the Kwakiutl tribes; but it seems more likely that these correspondences in name are due to imitations rather than to a genealogical connection between the clans of like name. The social structure of the Kwakiutl Indians differs from that of the Tlingit and Haida in that the clans are not grouped into phratries, and that they do not seem to be exogamous. As to descent, it seems that at least the most important privileges are regularly transmitted as a dowry to the son-in-law, who holds them in trust for his son. This method of inheritance has been explained as a peculiar Kwakiutl adaptation of an originally paternal system of inheritance to the maternal system in vogue among the more northern tribes, by whom the Kwakiutl were presumably influenced. There are, however, some difficulties in the way of this explanation, one of which is the fact that the Nootka Indians to the south are not organized on a purely paternal basis, but allow many privileges to descend through the female line. Among them also such privileges may be handed over as a dowry, though this system has not been standardized among them to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl.



There are two important peculiarities of the West Coast crests which make them contrast with the totems of such typical totemic communities as the Iroquois Indians of the east or the Pueblos of the southwest. Among these latter, who, like the Haida and Tlingit, are organized into exogamous clans of maternal descent, a clan has a single crest or totem after which it is named. Moreover, no other clan can use this totem. The West Coast clans differ in both these respects. As we have already shown in the case of one of the Haida Eagle clans, a group of clansmen generally lay claim to more than one crest; further, only certain crests are confined to single clans, the more important ones being generally represented in several. Thus, the grizzly-bear is claimed as a crest by no less than twelve distinct Haida clans of the Raven phratry, the rainbow by eight, the sea-lion by five, the beaver by twelve Eagle clans, the whale by seven, the humming-bird by three, and so on. In some cases a clan even makes use of a crest which primarily belongs to the opposite phratry. Evidently there is not the same intimate and clear-cut association between totem and clan, as such, that is typical of the Iroquois and Pueblo Indians.

It is probable that the duplication of crests is to be explained chiefly on the theory that many clans arose as subdivisions of other clans. Such a clan offshoot would keep the old crest or crests, but might in time add one or more to its stock, without sharing them with [371] the mother clan. The clan can, indeed, be arranged in the form of a genealogical tree and the crests stratified. The older the crest, the greater number of times is it found in the various clans; on the other hand, a crest found in only one clan may be suspected to be of recent origin, as it probably does not antedate the severance of its clan from the older group originally including it.

Whatever may have been its origin, the crest seems to have become, to a large extent, a symbol of greatness, and it became the desire of the chiefs to add to their prestige by the acquisition of new crests. They were not only obtained by inheritance, but could be secured as gifts, or even by forcible means in war. The fact that the name of the clan does not as a rule refer to a totem also seems to indicate that the clan may not, to begin with, be organically connected with a particular crest. That the clansmen are not conceived of as descended from one of their crest animals, and that there seem to be no taboos in force against the eating or killing of the crest animals, need not matter, for these are by no means constant features of even typical totemic societies.

There is another feature of the crests of the West Coast Indians which accentuates their differences from typical clan totems. This is the tendency they have to be thought of in very concrete terms, as carvings or paintings. It would in many cases, for instance, be more correct to say that a certain chief uses a ceremonial hat representing the Beaver, or that he has the right to paint the Thunder-bird on the outside of his house, than that he possesses the Beaver or Thunder-bird crest or totem. His justification for the use of these would be a legend, telling of how one of his ancestors gained the privilege by contact with the crest animals — a type of legend which is told to account for the use of nearly all crests. We see more clearly now why earlier in this paper I referred to the crests as a particular type of inheritable privilege. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the Kwakiutl term for crest seems to denote primarily a carving.

Crests are shown or utilized in different ways. They may be painted on movable boards used as screens or otherwise, painted on the outside of the house or along the bed platform, carved on the house-posts or beams, or on memorial columns, or on the outside house-posts popularly known as totem poles, tattooed on the body, painted on the face during feasts, represented in dance-hats, masks, staffs, or other ceremonial paraphernalia, woven in ceremonial robes, referred to in clan legends, dramatically represented at potlatches in performances based on such legends, referred to in songs owned by the clan or clan-chiefs, and in individual or house names. Not all house names, however, refer to a crest. The village and clan names are [372] also, as a rule, unconnected with crests. So accustomed have the West Coast Indians, particularly those of the north, become to the representation of crest animals in carving and painting, that they introduce them even in objects that are not as a rule connected with the exercise of privileges. Among such objects are the beautifully ornamented dishes, boxes, batons, spoons, rattles, clubbers, and gambling-sticks that are so often admired in ethnological museums. We see here how the elaboration of the crest system has fostered among these Indians the development of plastic art. It has also been suggested, and I believe with justice, that the tendency to artistic and dramatic representation in turn reacted upon the development of the crest system, a development that was strengthened by the ever-present desire for new privileges and for novel ways of exhibiting the old ones.

The origin of the crests need not have been the same in all cases. In some cases, for instance, it can be shown that they were obtained by



marriage or as gifts in return for a service. These new crests would of course be handed down along with the old inherited ones. Such methods of obtaining crests, however, must be considered as purely secondary, and the real problem of accounting for their origin still remains. The most plausible explanation that has been offered is, on the whole, that which considers the clan crest as an extension of the personal manitou or tutelary being. Among practically all Indians we find the practice of seeking supernatural protection or power by fasting and dreaming of certain animals or objects that are believed to be endowed with such power. If we suppose that a personal guardian thus obtained is handed down by inheritance, we can readily understand how the manitou of an ancestor may gradually become transformed into a clan totem or crest. The main difficulty with this theory is that personal guardians or medicines do not normally seem to be inheritable. On the other hand, the legends related by the West Coast Indians to account for the origin of crests do bear an unmistakable resemblance to tales of the acquisition of supernatural guardians. It is not difficult to understand how the religious element, which must have been strongly emphasized in the manitou, gradually faded away as the manitou developed (or degenerated) into a crest. At any rate, the problem is far from being satisfactorily solved.

Even more fundamental than the clans are, among the northern tribes, the phratries which include them. Their origin also is far from clear. Whether they resulted from the amalgamation of a number of clans into larger units, or whether, on the contrary, the clans within the phratry are to be considered as local off-shoots from it, is often difficult to decide. On the whole, however, the latter alternative seems the more typical one. This is indicated, first of all, by the [373] fact that each of the two main phratries is represented in every village, though, on the other hand, the necessary intermarriages between the phratries might soon bring about this state of affairs under any circumstances. More important is the fact that the phratric crest is shared by all or practically all the clans of the phratry; this seems to imply that the phratry with its crest is a fundamental unit antedating the rise of the separate clans. The fundamental importance of the two phratric divisions of the Haida is beautifully illustrated by their belief in the validity of this social arrangement in the supernatural world. Thus, every being of the sea was conceived of as belonging from the beginning of time to either the Raven or Eagle phratry. It is conceivable that the phratries are sociologically reinterpreted forms of originally distinct tribal units. Apropos



of this possibility, it may be noted that in many tribal organizations certain clans, gentes, camp-circle units, or other social units are, either in fact or origin, a group of aliens incorporated into the main tribe. According to Tlingit legend, indeed, the Ravens were originally Coast people, the Wolves inland people. This may, however, be a mere rationalization of an obvious fact of zoological distribution, the raven being common on the coast while the wolf is chiefly confined to the woods.

So much for social organization according to rank and kinship. The third type of organization, the local, we have had to take up in connection with the other two. Local classifications as distinct from kin classifications arise only when the clan ceases to be confined to a single locality. When this happens, the kin and local groupings necessarily intercross and town administration arises, which provides for more than the needs of a clan or group of kinsmen.

The ritual organization which we have listed as a fourth type of social organization is best developed among the Kwakiutl Indians. Among these Indians the clan system which is operative during the greater part of the year, the so-called profane season, gives place during the winter to a ritualistic organization based on the right to the performance of religious dances. The dancers impersonate various supernatural beings from whom they are supposed to have received manitou power. In actual practice the performance of the dance is conditioned by the inherited right to them. Such rights are justified in legends accounting for the introduction of the dance by an ancestor, supposed to have come in contact with the supernatural being himself and to have been instructed by him. In a sense all those who perform the same dance form a secret society, though this term, which has been often used, does not seem particularly appropriate to me. The dances are graded into two series — a lower and a higher one. The dancers of the lower series are collectively known as Sparrows (or some other small bird),<sup>[1]</sup> those [374] of the higher as Seals. One may pass in successive seasons from one so-called society to another, up to the point allowed by his or her particular inheritance. The most important of the dance-societies are the Ghosts, the Fool-dancers, the Grizzly-bears, and the Cannibals. While there are certain external resemblances between the ritual and clan organizations of the Kwakiutl, I believe it would be erroneous to consider the former as specialized forms of the latter. I consider it far more likely that the ritualistic activities were simply patterned on the normal clan organization, the ever-present tendency to ranking finding expression in both.

The other tribes of this region have borrowed much of the Kwakiutl rituals, but do not seem to share their elaborate ritual organization.

The space at our disposal will not permit us to go more deeply into the intricacies of West Coast social organization. It is difficult to render clear in a few strokes what seems an essentially involved set of social phenomena and I am not at all certain that I have succeeded in my object. The main points that I have tried to bring out are the fundamental importance of inherited privileges as such, the growth of the village community into a clan, the peculiar character of the crest system of these Indians when compared with typical totemism elsewhere, and the almost exaggerated development of the idea of grading of individuals and privileges.

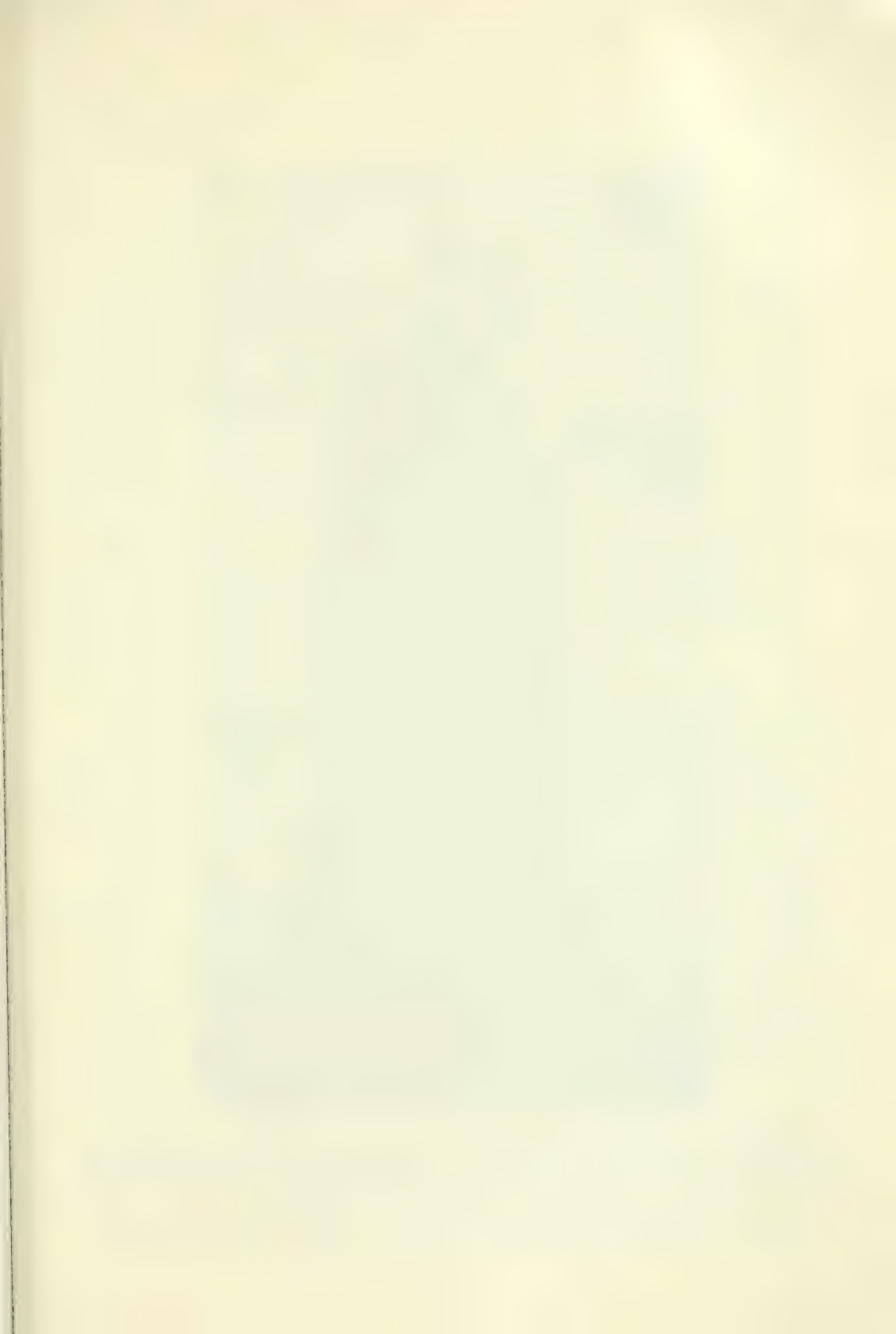
### Editorial Notes

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1. The parenthetical remark was a footnote in the original.









Tom Sayach'apis. The Nootka Indian who boasted that he could sing without stopping for twenty-four hours, and never the same twice.

## Tom

Late fall, the rainy season. I had tramped through the two miles of mud puddles and oozy stretches of road that separated the village of Alberni from the Indian reserve. Rain, rain, rain day after day — not your light frisking showers alternating with sunny cloud-patched sky, nor those whirling rackety downpours, climaxes of cosmic dramas, but just good old honest Philistine rainfall, coming down with heavy respectability and a continuity most maddening. Such is the rain of the west coast of Vancouver Island, the very embodiment of cheerless resignation. I had just crossed the bridge over the Somass and gone up and along the row of unpainted wooden cabins that make up the greater part of the Indian village, amid the yelping of endless dogs, the inquisitive stares through the windows of women and children, and the good-humored gibes of two or three old men that happened to be in sight, splashing about barefoot in the mud.

Here was I, standing just outside the last house in the row and waiting for my interpreter to appear and pave my way for a start. The rollicking sound of a Harry Lauder record (for these Indians take huge delight in the Scotchman's long-rolled R's) came from another of the cabins, mocking the weather and the rubber-booted rain-coated individual who had come to get his field data for another of the series of scientific monographs with which ethnology is just now deluging the country. Wrapped in lugubrious fancies, there were many things I would rather have done just then than take down legends in phonetic text or make inquiries on old-time whaling customs. For one thing, I would have much preferred to jump out of the cold, clammy bundle that sheltered me from the rain into the steaming delights of a Turkish bath. Duty and the cold enthusiasm of scientific research (most paradoxical of sentiments!) nailed me to the spot.

At last my half-breed interpreter arrived, smiling blandly. He was just three-quarters of an hour late, for he had been "very busy." He had just decided the best thing I could do was to get my information from Tom. Tom did not know a word of English, but we could get along with Chinook, the lingua franca of the Pacific Coast natives, aided by



the interpreter's well-paid intermediation. Tom would be just the man for me. He was old and blind, he had had all sorts of interesting experiences, he had an inexhaustible store of knowledge of "old-fashioned" customs and beliefs and songs and legends, and, having nothing to do, he would enjoy rummaging in the past for a good wage.

Just then a succession of squashed thumps behind us announced the slow and groping progress of blind Tom himself up the muddy hill running down from the village street to the salmon-drying huts scattered along the river. My interpreter hailed Tom and put the question to him. Tom's battered face lit up with a good-humored smile when he learned that a white man had come from countless miles away to imbibe wisdom from him. What an unexpected contrast to the contemptuous attitude current among the whites that he knew, to the half derisive, half incredulous attitude of most of the younger Indian sophisticated generation to the antique lore of their elders! Tom and my interpreter evidently decided to talk matters over in a sheltered spot, for we soon all found ourselves marching to the cabin occupied by his grandson's family. Tom himself leading the way with squashedly thumping staff. We piled into a room that served as a combined sitting room, bed room, and kitchen. Its most notable features seemed to be a frightful stench, sweaty and fishy, an overwhelming heat, for all the windows in the house were tightly closed and the wood fire in the stove was roaring at full blast, a din of two or three bawling children, the youngest of whom a wrinkled hag was ineffectually trying to hush with a monotonous droning lullaby, and, nailed to the walls, three or four grotesquely crude unframed pictures illustrating scenes in the life of Jesus, gifts of the Presbyterian missionaries who ran the reservation school and who endeavored in this way to bring the gospel home to the benighted heathen. The young wife of the house owner, himself off in Victoria to see about an old contested sealing claim, was sitting near the fire busied in weaving a little trinket basket, evidently intended for sale to white tourists. Its pretty unpretending little geometrical designs contrasted timidly with the blatant sordidness that encased it. We were not supposed to take the slightest notice of the women and children, nor did Tom and my interpreter waste time in unnecessary greetings. We sat right down to talk business. And as we talked, it was gradually borne in upon me that the young wife, shyly bent over her work, dressed in a soiled calico print dress and unbuttoned shoes, was not without a certain oily unkempt charm.

Tom and I came to a satisfactory agreement and arranged to begin serious work the next morning at the same cabin. He was elaborately explicit about the financial terms. When he had made them as advantageous to himself as compromise between his acquisitive instinct and my limited funds rendered possible, he lapsed into broadly smiling jocularly, promised me the most reliable information ("news" he called it in his jargon) to be had on the reserve, and frankly contrasted his own trustworthiness and wealth of knowledge with the utter insufficiency of his neighbors in these respects. I had plenty of leisure, as we discussed things back and forth, to observe him closely. Despite his blindness he was thoroughly alive, and his small round unseeing eyes frequently twinkled shrewdly. He was quite bent and his short-clipped hair was slightly grizzled, a sign of great age. Yet his voice, which was firm and metallic and rather strident, and his alert movements seemed to give the lie to his age.

Nothing more shabby than his clothing could well be imagined. An ancient soft hat — now lying thrown on a chair — that was encrusted by successive layers of dust set by frequent exposure to wet, an ill-fitting coat of uncertain color and fantastically blotched with patches of dust and grease, and a very baggy and grease-streaked and miserably frayed old pair of trousers, had all evidently been inseparable companions of Tom for the last one shuddered to think how many years. And yet there was nothing shamefaced or apologetic about his manner. His present abject poverty was not the reward of past shiftlessness. In his day Tom had been of the wealthiest of his tribe, but he had gradually dissipated his fortune by lavish expenditure in the "potlatches" or public feasts so beloved of the old-time Indians of the coast. He had had his days of prestige and now rested content in their memory. What little he could earn from me now would be so much extra towards the store of wealth being slowly accumulated by his son and grandson for a future "potlatch."

The next morning reunited the three of us. The work of recording the ethnological information that was stored up in Tom's encyclopaedic mind proceeded satisfactorily enough. Once Tom had fully grasped what was wanted of him, he proved admirably tractable. At first he was inclined in his dictation of Indian text to rush on at a speed that baffled both the phonetic receptivity of the ear and the ability of the hand to note what the ear had grasped, but my interpreter and I would quickly bring him to order and force him to repeat, point by point, what he had scurried over so impatiently. Poor old Tom! He had not the slightest

conception of the rationale of writing — no doubt he imagined I was drawing little pictures at lightning speed of the characters and incidents of the legends he was recounting — and the role of schoolmaster to a “paper-making” white of a very queer brand of unusualness must have been trying enough. I know that he pitied me when, carried away by the exaltation of some particularly dramatic episode, he heard me trailing far behind with my spluttering syllables. For all that, he soon learned the tricks of his trade and acquired an intelligent and repetitive docility worthy of any dictaphone or college professor. In fact, he earned before long among his fellows of the reserve the humorous sobriquet of “teacher.” The title evoked in Tom a mildly self-conscious smile of satisfaction.<sup>[1]</sup>

It was not easy to get into close personal touch with him. His blindness and total ignorance of English and my indifferent command of Chinook combined to erect a barrier between the true selves of us. Yet he was willing enough to be expansive and affable. When he heard me enter the cabin in the morning, where he was generally sitting, staff across his lap, in expectation of my arrival, he would greet me with some little jest or remark about the weather — late in the season, when the rain had passed to icy sleet he would speak of the mingled rain and snow as husband and wife, the stock Indian epithet, and would laugh heartily at the quaint conceit.<sup>[2]</sup>

Tom was master of endless chains of song — songs that would make the harpooned whale head for the shore instead of plunging on madly out to sea, lullabys, songs of mourning, gambling songs, marriage songs, sacred songs dealing with the fabulous thunder-bird or the eerie wolf of ritual. He boasted that he could sing uninterruptedly for twenty-four hours without repeating himself. I believe him.

But Tom was no mere mystery-monger or sentimental ritualist. He had led an extremely active life — traded up and down the coast with canoes, driven hard bargains with the whites at Victoria in the early days, built houses, dabbled with Indian doctoring, sealed and fished and hunted like the rest, given many feasts to his own tribesmen and to alien tribes whom he made his guests, and left his descendants an honored name. And that is how I came to feel that the shabby old man was one of the victorious ones of the earth. Pity of him was an impertinence, for he had tasted of all the fruits that grew on the stem of his tribal life. And when I shook hands with him at the end of my season's work, I took leave not of my “informant,” but of a genuine man.



## Editorial Notes

Originally published in *Canadian Courier*, Dec. 7, 1918, 7.

1. The following passage from Sapir's typescript was omitted in the published version: "And so from day to day we piled up our rapidly growing manuscript of 'field notes' — texts of legends and personal reminiscences, songs, data on religion and ceremonial and social organization, genealogies, anything that the never-satisfied man of scientific curiosity required feeding with. Indeed, it was not until after several weeks after this process of patient accumulation had been under way that it seriously occurred to me that Tom might be something more than a mere 'informant,' a flower-bed predestined for the picking of an assiduous ethnologist, that he might be nothing less than a human being."
2. The following passage was omitted in the published version:

"In the intervals of our work and in the absence of the interpreter, he was very apt to become anecdotal about himself. I rarely quite saw the point, but, as I always expressed hearty appreciation of it, I won his favor and put him in high good humor.

"Good humor, indeed, was ever with Tom. It was chastening to observe this poor blind old man, living in the midst of squalor and filthy disease — during my acquaintance with him his grandson's little daughter died of tubercular meningitis — member of a tribe that was but the merest handful in survival of the community he had known years ago, before blindness cut him off from the actual. Such simple whole-hearted enjoyment of the passing hour, such contemptuous refusal of the apathetic aura suitable to a 'dying race,' might well give pause to the Weltschmerz-tinctured. But there was nothing molluscan about Tom. I have seen him storm in contempt of a calumniating neighbor or rail in high-pitched anger at some infringement, real or fancied, on his rights. His good humor was not the accompaniment of a resigned submission to an inevitable fate, it was the expression of a sturdy joy in the battle of life, fought out under the unfairest of odds.

"It was when he felt himself immersed in the glamor of the past, when he took a leading part in some mysterious or grandiloquent ritual that Tom revealed something of the glow that was hidden beneath the casual good-humored surface of his daily existence. To watch him deliver a formal speech of thanks at a 'potlatch' — afire

with earnestness amid the negligent rumbling chatter of his audience — or beat spirited time with his staff while leading in the singing of a ceremonial song, or shout out excited directions as to ritual conduct during the performance of a sacred exorcism, was to get a hint of the depths of emotion-charged lore and primitive philosophy that colored the further reaches of his consciousness. In these moments of insight I could not but pity the drab dust-strewn souls about him that belonged to the civilized world, the world that treated Tom and his like with contempt, at best with sentimentalizing contempt.”

## A Flood Legend of the Nootka Indians of Vancouver Island<sup>1</sup>

The Nootka Indians, who are divided into a rather large number of tribes occupying the greater part of the west coast of Vancouver Island, distinguish sharply between two types of legends or myths. The one of these consists of numerous stories of the pre-human mythological epoch, in which animals that are thought of as having a more or less human form, and mythological beings that do not seem to be identified with animals, form the chief characters. Such stories are found widely distributed in aboriginal America, and generally form the greater part of the folk-lore proper of a tribe. Such myths, among the Nootka, are the common property of the whole tribe, and are told without reserve. The second type of legend is much more elaborate in form, and more clearly reflects the ritualistic and social ideas of the Indians. They may be termed "family legends"; for they are not the common property of the tribe, but are in every case supposed to belong to some specific family, whose legendary history is recounted in them, and members of which alone have the right to tell them. Such family legends, while full of purely mythological incidents, are believed by the Indians to possess in a much higher degree the element of historical truth than the general body of myths referred to. Beginning with the origin of a particular family or sub-tribe, they take up in order the various incidents making up the traditional history of the ancestors and later generations of the family or sub-tribe. They tell of how various chiefs in the past gained supernatural powers from mythological beings, such as the Thunder-Bird, the [352] Lightning Serpent-Belt, the Whales, Mountain Fairies, and other beings. These powers, together with associated songs, which they are taught by these various beings, and names referring to the legendary incidents, are supposed to have been handed down from the remote beginning of things through successive generations to the present representatives of the family. We see at once why the Indians so jealously

1. Based on material obtained in course of linguistic and ethnological research for the Division of Anthropology of the Geological Survey of Canada, September-December, 1916.



guard the right to the telling of family legends. They mean far more to the Indians than if they were merely entertaining stories that had no particular reference to the present social order. They constitute the historical guaranty, as it were, for the various privileges claimed by a particular family of today.

Among a considerable number of such legends is a rather long family legend, obtained in native text from Tom, a blind old man living with the rest of his tribe in a reserve near the present town of Alberni. The legend refers to the Ts'isha'ath sub-tribe of the tribe of the same name, formerly inhabiting the island of Ts'isha or Hawkins Island — one of the innumerable islands, known as Broken Group, dotting the waters of Barclay Sound. It begins with the creation by a Creator of the first pair of human beings, from whom all the members of the sub-tribe are supposed to have descended. Curiously enough, it is the female that comes first into existence. The Creator puts at their disposal a great number of foods, all of which are carefully classified and enumerated in the narrative. The salt-water fish, the sea-mammals, the marine invertebrates (chiefly mollusks), the fresh-water fish, vegetable foods, and the land-animals are enumerated in this order. In course of time a flood arose, and it is this episode of the legend that is given here in translation. The flood, it may be noted in passing, is very frequently a typical feature among the earlier events recounted in the Nootka family legends. The narrative of the flood is given here in fairly literal translation,<sup>2</sup> with such comments as seem necessary to give it its full import. It runs:

The Ts'isha'ath became numerous, the village of Ts'isha became crowded. Hemayis [the name of a sub-tribe and village of the Ts'isha'ath tribe] was descended from Daylight-in-the-Sky [the first woman] and Ch'icho'ath [the first man]. Thus many were those descended from Daylight-in-the-Sky found to be when the flood came. Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil [the chief of the Ts'isha'ath at a remote period in the past, himself descended from the first pair; his name, like many Nootka names, indicates the importance of whaling among these Indians] was found with the dorsal fin of a whale hanging up belly down. [This statement, while it would sound perfectly clear to an Indian, demands explanation. Evidently the chief had recently captured a whale, and was feasting his tribe. The dorsal fin of the hump-backed whale, which is supposed to contain the soul or "person" of the whale, is always the

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2. The orthography of the Indian names is greatly simplified.

distinctive property of the chief, and is hung up in his house. Before the whale-feasting can begin, four nights are spent in singing ritual songs addressed to this "person" in the fin, who thereupon takes his departure from it.] He cut off its big fin, took it along with him, and boarded his long canoe; he and his younger brother, who was named Makes-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil, were in two canoes that were joined together. There were four big boxes filled with provisions, in them [353] he had eyes of a hump-backed whale, eyes of a *ma'ak* whale, and the muzzle of a hump-backed whale and of a *ma'ak* whale, and the big fins of whales, cooked provisions belonging to all. All the four boxes were chock-full. First he tied his canoes to a berry-bush, using his cedar-branch rope that was part of his whaling-outfit. The brothers, chiefs, took their slaves with them in their canoes. One's slave was named Mussel-on-his-Belly; and another slave of his was named Tahukwa'as, and Puts-Everything-in-the-Water, and Old-Rotten-Spruce-Knot, and Shoots-at-the-Ground; and another slave of his was named Whale-blows-on-the-Back-of-his-Head; and another slave of his was named Tl'aha'aktlim; and another slave of his was named Whale-Muzzle — these were all that Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil owned as slaves. [It is to be understood that these slave-names are the property of the family descended from the chief, and that only chiefs who are members of this family would have the right to bestow these names on their slaves.] The younger brother was named Makes-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil, and all his slaves went in.

Their long canoes were tied together, and they held on to the cedar-branch rope until it gave out. It rained, and the land was lost sight of. What had been his cedar-branch rope gave out. They drifted; and they did not know whither they were going as they drifted, because the land was not seen. After four days he heard some one singing inside the box, the whale's dorsal fin, and what he sang was as follows:

"I am wont to start from way out at sea  
As soon as good weather arises,  
As soon as daylight opens up its mouth."

[We are to understand that this song, the music of which was taken down on the phonograph, forms one of the set of whaling-songs owned by the chiefs descended from Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil. It is clear from the legend that it is believed to have been granted one of the ancestors of the family by supernatural means.]

Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil heard that the whale's dorsal fin was singing in the box, that he sang this song. Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-

Oil started in to sing; and they all joined in, — their slaves and their women and their children. The earth was not seen, for the flood was high and the mountains were under water, except that the big mountains stood dry above water. They began to hear it thundering, it was heard. They caught sight of him who was making the thundering noise; there it was, Two-Bladders-on-Top. [This refers to a mountain on which the Thunder-Bird is supposed to dwell.] They could not get near it, because there were many sticks and fragments of trees floating on the surface of the water. And then the land was lost sight of again. He thought that he was now way off, because he had been out long on the water; but it turned out that he was held fast by the whale. [The meaning of this is that he was enjoying the supernatural protection of the whale-spirit. The whaling-song that they had sung had the magical effect of preventing them from drifting too far: hence its usefulness to whalers of the family in later generations.]

They ate all they had in the boxes, they ate the eyes of the hump-backed whale. They had drifted around the point of Peaks-all-over-its-Face [another mountain], and drifted in behind a shelter; this was done by the [354] water that turned back from the current, and this is how they came upon the land of Peaks-all-over-its-Face. Then they were in the place for a time, staid there for a long time. And then it cleared up. He saw the other mountains, and caught sight of a mountain high up above the water; it was Red-Faced. Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil made up his mind that he would go over to the other mountain. The fragments of trees that had been numerous disappeared. He said to his younger brother, and to those that were with him, that they should go over to it. "Yes," said they all. They started off in their canoes, went across, and arrived at the other mountain, the one whose name was Red-Faced; they left behind the one whose name was Peaks-all-over-its-Face. They stopped, and staid at Red-Faced.

Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil was ready, he had his head-dress of cedar-bark and feathers on his head, he had something sticking out on his forehead, he had on his nose-ring, he had on his ear-rings, he wore his sea-otter robe, and over all his clothes he had a bear-skin. He was all dressed up in regalia, as he was accustomed to be when he bathed in order to get power to hunt hump-backed whales, and when he bathed in order to get *ma'ak* whales. [This refers to the secret hunting-rituals, consisting chiefly of bathing, prayers, and magical performances, which an Indian makes use of before proceeding on a hunt. The details of these rituals are jealously guarded by the various families to whom they



belong as hereditary privileges.] In like manner was also Makes-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil dressed up too. There on the ground he got out of his canoe and sat on the rocks. It was night, it was not far from break of day. Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil was sleepy, and he fell asleep. He bent down his head on his bear-skin robe while he was sitting on the rocks. He heard some one singing. He dreamed, and understood what the words of the song said. He heard one singing a *t'ama* song [a class of songs of distinctive rhythm, generally sung on festive occasions], and this is what he sang: —

"I am sitting on the rocks singing a *t'ama* song at Tlisyu,  
I, the Thunder-Bird's Belt, am on the rocks singing a *t'ama* song."

Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil woke up, and saw that there was coiled up under him on the rocks the He'itl'ik, he who was singing in *t'ama* style, and he knew the *t'ama* song. [That is, he learned it, and transmitted it to his descendants, to whom it now belongs. The He'itl'ik is the serpent-like being believed to constitute the belt of the Thunder-Bird. The Thunder-Bird sometimes leaves his mountain abode for the sea to hunt for whales, which he grasps in his talons and takes away with him to his home. The flapping of his wings causes the thunder, while the lightning is due to the zigzagging of his serpent-belt as it darts through the air or coils around a tree. Both Thunder-Bird and belt are able to bestow great power, particularly success in hunting.]

He woke up, and the He'itl'ik glided off like a snake. And then he took his red shredded cedar-bark, put his hand under him, and tied his red shredded cedar-bark around the He'itl'ik's middle. [Red-dyed shredded cedar-bark plays an important part in West Coast ceremonial. Among the Nootka Indians it is often used as an offering to supernatural beings of all sorts. Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil makes the offering of cedar-bark [355] in payment of the power which he expects to receive from the serpent-belt.] From this is derived my name, He'itl'ik-is-coiled-beneath-on-the-Rocks, and Ties-Something-around-the-Middle. The name He'itl'ik-is-coiled-beneath-on-the-Rocks is derived from this, that at one time a He'itl'ik was coiled beneath him at Red-Faced; likewise the name Ties-Something-around-the-Middle is derived from this, that he tied red shredded cedar-bark around the middle of a He'itl'ik, he did it just as the He'itl'ik was gliding off like a snake. [These are good examples of the mythological reference implied, actually or by secondary interpretation, in certain traditional names.] He cut off some of its tail by hitting at it, — it was Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil that did so, — as much as is spanned by thumb and index-finger he cut off from

his tail. [This fragment of the lightning-belt's tail served as a powerful hunting-amulet for him and for his descendants.] He saw that there was on the rocks, standing with his breast against the rocks, a great bird, the Thunder-Bird. He was spread out on its face as far as Red-Faced extended. It was the Thunder-Bird. Makes-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil had a boy born to him, and his name was to be Person-of-Red-Faced, because he was born there at Red-Faced.

Then the flood began to go down, it decreased greatly, and they kept their canoes moving on: their canoes kept sinking, following the sinking water. They had consumed two boxes of provisions. Two of their boxes were empty, and another of their boxes had become half empty. The sea became dry land, and it became again as it had been. One of their boxes was left with nothing taken out, and one box was half full. They landed at Big-Faced."...

Other episodes in the life of Has-his-Place-full-of-Whale-Oil follow this, in the course of which he obtains added powers, together with associated songs and names. Other parts of the legend deal with later generations, the whole forming a sort of primitive chronicle, the body of which is made up of accounts of the granting of power and of the origin of family names. Genealogical lore is scattered about here and there also. It is instructive to observe how thoroughly the flood myth has been combined among these Indians with tales of the origin of family privileges, and how much more interesting, apparently, to the natives, are the latter than the flood itself. Despite a general analogy with the biblical Flood tale, which none will have failed to notice, there is no reason to believe that the flood story as recounted here is anything but strictly aboriginal. Its close association with ideas of a decidedly aboriginal character would seem to render almost impossible the idea that it is a notion derived from comparatively recent contact with the whites, the more so as the flood episode is so thoroughly at home among all the tribes of the region.

### Editorial Note

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## Nass River Terms of Relationship

THE following Nass River Indian (*Nisqa''a*) terms of relationship were obtained in May, 1916, from Chief C. B. Barton (Indian name *P'ā'l*), of Kincolith, B. C. Chief Barton was at the time engaged as deputy in Ottawa on tribal business.<sup>1</sup> The orthography here employed is the same as that explained in my *Sketch of the Social Organization of the Nass River Indians* (Geological Survey of Canada, Anthropological Series, Bulletin no. 7, 1915); see pp. 29, 30.

### I. NASS RIVER TERMS

In the following table it is to be understood that, unless otherwise indicated, a term may be used by either a male or a female. Most or all of the terms doubtless have a wider, phratric or clan, significance than is here indicated. The ending *-t'(i)*, *-e'(i)*, *-i* is the first person singular possessive suffix, "my."

Note further:

1. Step-relations are designated as real relations.
2. The parents of a married couple are not looked upon as relatives. This is strikingly different from the custom of many western American Indian tribes, among whom there is frequently a specific term for "child-in-law's parent."
3. The parent-in-law of a brother or sister is not considered a

<sup>1</sup> Since this set of terms was obtained from Mr. Barton, an opportunity has presented itself in April, 1920, to go over the data with two West Coast Indians visiting Ottawa on Government business—Mr. P. C. Calder, a Nass River Indian of the *Qutxat'e'n* tribe, from the village of Greenville, and Mr. G. Matheson, a Tsimshian Indian, who was brought up among the Nass River Indians and is thus better acquainted with the Nass than with his own dialect and who has for a number of years resided in the Lower Fraser country. As both of these Indians are also conversant with the Tsimshian dialect, I obtained from them an independent set of Tsimshian kinship terms. This set supplements a Tsimshian set obtained in 1918 from Mr. W. Beynon, of Port Simpson, B. C., Mr. Barbeau's chief Tsimshian interpreter. I shall present my Tsimshian data in another paper.



Term	Translation	Vocative
1. 'o''ls-l' . . . . .	my great-grandfather, great-grandmother (see also 2 and 3)	'o''ls <sup>3</sup>
2. naye''-e'' . . . . .	my grandfather (paternal or maternal); may also be used for great-grandfather; grandparent's brother	ye''e <sup>3</sup>
3. ɲl'se''e'l's-l' . . . . .	my grandmother (paternal or maternal); may also be used for great-grandmother; grandparent's sister	tsi'ls (note unglottalized <i>ts</i> , doubtless due to imitation of simplified children's pronunciation) <sup>3</sup>
4. hoxdä''k'en-e' . . . . .	my grandchild; great-grandchild	hoxdä''k'in'
5. nəgw''d-l' . . . . .	my father; father's brother; maternal aunt's husband	pä'p' (said by man) hädt'' (said by woman) <sup>3</sup>
6. nω''-i' . . . . .	my mother; mother's sister	nä''ä <sup>3</sup>
7. lko''u'lgw-l', plur. lg-l' . . . . .	my child; man's brother's child; woman's sister's child; husband's brother's child; man's brother's wife's child; wife's sister's child; probably also woman's sister's husband's child	lko''u'lk <sup>u</sup> , plur. lgu'
7a. lko''u'lkwm ga'a'd-l' . . . . .	my son ( <i>lit.</i> : my male child)	nä''ä <sup>3</sup>
7b. lko''u'lkwm änä'g-a'i' . . . . .	my daughter ( <i>lit.</i> : my female child)	dä't <sup>3</sup>
8. nəpe'p-l' . . . . .	my mother's brother	p'i'p'
9. nuxdä''-i' . . . . .	my father's sister; mother's brother's wife	dä't'
10. kwvcl'i'-c-l' . . . . .	my brother's child (woman speaking); sister's child (man speaking); husband's sister's child <sup>2</sup>	kwvcl'i'c
10a. kwvcl'i'cm ga'a'd-l' . . . . .	my brother's son (woman speaking), sister's son (man speaking) ( <i>lit.</i> : my male kwvcl'i'c)	
10b. kwvcl'i'cm änä'-a-i' . . . . .	my brother's daughter (woman speaking), sister's daughter (man speaking) ( <i>lit.</i> : my female kwvcl'i'c)	
11. wa'g-l' . . . . .	my brother (man speaking); man's father's brother's son; mother's sister's son	wä'k'
12. lgi''gw-l' . . . . .	my sister (woman speaking); woman's father's brother's daughter; mother's sister's daughter	lgi''i'k <sup>u</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also heard as änä''ai' (i = glottal stop with velar resonance). In Nootka<sup>1</sup> develops regularly from older Wakashan q'.

<sup>2</sup> "My husband's sister's child" was given as kwvcl'i'ckw-l', but this is almost certainly merely the plural in -k<sup>u</sup> of kwvcl'i'-c-l' and should thus be understood as "my brother's children (woman speaking), my husband's sister's children." See F. Boas, *Tsimshian*, §44 ("Handbook of American Indian Languages," *Bulletin* 40, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1911).

<sup>3</sup> See supplementary notes at end.

Term	Translation	Yukon
13. <i>kamxci'-i</i> .....	my brother (woman speaking); sister (man speaking); woman's father's brother's son; mother's sister's son; man's mother's sister's daughter; father's brother's daughter	<i>simda'</i>
14. <i>kaxciw'-i</i> .....	my cross cousin, i.e., father's sister's child, mother's brother's child	<i>ax'w</i>
15. <i>na'ke-i</i> .....	my husband; wife	<i>nāke'</i>
16. <i>la'me-i</i> .....	father-in-law, mother-in-law; son-in-law, daughter-in-law; father-in-law's brother, mother-in-law's brother	<i>lām</i>
16a. <i>lä'mcim ga'ad-i</i> .....	my father-in-law, son-in-law, parent-in-law's brother (lit.: male parent-in-law or child-in-law)	
16b. <i>lä'mcim anä'- ai'</i> .....	my mother-in-law, daughter-in-law (lit.: female parent-in-law or child-in-law)	
17. <i>q'alä'-i</i> .....	my wife's brother; sister's husband (man speaking)	<i>q'alä'-an</i>
18. <i>kwvdji'-i</i> .....	my husband's sister; brother's wife (woman speaking)	<i>kwvdji'</i>
19. <i>k'w'i'ke-i</i> .....	my wife's sister, man's brother's wife; husband's brother, woman's sister's husband	<i>k'w'i'ke</i>
20. <i>lämcl wä'ä-g-i</i> .....	my brother's child-in-law (man speaking) (lit.: child-in-law of my [man's] brother)	
21. <i>lämcl (h)gi'- gw-i</i> .....	my sister's child-in-law (woman speaking) (lit.: child-in-law of my [woman's] sister)	
22. <i>lämcl gimxci'-i</i> .....	my [man's] sister's child-in-law; woman's brother's child-in-law (lit.: child-in-law of my sibling <sup>1</sup> of opposite sex)	
23. <i>gimxci' lä'mc-i</i> .....	my father-in-law's sister (lit.: sister of my father-in-law <sup>2</sup> )	
24. <i>lgi'-i' lä'mc-i</i> .....	my mother-in-law's sister (lit.: sister of my mother-in-law)	
25. <i>n x'-i</i> .....	my father's brother's wife	<i>nā'</i>
26. <i>näkl nixdä'-i</i> .....	my father's sister's husband (lit.: husband of my paternal aunt)	
27. <i>kwvcl'ckw' nā'ke -i</i> .....	my wife's brother's children (lit.: brother's children (see 10.) of my wife)	
28. <i>wilä''ick'';</i> <i>wilä''icgw-i</i> .....	relative; my blood relative <sup>2</sup>	
29. <i>nävelwä''ick''</i>	relative by marriage <sup>3</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> By "sibling" is meant "brother or sister."

<sup>2</sup> But not "brother of my mother-in-law," though this is quite possible etymologically. For "mother-in-law's brother," *lämc* is used (see 16).

<sup>3</sup> See supplementary notes at end.

relative; nor, reciprocally, is the child-in-law's brother or sister a relative.

4. Relatives by affinity continue to be called by the same terms after the death of the connecting link. Thus, a man's brother-in-law (wife's brother) is termed *q'alä'än* even after his wife's death. This again is contrary to the custom of many western American Indian tribes.

## II. LINGUISTIC COMMENTS

A few linguistic remarks are possible, though, for the most part, the terms do not yield to any far-reaching linguistic analysis. Most striking is the employment of distinctive vocatives. In most cases (nos. 1, 4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 25) the vocative is merely the noun stem, unprovided with a possessive suffix. In a considerable number of cases, however, the vocative is different from the noun stem. Sometimes the vocative is etymologically unrelated to it (nos. 5, 7a, 7b, perhaps also 14), more often it is a shorter or otherwise modified form of the stem (nos. 2, 3, 6, 8, 9). A number of nouns beginning with *nə-* (*nɪ-*, *n̥-*) lose this element in the vocative (nos. 2, 3, 8, 9). It is probable that this prefix occurs also in the term for "father" (no. 5); possibly also in that for "mother" (no. 6).

The etymology of the *n-* prefix is quite obscure, as there seem to be no obvious analogies in the formative elements of either Nass or Tsimshian proper ascertained by Boas. It may be an old classificatory prefix for terms of relationship, now preserved only in four or five terms. Possibly, however, it is the subjective first person singular pronominal prefix *n-* "I" (e.g., *ne-ya'ne* "I say so," contrast *de-ya* "he says so"; see Boas, *op. cit.*, §53), originally characterizing, it may be, terms of relationship as contrasted with other nouns. In that case such a form as *nɪ-y'e'* "grandfather" would originally have meant "my grandfather," only secondarily, as the use of the *n-* prefix in a possessive pronominal sense became obsolete, "grandfather." The use of the first personal singular possessive pronominal suffix *-i'* in such terms of relationship would be due to the analogy of the vast majority of nouns. At any rate.



analogous pronominal usages, of an isolated nature, for terms of relationship are found in several American Indian languages.<sup>1</sup>

The terms *kwvcl'i'c* (no. 10), *kwvtxa'w'* (no. 14), and *kwvdji'c* (no. 18) possess a prefixed element *kw-*, as is clearly shown by the corresponding Tsimshian terms *sle's*, *txa'w'* and *den's*.<sup>2</sup> The prefix is not listed by Boas in his grammar, but it seems not unlikely that it is identical with the *gu-* of *guliks-* "backward; also reflexive object,"<sup>3</sup> the second element of which can hardly be other than the prefix *laks-* "strange, different, by itself."<sup>4</sup> This analysis makes it at least possible that *kw-* is a reciprocal prefix: "each other." The terms *kwvtxa'w'* "cross-cousin" and *kwvdji'c* "woman's sister-in-law" are, indeed, directly reciprocal terms; while *kwvcl'i'c* "child of sibling of opposite sex to speaker," though not strictly a reciprocal term, does involve what might be called "sex reciprocity" between the speaker and the connecting link.

It is barely possible that *kwvtxa'w'* (no. 14) contains, besides, the common prefix *txa-* "entirely, all,"<sup>5</sup> and that the stem proper is *-'w'*. If this is so, the term may originally have been a reciprocal collective: "all cousins to one another." A stem *-'w'* would make the vocative *'w'w's* appear somewhat less enigmatic.

*nvwlvwlä'icku* (no. 29) is obviously a reduplicated form of *wilä'icku* (no. 28), preceded by a prefixed element *nv-*, which is either a phonetically weakened form of reciprocal *nv-* "each other, one another,"<sup>6</sup> or another example of the relationship prefix *nv-* already discussed.

The vocative *dä't'* (no. 9) shows a reduplicated form of the stem analogous to *p'i'p'* (no. 8).

<sup>1</sup> The hypothesis here advanced seems fairly unpalatable from the purely Tsimshian standpoint. I hope, at some future time, to adduce certain comparative linguistic evidence that serves materially to strengthen it.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1916, p. 493. Boas' Tsimshian grammar is excellent, but does not correspond to my own.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 323, no. 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 327, no. 133.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 318, no. 93.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 319, no. 95.

## III. DISCUSSION OF TERMS

1. A considerable proportion of the terms are indifferently used as regards the sex of the person designated (nos. 1, 4, 7, 10, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29). Others explicitly refer to the sex of the person designated (nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26). In a few cases the sex is fixed in opposition to the sex of the speaker (nos. 13, 19). In nos. 7a and b, 10a and b, and 16a and b the explicit sex reference is a purely secondary feature.

2. In a considerable number of cases the sex of the speaker is taken account of. These are: nos. 5 (in vocative), 10, 11, 12, 13 (conditionally), 17, 18, 19 (conditionally), 20, 21, 22 (conditionally), 27.

3. The sex of a connecting relative or of connecting relatives is considered in nos. 5 ("father's brother"), 6 ("mother's sister"), 7 ("child of sibling of same sex as speaker"), 8, 9, 10 (conditionally), 11 ("nephew, niece"), 12 ("nephew, niece"), 13 ("nephew, niece"), 14, 17 (conditionally), 18 (conditionally), 19 (conditionally), 20 (conditionally), 21 (conditionally), 22 (conditionally), 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 (conditionally). It is particularly noteworthy that the sex of the connecting relative (father's or son's generation) does not count in nos. 2, 3, and 4.

4. Reciprocity is illustrated in nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 28, 29. Not counting the last two terms, which are hardly relationship terms proper, it will be noticed that all these reciprocal terms, except *lämc* (no. 16), are terms of the same generation. Reciprocity in nomenclature does not obtain, as it so often does in America, between grandparents and grandchildren, nor between uncle-aunts and nephew-nieces.

5. The distribution of the terms for "uncle" and "aunt" and, reciprocally, for "nephew" and "niece" is conditioned by whether or not the siblings of the older generation are of the same sex. If they are, the "uncle" is merged with "father" (no. 5), the "aunt" with "mother" (no. 6), the "nephew" or "niece" with "child" (no. 7). If not, special terms are used, "paternal aunt" (no. 9), "maternal uncle" (no. 8), and "cross-sibling's<sup>1</sup> child"

<sup>1</sup> "Cross-sibling" means "woman's brother" or "man's sister."

(no. 10). A natural consequence of this distribution of terms is the classification of cousins into "siblings" (nos. 11, 12, 13) and "cross-cousins" (no. 14). Whether these facts are explainable on the basis of the exogamic phratry organization of the Tsimshian tribes, as would be currently assumed, or of the levirate, is not clear. Perhaps neither factor is the historically primary cause.

6. The distribution of terms for "uncle's *or* aunt's spouse" and, reciprocally, for "spouse's niece *or* nephew" is somewhat curious. The maternal aunt's husband is classed with the father (no. 5); reciprocally, the wife's sister's child with one's own child (no. 7). The paternal aunt's husband is designated by a descriptive term, "husband of paternal aunt" (no. 26), to which corresponds, as reciprocal, a descriptive term, "cross-sibling's-child of wife" (no. 27). The maternal uncle's wife is classed with the paternal aunt (no. 9); reciprocally, the husband's sister's child is classed with one's cross-sibling's child (no. 10). Finally, the paternal uncle's wife is classed with the mother (no. 25); the corresponding reciprocal term for the husband's brother's child is classed with one's own child (no. 7).

7. Somewhat unexpected is the distribution of terms for "sibling's child-in-law" and, reciprocally, for "parent-in-law's sibling." The child-in-law of the brother or sister is consistently designated by purely descriptive terms (nos. 20, 21, 22). The reciprocals, however, are only partly analogous. The sister of the parent-in-law is descriptively defined (nos. 23, 24), but the brother of the parent-in-law is merged with the parent-in-law (no. 16).

8. The fairly extended use of transparent descriptive terms (cf. English "father-in-law") is noteworthy (nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27). Analogous formations occur further south in Washo and in certain Shoshonean systems. That these terms are to be looked upon as genuine terms of relationship, not merely as formations *ad hoc*, seems to be indicated by the fact that their range of actual significance is more restricted than that of their etymological significance (see note to no. 23; also supplementary note 3, p. 261). Thus *gimxdul lä'mc-i'* "my father-in-law's sister" (no. 23) has a far wider etymological significance, as it might also refer to "my



son-in-law's sister, daughter-in-law's brother, mother-in-law's brother." Of these three relationships, however, the first two fall outside the circle of recognized affinity, while the third is merged with the parent-in-law.

Summarizing the most striking peculiarities of the Nass River system of terms of relationship, we may point out that it:

1. Makes considerable, but by no means exhaustive, use of the principles of reciprocity and of sex differences in speaker, person designated, and connecting link.
2. Rather frequently merges lineal with collateral kindred.
3. Confuses, to at least some extent, relations of affinity with relations of consanguinity.
4. Makes some use of transparently descriptive terms.
5. At no point recognizes the principle of seniority which is all but universal in aboriginal America (e.g., "older brother" and "younger brother").
6. Possesses a number of distinctive vocative terms.

#### IV. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES DUE TO MR. P. C. CALDER

To 1. Neither Mr. Calder nor Mr. Matheson seemed very familiar with the term 'o''ls. "Grandfather" and "grandmother" are generally used instead. Mr. Calder has heard 'o''ls' used among the *Gutlaxt'ä'mike* band, further up the river, and is inclined to think that the term was originally confined to the upper villages, there having been old dialectic differences among the Nass River people that are now ironed out. This hardly seems likely in view of the fact that the term 'o''ls was easily remembered by Chief Barton, of Kincolith, which is at the very mouth of the river, and has been obtained for Tsimshian proper by Dr. Boas (through Nahum Tate) and by Mr. Beynon. When the Tsimshian terms were obtained, Mr. Matheson remembered hearing 'o''ls used in his childhood for "great-grandmother," but was not certain whether it also applied to "great-grandfather." Mr. Calder claimed that if it was necessary to distinguish the "great-grandparent" from the "grandparent," it could be done by referring to the latter as "my great grandfather" ('wi't'e'sim niye'e'i) or "my great grandmother"

(*'wi't'e'sim nt'se't'si*). It is difficult to believe that these phrases are anything but modern imitations of the English terms, though Mr. Calder claimed they were old Nass River usages.

To 2, 3. Mr. Calder claimed that in the old days the maternal and paternal grandparents were distinguished, but he does not remember how this was done.

To 5. The term *pä'p'* can also be used with the possessive suffix: *pä'bi'* "my father" (male speaking), but only as a vocative, not as a term of reference. The term *hädi''i* evidently has the first person singular possessive suffix. Mr. Calder fancied this term was derived from *hä't'*, the word for "intestines," but this is simply an example of folk-etymology. Mr. Matheson gave similar folk-etymologies for the Tsimshian terms for "grandfather" and "grandmother," which he has learned from an old Tsimshian. Both of these Indians claimed that the older members of their tribes knew the "real" meanings, *i.e.*, the supposed etymologies, of all the kinship terms. The existence of such folk-etymologies for kinship terms is itself an interesting fact. The probable etymology of *hädi''i* has been suggested to me by Miss Theresa Mayer. The fact that the same non-vocative form for "father" is used by both males and females in Nass River and Tsimshian (Dr. Boas states that Tsimshian *a'b* is used by women only for "father," but this is incorrect; *ä'bo* "my father" is an obsolescent term indicating great respect and used by both sexes) and, further, the fact that the Tsimshian vocative does not seem to distinguish the sex of the speaker make it likely that the Nass River usage is a secondary one. The word *hädi''i* cannot be explained by reference to anything else in Nass River or Tsimshian. It is altogether likely that it is simply borrowed from the Haida vocative *hä'da''i*, used by a female child in addressing its father. This term is evidently simplified from the regular vocative, *xa'da''i*, of Haida *xa't-pa*, *xa'd-*, the term for "father of female." The Haida differentiation of "father" according to the sex of the child applies to both vocative and non-vocative forms. This would be but one of several facts tending to show that the Haida had closer cultural relations with the Nass River people than with the Tsimshian proper. The Nass

River problem is complicated by the existence of a phonetically similar term in Upper Lillooet: *hă'te* "father" (vocative only, apparently for both sexes).

To 6. This term includes also the "father's brother's wife." No. 25 rests on a misunderstanding. The term *nɔ'x<sup>ai</sup>* (*nɔ'x<sup>i</sup>*) is simply a diminutive or endearing form of the more formal *nɔ''i*. This *nɔ'x<sup>ai</sup>* "my little mother" is not only used endearingly for the mother, mother's sister, and father's brother's wife, but also, by a curious reciprocal usage, for the child or grandchild of an affectionate mother or grandmother. In the latter sense it can only be used by a female.

To 7a, 7b. The term *nă''ä't* is also used in a wider sense. It may be employed by any man or woman in addressing a male to express great regard and affection. The term *dä't* is used analogously, except that it may be employed by a woman only. There are also two terms of reference, not used as vocative or with possessive suffixes, for "boy, son" and "girl, daughter." From birth up to the time that he is given a name, the son of a family is referred to as *gine''s*; from birth up to the time that the first mark is made on her lower lip for the eventual insertion of a labret, the daughter is known as *'axq'e't's*, literally "without a labret mark." These terms are paralleled by the Tsimshian *gine''s* and *qa''s*.

To 15. According to Mr. Calder, *nă c* is not used as a vocative. The proper vocative usage for "spouse" is a teknonymous one. If the mother has a son or daughter young enough to be referred to as *gine''s* or *'axq'e't's*, her husband will address her as *nɔxc gine''s* or *nɔxc 'axq'e't's*, "mother of the boy!" or "mother of the girl!" Analogously, the wife will address her husband as *nəgwɔ''t's gine''s* or *nəgwɔ''t's 'axq'e't's*, "father of the boy!" or "father of the girl!" When the spouses no longer have a son or daughter young enough to be referred to as *gine''s* or *'axq'e't's*, they address each other as "father of so and so!" or "mother of so and so!", using the name of one or the other of their sons or daughters.

To 25. This term, as already noted, is simply a form of the word for "mother." See preceding note and note to 6.



To 28, 29. These terms were misunderstood. No. 29 is merely a collective form of 28; its meaning is "relatives all together." The terms do not specifically refer to blood-relatives, but apply to all relations, whether by blood or marriage. If necessary, the blood-relative may be distinguished as *lɔp-eda''ab*, "self relative, relative *par excellence*."

### Editorial Note

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## A Haida Kinship Term Among the Tsimshian

On page 269 of the *American Anthropologist* for 1920 (No. 3) I suggested that the Nass River vocative *hadv* "father," used by female [234] children only, was borrowed from the corresponding Haida term *ha-da-i*. Since this statement was published, I have received a note from Mr. William Beynon, a Tsimshian of Port Simpson, B.C., which turns the hypothesis into a practical certainty. He writes:

"Your theory, I am sure, is correct. I was struck by this term being used only by the female children of Haida parents, three of maternal descent and one paternal. These have been adopted into the Tsimshian tribes. *ha'ot* and *hadi* are the terms used by these female children to their fathers. On making inquiries among them as to the reason the term was not general among all the Tsimshian, [I learned that it was not a true Tsimshian word] but was a term introduced by those of Haida origin. There are only four such families there, but strong enough to show or bear out your theory on this."

This is an excellent example of infiltration into a tribe of a kinship usage from an alien tribe by way of intermarriage and adoption. Among the Tsimshian proper the Haida term is still felt as an intrusive element. Among the Nass River people it has already become so well established as a native term that an Indian like Mr. Calder is totally unaware of its Haida origin and proposes to connect it with the native term for "intestines."

### Editorial Note

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## Guardian Spirit Experiences of the West Coast Tribes

Ottawa, Ont.

June 25, 1922

Dear Mrs. Benedict,

I read your paper yesterday<sup>1</sup> in one breath, interrupted by supper, most necessary of distractions, only. Let me congratulate you on having produced a very fine piece of research. It makes a notable addition to the body of historical critiques that anthropology owes to Boas. I put it with such papers as Goldenweiser's "Totemism"<sup>2</sup> and Waterman's "Exploratory Element in American Mythology"<sup>3</sup> except that it impresses me as being decidedly more inspiring than either of these. A logical sequel (but one never works logically) is another paper on the historical development of the guardian spirit in a particular area, the idea being to show how the particular elements crystallized into the characteristic pattern. This "how" would involve consideration of some of the more general behavior patterns of the area or tribe and should perhaps show, unless you balk at psychology under all circumstances, how the crystallization could form a suitable frame for adequate individual expression. There is room somewhere for psychology -- not so much as cultural determinant as incidental, but important, cultural content (or, better, utilization). Or do you take the extreme view (perhaps justifiable enough) that no matter what patterns rise, no matter how unsuitable they seem *a priori* for the guidance of human behavior, human psychology [50] can and does accommodate itself to them as it accommodates itself to practically any physical environment? Culture then becomes merely environment for the individual psyche and can be made as much or as little of as this psyche pleases (or is allowed by its nature). And, conversely, culture, being historically moulded "environment" for individual living, can take no account whatever of the facts and theories of psychology. If you take this view, you need never discuss psychology as student of culture, but how then can you "evangelize" either? You would have to be a kind of culture fatalist. I should like to see the problem of individual and group psychology boldly handled, not ignored, by some one who fully understands culture as a historical entity.

I hope you will do just this one of these days in connection with a concrete problem, whether guardian spirit or something else. By the way, a slight error should be corrected: the Pit (not Pitt) River Indians, also known as Achomawi, are in northern California, not southern Oregon. You might change Takelma *gō yō'* to *go yò* (or *goyò*); this is the standard form used in my Takelma Texts<sup>4</sup> and Takelma Grammar<sup>5</sup> (or simply *goyo*, perhaps best of all).

You might get a hint or two for Nootka from my article in "Vancouver Island Indians," just published in the last volume of Hastings' Encyclopedia.<sup>6</sup> I lazily confined myself to Nootka in it and merely gave bibliographical references for the other tribes of the island. It seems to me that for Nootka it would be quite inadequate to look upon the "Wolf Ritual" initiation as *the* equivalent of the typical American guardian spirit experience. (Even in Kwakiutl I am inclined to doubt if Boas' formulation is quite adequate.) Unless I am greatly mistaken, the individual manitou complex is broken up in Nootka into 3 distinct and only partly equivalent patterns. First of all, we have the actual individual experience in the woods or other secluded place. Power is obtained for doctoring (from bird or fish class) or for hunting, fishing, or other pursuit. The aberrant features in Nootka are: a vision is not necessary, but rather actual and accidental waking contact; the manitou is an individual, not a class, and is practically always an abnormal object or folkloristic being (ranging from a blind snake or mysterious hand jutting up out of the ground to centaur-like beings, lightning serpent, wood nymph, or [51] spirit canoe bearing many beings, one for each desirable blessing); the finder is in no way personally identified in a mystical manner with the visitation (even in the case of the doctor, who places his guardian in his breast); the being or phenomenon does not as a rule *grant* a blessing, properly speaking, but is generally killed or grabbed or in some manner physically handled, some part (e.g. half the dried body or the mucus from the nose or what not) being carefully preserved as a kind of amulet. This whole complex is a very much more material, fetichistic sort of thing than the regular guardian spirit experience. Emphasis is placed on the amuletic gift or booty rather than on the mystical power of the blesser. But the complex is reminiscent none the less of your guardian spirit spirit adventure. In both, specific power is gained; in both, the individual acts, on the whole, apart from society; the Nootka fetish is clearly related to the eastern token or bundle (indeed, wrapping and hiding the fetish is essential); both types of experience involve taboos; and, perhaps most interesting of all, neither



experience can be safely rejected (if a Nootka refuses the "gift" of a mysterious object or being, he and his children are liable to suffer misfortune). All in all, the Nootka complex may be looked upon as a materialized or fetichistic degradation of the more typical manitou complex or, possibly, as a more archaic, non-visional form of it (Surely, the Kwakiutl have equivalent experiences.) The second pattern is the ancestral experience, which is a more "poetic," less secretive, variety and concerns itself, as a rule, with more god-like beings (whale, thunder-bird, wolf, shark, sea-otter). These experiences are often associated with visions (or dreams) and constitute the legendary warrant for *topatis* (privileges). Names, songs, legends, paintings, are handed down by virtue of them. Often the whale or other supernatural being is heard singing in its vision and this song becomes a blessing or privilege. A link between the first and second pattern is constituted by the fact that the ancestor often gets a material token (water of life, war-club, piece of lightning serpent's tail), which is handed down in his family, but, alas! has generally been lost some time in the less remote past. One suspects that the old and typical guardian spirit complex has here become split into two patterns: a legendary and sociologized sublimation, under the stress of ideas of rank and privilege and under the stimulation of [52] Northern ideas of crest, and a magical, underground version that keeps its character as individual experience. The third pattern is the "Wolf Ritual" initiation and specific dances (these dances are impersonations of folkloristic beings, of actual animals, and of occupations). These dances correspond to the Kwakiutl Winter Feast performances. What affiliates the Wolf Ritual with the guardian spirit complex is not any blessings the novices obtain (unless the *tro-kwa-na* or "ecstasy" be considered a blessing) but the origin legend of the ritual, which is a decidedly typical manitou-ritual legend. This third pattern, for the Nootka, is certainly the most aberrant of all as a guardian spirit experience, as religious formalism and privilege have taken the individual aspect out of it. However, it is significant that certain of the Wolf Ritual beings are identical with beings from whom amulets may be obtained according to my first pattern, though I doubt if the performance of the dances is actually connected with individual fetish experiences. There is another point which is probably of the greatest historical importance. Among many tribes of the Columbia River valley (e.g. Wasco-Wishram) there are ceremonials in which each dancer represents, without specifically mentioning, his own manitou ("tam-"); there are special songs and pantomimic performances. Now

it is not at all unlikely that the Nootka Wolf Ritual dances and the Kwakiutl Winter Feast dances are a highly specialized or petrified form of such group-manitou performances, the individually acquired manitou being changed into a ritualized and hereditarily owned being. To summarize, pattern 1 is a fetichistic manitou complex; pattern 2, a crest or privilege manitou complex; pattern 3, a ritualized manitou complex. Another offshoot of the group-manitou performance is the contest of rival doctors, who show off their familiars. This type is particularly common among the Washington Coast Salish, and has traveled north from this area to the Nootka (a fourth, shamanistic, manitou complex). The Midewiwin is the most complicated ritual that has grown up on this basis. From the point of view of your guardian spirit-vision complex, one may say the token or bundle is specialized in pattern 1; the vision in pattern 2; the mystic relationship ("ecstasy") and public ritualization, where present, in pattern 3. — But I did not intend to write an article on Nootka manitous. Only, your paper has stimulated me and when it is published, I may overcome my indolence sufficiently [53] to write a brief article for the *Anthropologist* along the lines of my present remarks.

### Editorial Notes

Excerpt from a letter to Ruth Benedict, published in Margaret Mead (ed.), *An Anthropologist at Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959), 49–53. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

1. "The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in America," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 29 (1923).

2. Alexander A. Goldenweiser, "Totemism: An Analytical Study," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 23(88) (1910).

3. T. T. Waterman, "The Explanatory Element in the Folk-tales of the North-American Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 27 (103), 1–54 (1914).

4. *University of Pennsylvania Anthropological Publications* 2, No. 1, 1–263 (1909).

5. "The Takelma Language of Southwestern Oregon," *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40, Pt. 2). Washington: Government Printing Office, 1–296 (1922).

6. James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 591–595 (1922).

## Sayach'apis, a Nootka Trader<sup>11</sup>

Tom is a blind old man,<sup>12</sup> whose staff may be heard any day stumping or splashing along the village street of his tribal reservation, or up or down the hillside that slopes to the smoke-drying huts massed by the Somass river. He is an honored member of the Ts'isha'ath, a Nootka tribe that is now permanently located a few miles up from the head of Alberni Canal, the deepest inlet on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The Ts'isha'ath fishes and harpoons along the river, the length of the "Canal," and down among the hundreds of islands that dot Barkley Sound, the first of the large bays north of Cape Beale that are carved out on the stormy coast line of the island.

Tom's early life was passed at the now abandoned village of Hikwis, whose row of houses looked out upon the main water of the Sound, but for decades he has led an uneventful existence in his river reservation and its vicinity, old summer fishing-grounds that were conquered in the first instance by his people from an alien tribe. Within convenient reach are the slowly booming white men's towns of Alberni and Port Alberni, where one may lay in a supply of biscuits and oranges for a tribal feast, or make periodic complaint to the Indian Agent. Tom is now old and poverty-stricken, but the memory of his former wealth is with his people. The many feasts he has given and the many ceremonial dances and displays he has had performed have all had their desired effect — they have shed luster on his sons and daughters and grandchildren, they have "put his family high" among the Ts'isha'ath tribe, and they have even carried his name to other, distant Nootka tribes, and to tribes on the east coast of the island that are of alien speech. Nowadays he spends much of his time by the fireside, tapping his staff in accompaniment to old ritual tunes that he is never tired of humming.

Tom's present name is Sayach'apis, Stands-up-high-over-all. It is an old man's name of eight generations' standing, that hails from the Hisawist'ath, a now extinct Nootka tribe with which Tom is [298] connected through his father's mother's mother, who was herself a Hisawist'ath on her mother's side. The tribe is extinct, but its personal names, like its songs and legends and distinctive ritualistic ceremonies,



linger on among the neighboring tribes through the fine spun network of inheritance. The name "Stands-up-high-over-all," like practically all Nootka, and indeed all West Coast names, has its legendary background, its own historical warrant. The first Nootka chief to bear the name, obtained it in a dream. He was undergoing ritualistic training in the woods in pursuit of "power" for the attainment of wealth, and had not slept for a long time. At last he fell into a heavy slumber, and this is what he dreamed: The Sky Chief appeared to him and said, "Why are you sleeping, Stands-up-high-over-all? You are not really desirous of getting wealthy, are you? I was about to make you wealthy and to give you the name Stands-up-high-over-all." The ironical touch is a characteristic nuance in these origin legends. And so the name, a supernatural gift, was handed down the generations, now by direct male inheritance, now as a dower to a son-in-law, resident at some village remote from its place of origin. This is the normal manner, actually or in theory, of the transmission of all privileges, and though the owner of a privilege may be a villager a hundred miles or more distant from its historical or legendary home, he has not completely established his right to its use unless he has shown himself, directly or by reference to a speaker acquainted with tribal lore, possessed of the origin legend, the local provenance, and the genealogical tree or "historical" nexus that binds him to the individual, that is believed to have been the first to enjoy the privilege.

Tom did not always have the name of Sayach'apis, nor need he keep it to the end of his days. He assumed it over thirty years ago on the occasion of his great potlatch, a puberty feast in honor of his now deceased oldest daughter. At that time he had the young man's name of Nawe'ik, now borne by his oldest son, Douglas. It is a name belonging to the Nash'as'ath sept or tribal subdivision of the Ts'isha'ath, and was first dreamt by Tom's maternal grandfather. It is thus a name of comparatively recent origin, nor does it possess that aura of noble association that attaches to Tom's present name. Its exact meaning is unknown, but it is said to have been a command — "Come here!" — of a spirit whale, dreamt of by its [299] first possessor. Tom assumed it at a potlatch he gave to his own tribe when he was not yet married. It was just about the time that the discovery of placer gold in the Frazer river was bringing a considerable influx of whites to British Columbia.

Before this, Tom was known as Kunnuh, a Nitinat young man's name, "Wake up!", which is again based on the dream of a spirit whale. The Nitinat Indians are a group of Nootka tribes that occupy the

southwest coast of the island, and Tom's claim to the name and to other Nitinat privileges comes to him through his paternal grandfather, himself a Nitinat Indian. The name originated with his grandfather's father's father's father, who received it in a dream as he was training for "power" in whaling. It was assumed by Tom when he was about ten years of age, at a naming feast given the Ts'isha'ath Indians by his Nitinat grandfather. It displaced the boy's name Ha'wihlkumuktili, "Having-chiefs-behind," this time of true Ts'isha'ath origin and descending to Tom through his paternal grandmother's father's father, who again received the name in a dream from a spirit whale. This ancestor was having much success in whaling and, becoming exceedingly wealthy, was "leaving other chiefs behind him." Tom was given the name at an ordinary feast by his paternal grandfather.

The earliest name that Tom remembers having is Tl'ititsawa, "Getting-whale-skin."<sup>[3]</sup> When the great chief Hohenikwop had his whale booty towed to shore, the little boys used to come to the beach for slices of whale skin, so he made up the name of "Getting-whale-skin" for his son. The right to use it was inherited by his oldest son, but was also passed on to the chief's younger sister, who brought it as a dowry to the father of Tom's paternal grandfather. Tom himself received the name on the occasion of a mourning potlatch given by his paternal grandfather in honor of his son. Tom's father, who had died not long before. Before this, Tom had a child's nickname, in other words, a name bestowed not out of the inherited stock of names claimed by his parents, but created on the spot for any chance reason whatever. Such nicknames have no ceremonial value, are not privileges, and are therefore not handed down as an inheritance or transferred as a dowry. Tom has forgotten what his nickname was.

At the very outset, in the mere consideration of what Tom has [300] called himself at various times, we are introduced to the two great social forces that give atmosphere to Nootka life. The first of these is privilege, the right to something of value,<sup>[4]</sup> practical or ceremonial. Such a privilege is called "topati" by the Indians, and one cannot penetrate very far into their life or beliefs without stumbling upon one topati after another. The second is the network of descent and kinship relation that determines the status of the North West Coast Indian,<sup>[5]</sup> not merely as a tribesman once for all, but in reference to his claim to share in any activity of moment. The threads of the genealogical past are wound tightly about the North West Coastman, he is himself a traditional

composite of social features that belong to diverse localities, and involve him in diverse kinship relations.

As far back, then, as he can remember, Tom has been steeped in an atmosphere of privilege, of rank, of conflicting claims to this or that coveted right. As far back as he can remember, he has heard remarks like this: "Old man Tootooch has no right to have such and such a particular Thunder-bird dance performed at his potlatches. His claim to it is not clear. In my grandfather's days men were killed for less than that, and the head chief of the Ahous'ath tribe, who has the primary claim to the dance, would have called him sharply to order." But he has also heard Tootooch vigorously support his claim with arguments, genealogical and other, that no one quite knows the right or wrong of. And as far back as he can remember, Tom has been accustomed to think of himself not merely as a Ts'isha'ath, though he is primarily that by residence and immediate descent, but as a participant in the traditions, in the social atmosphere, of several other Nootka tribes. He has always known where to look for his remoter kinsmen, dwelling in villages that are dotted here and there on a long coast line.

The first few years of Tom's life were spent in a "cradle" of basketry, in which he was tightly swathed by sundry wrappings and braids of the soft, beaten inner bark of the cedar. Even now he has a vague recollection of looking out over the sea from the erect vantage of a cradling basket, looped behind his mother's shoulders. He also thinks he remembers crying bitterly one time when left all by himself in the basket, stood up on end against the butt of a willow tree, while his mother and four or five other women had strayed off [301] to dig for edible clover roots with their hard, pointed digging-sticks.

During the cradling period, Tom was having his head, or rather his forehead, gradually flattened by means of cedar-bark pads, and the upper and lower parts of his legs were bandaged so as to allow the calves to bulge. The Indians believe that they do not like big foreheads and slim legs, nor do they approve of wide eyebrows, which are narrowed, if necessary, by plucking out some of the hairs. Later on in life Tom was less particular about his natural appearance, having been well "fixed" by his mother in infancy. Like the other men of his tribe, he has never bothered to pluck out the scanty growth of hair on his face. Some of the Indians of Tom's acquaintance have tattooed themselves, generally on the breast, with designs referring to their hunting experiences, or to crest privileges — a quarter-moon or a sea lion or a pair of Thunder-birds, — but Tom has never bothered to do this. Aside



from the head-flattening of infancy, Tom has never had any portion of his body mutilated, unless the perforation of his ears and the septum of his nose, for the attachment of ear and nose pendants of the bright rainbow-like abalone, strung by sinew threads, be considered a mutilation. These pendants, which he and other Indians have long discarded, were worn purely for ornament; they had no importance as ceremonial insignia.

In spite of the fact that neither razor nor tweezers have ever smoothed out the hairy surface of his face, Tom has not altogether neglected the care of his body. To prevent chapping, he has often rubbed himself with tallow and red paint, and in his younger days he was in the habit of keeping himself in good condition by a cold plunge, at daybreak, in river or sea. The vigorous rubbing down with hemlock branches which followed, until the skin all tingled red, helped to give tone to his body. He could not afford to miss the plunge and rub-down for more than two or three days at a time, if only because to have done so would have brought upon him the contempt and derision of his comrades. No aspiring young hunter of the seal and the sea lion could allow himself to be called a woman. In the course of his long life Tom has painted his face in a great variety of ways, whether for festive occasions, or in the private quest of supernatural power in some secluded spot in the woods. Some of these face paints — and there are hundreds of them in use among the Nootka — are geometrical patterns, others are emblematic [302] of supernatural beings and animals. Many of them, like the songs and dances with which they are associated, are looked upon as valuable privileges.

It is long since Tom has worn or seen worn native costume — what little there was of it — but he distinctly remembers the blankets and cedar-bark garments that his people wore when he was a boy and, indeed, well on into his days of manhood. The heavy rains of the Coast, and the constant necessity of splashing in and out of the canoes along the beach, made tight-fitting garments and cumbrous foot- and leg-wear undesirable. The Nootka Indians wore no clinging shirts or leggings or moccasins. They are a barefoot and a bare-legged people. Those of the men who could afford more than a breechelout wore a blanket robe loosely thrown about the body, either a hide — of bear or the far more valuable sea otter — or a woven blanket, whether of the inner-bark strands of the “yellow cedar” or the long, fleecy hair of the native dogs. The women wore cedar-bark “petticoats,” which are nothing but loosely fitting girdles, fringed with long tassels of cedar bark. In rainy weather,

they also wore woven hats of cedar-bark strands or split root fibers, round topped and cone-like. When the weather was thick and heavy with rain — and this happens often enough in the winter — both men and women wore raincoats of cedar bark or rush matting. The children ran about completely naked.

The food that Tom was accustomed to in his early days did not differ materially from his present fare. It was then, and is now, chiefly fish — boiled, steam-baked, spit-roasted, or smoked. In all his early haunts, in the houses and along the beach, everywhere he was immersed in grateful, fishy odors. From the earliest time that he can remember anything at all, he has been daily confronted by some aspect of the life of a fishing people, whether it be the catching of salmon trout by the boys with their two-barbed fish spears; or the spearing or trolling or netting of salmon by the older men; or the getting in the sea of herrings with herring rakes, of halibut with the peculiar, gracefully bent halibut hooks that every Indian even now has kicking around in his box of odds and ends, of cod with twirling decoys and spears that have two prongs of unequal length — “older” and “younger”; or the hanging up of salmon in rows to dry in the smoke houses, so that this all-important fish may still contribute his [303] share of the food supply, long after the last salmon of the late fall has ceased to run; or the splitting up of the salmon by the women as a first preliminary to cooking; or any one of the hundreds of other scenes that make of a fisher folk a fish-handling and a fish-eating people.

Second in importance to fish are the various varieties of edible shellfish and other soft bodied inhabitants of the sea — mussels and clams and sea urchins, sea cucumbers, and octopuses. The flesh of the octopus or “devil-fish,” though not an important article of food, was considered quite a dainty, and feasts were often given in which it figured as a special feature, like crab apples or like the apples or oranges of present-day feasts. Far more important than these mushy foods, though probably subsidiary, on the whole, to salmon and other fish, was the flesh of sea mammals — the humpbacked whale, the California whale, the sea otter, the sea lion, and, most important of all, the hair seal.

Tom has harpooned his fill of seals in the course of his life and, like most other Nootka men of the last generation, has done a considerable amount of commercial sealing for white firms in Behring Sea. He has caught a few sea otters, which are now all but extinct, but no sea lions or whales, though he claims to have the hereditary privilege to hunt these animals, and to possess the indispensable magical knowledge



without which their quest is believed by the Nootka to be doomed to failure.

Boiled whale and seal meat were highly prized and there was no more joyous event to break the monotony of tribal life than the towing to shore of a harpooned whale, or the drifting to shore of a whale carcass. In either case the flensing knives were quickly got ready, the carcass cut up, and feasts held in the village. Tom remembers how excitedly — he was then but a boy of ten or so — he once reported the appearance of a drifting whale carcass a quarter-mile from shore, how the whole village rushed into its canoes, and how they laboriously floated it on to the sandy beach, with their stout lanyards of cedar rope wound with nettle-fiber. The whale was cut up carefully, under the direction of a "measurer" into its traditionally determined portions, which were then distributed, according to hereditary right, to those entitled to receive them. Tom himself got the meat about the navel as a reward for his find. There was [304] an unusual amount of whale oil tried out that time, and the fires at the feasts leaped higher than ever as the oil was thrown upon them, lighting up in lurid flashes the house posts carved into the likenesses of legendary ancestors.

Tom ate very little meat of land animals in his early days. Indeed, like most of the Coast people, he had a prejudice against deer meat and it was not until, as a middle-aged man, he had come into contact with some of the deer-hunting tribes of the interior of the island, that he learned to prize it, though even to this day venison has not for him the toothsome appeal of a chunk of whale meat. Fish and meat were the staples, yet not the only foods. The women dug up a variety of edible roots such as clover and fern root, which made a welcome change, while blackberries, salmon berries, soapberries, and other varieties, frequently dried and pressed for winter consumption, added a sweetening to the somewhat monotonous fare. One relish Tom has never learned to enjoy — salt. All the older Nootka Indians detest salt in their food.

As Tom grew up, he became initiated into the chief handicrafts of his tribe. He got to be rather skillful at working in wood, both the soft red cedar and the hard yew and spiraea, familiarizing himself with the various wood-working processes — felling trees with wedges and stone hammers, splitting out planks, smoothing with adzes, drilling, handling the curved knife, steaming, and bending by the "kerling" or notching process. Even in his youngest years, iron-bladed and iron-pointed tools had almost completely replaced the aboriginal implements of stone and shell, but the forms themselves, of the manufactured objects, underwent



little or no modification down to the present day. In the course of his long life Tom has made hundreds of wooden articles of use — boxes with telescoping lids, paddles, bailers, fish clubbers, adze handles, ladles, bows, arrow shafts, fire drills, latrines, root diggers, fish spears, and shafts for sealing and whaling harpoons. He has also assisted in making dugout canoes, and has often prepared and put in position the heavy posts and beams of the large quadrangular houses that were still being built in his youth. On the other hand, Tom has never developed much aptitude in the artistic decoration of objects. Such things as paintings on house boards and paddles, or realistic carvings in masks, rattles, ornamental fish clubbers and house posts, are rather [305] beyond his power and have had to be made for him, when required, by others more clever than himself. The one thing that Tom grew to be most proficient in was the preparation of house planks of desired lengths and widths. When he was a young man, he would travel about in canoes from village to village with the stock of planks he had on hand, and trade them for blankets, strings of dentalium shells, dried fish, whale oil, and other exchangeable commodities. It was through trading, rather than through personal success in fishing or hunting, that Tom amassed in time a considerable share of wealth, and it was through his wealth and the opportunity it gave him to make lavish distributions at potlatches or feasts, rather than through nobility of blood, that he came to occupy his present honorable position among his tribesmen.

While Tom and the other men, when they were not busy “potlatching” or visiting some relative, or taking a run down to Victoria, were engaged in fishing and sea mammal hunting and wood-working, the women prepared the food, dug for edible roots, gathered clams, and spent what time they could spare from these and similar tasks in the weaving and plaiting of blankets, matting, and baskets. What receptacles were not of wood were of basketry, while mats of various sorts did duty for tables, hangings, and carpeting. The materials of these baskets and mats, the omnipresent cedar bark and the rush, frayed easily, so that the women were kept constantly busy replenishing the household stock. Even now one can hardly enter a Nootka house without seeing one or more of the women twilling mats and baskets with strips of softened cedar bark or twining the cedar-bark strands into cordage and bags, or threading a rush mat with the long needles<sup>[6]</sup> of polished spiraea. In the old days, there was always in the house a great clatter of breaking up the raw, yellow cedar bark with the corrugated bark beaters of bone of whale, and of loosening up the hard strips of red cedar bark into fibrous

masses with the half-moon shredders. The women could work up the bark into almost any degree of fineness: indeed, the cedar-bark "wool" that was used to pad the cradles is almost as soft and fluffy in feel as down or cotton batting. When Tom was a boy, the women made only plain, unornamented baskets, whether twined or twilled, and ornamented the mats with sober, but effective lines of alder-dyed red and mud-dyed black. Since then, however, they [306] have taken to making also trinket baskets and plaques of the peculiar<sup>11</sup> wrapped weave, beautifully ornamented with realistic and geometrical designs in black and white weft of grass. This art came to Tom's people from the Nitinats or Southern Nootka, who in turn owe it to the Makah of Cape Flattery. Trade with the whites is the chief incentive in the making of these finer specimens of basketry.

Nowadays the Nootka live in small frame houses, a family, in our narrower sense of the word, to a house. It was not so when Tom was young. The village of Hikwis, in which he was raised, consisted of a row of long plank houses, each constructed on a heavy quadrangular frame of posts, which were the trimmed trunks of cedars, and of crossbeams of circular section resting on the posts. The roofing and walls were of cedar planks, running lengthwise of the house. The floor was the bare earth, stamped smooth, and a slightly raised platform ran along the rear and the long sides of the house. On the inner floor one or more fires were built, the smoke escaping through openings in the roof, provided by merely shoving a roofing plank or two to a side. Tom early learned not to stand erect in the house any more than he could help. The smoke circulating in the upper reaches of the house, particularly in rainy weather when the smoke-hole rafters were closed, was trying to the eyes, and people found it convenient to sit or crouch on the floor as much as possible. Some of the houses, like the one in which Tom was brought up, had paintings or carvings referring to the crests or legendary escutcheons of the chief of the tribe, tribal subdivision, or house group. In Tom's house the main escutcheons were two Thunderbirds, face to face, painted on the outside of the wall planks, a series of round holes cut in the roof, and one in front that served as a door, all representing moons; and paintings of wolves on the boards that ran below the platforms. The chief of the house group, together with his immediate family, occupied the rear of the house; other families of lesser rank, kin to the chief by junior lines of descent, occupied various positions along the sides. Slaves were also housed in the long communal dwelling. They were not, like the middle class, undistinguished relations

of the chief's families, but strangers, captured in war or bartered off like any chattels. The [307] mat beds of the individual families were made on the platforms and were screened off from one another as required.

In such a house Tom early learned his exact relationship to all his kinsmen. He soon learned also the degree of his relationship to the neighboring house groups. He applied the terms "brother" and "sister" not only to his immediate brothers and sisters but to his cousins, near and remote, of the same generation. He distinguished, among all these remoter brothers and sisters, "older" and "younger," not according to their actual ages in relation to his own, but according to whether they belonged to lines of descent that were senior or junior to his own. Primogeniture, he gradually learned, both of self and progenitor, meant superiority in rank and privilege. Hence the terms "older" and "younger," almost from the beginning, took on a powerful secondary tinge of "superior" and "inferior." The absurdity of calling some little girl cousin, perhaps ten years his junior, his "older sister" was for him immensely less evident because of his ever present consciousness of her higher rank. As Tom grew older, he became cognizant of an astonishing number of uncles and aunts, grandfathers and grandmothers, of endless brothers-in-law — far and near. He was very much at home in the world. Wherever he turned, he could say, "Younger brother, come here!" or "Grandfather, let me have this." The personal names of most of his acquaintances were hardly more than tags for calling out at a distance, or at ceremonial gatherings.

Along with his feeling of personal relationship to individuals there grew up in Tom a consciousness of the existence of tribal subdivisions in the village. The Ts'isha'ath tribe, with which he was identified by residence, kinship, and upbringing, proved really to be a cluster of various smaller tribal units, of which the Ts'isha'ath, that gave their name to the whole, were the leading group. The other subdivisions were originally independent tribes that had lost their isolated distinctness through conquest, weakening in numbers, or friendly removal and union. Each of the tribal subdivisions or "septs" had its own stock of legends, its distinctive privileges, its own houses in the village, its old village sites and distinctive fishing and hunting waters that were still remembered in detail by its members. While the septs now lived together as a single tribe, [308] the basis of the sept division was really a traditional local one. The sept grouping was perhaps most markedly brought to light at ceremonial gatherings. Tom learned in time that of



all the honored seats recognized at a feast, a certain number of contiguous seats in the rear of the house belonged to representatives of the Ts'isha'ath sept, a certain number of others at the right corner in the rear to those of another sept, and so on. Thus, the proper ranking of the septs was ever kept before the eye by the definite assignment of seats of higher and lower rank.

But it must not be supposed that Tom's childhood and youth were spent entirely in work and in the acquirement of social and ceremonial knowledge. On the contrary, what interested him at least as much as sociology was play. He spun his tops — rather clumsy looking, two-pegged tops they were — threw his gaming spears in the spear and grass game and in the hoop-rolling game, hit feathered billets with a flat bat, threw beaver teeth dice (though this was chiefly a woman's game), and, when he grew older, took part in the favorite game of "lehal," the almost universal Western American guessing game, played with two or four gambling bones to the accompaniment of stirring songs. More properly belonging to the domain of sport was the somewhat dangerous game of canoe-upsetting, in which the contestants upset their canoes and quickly righted them at a hand-clap signal. This was an especially favored game of Tom's. All through his life, up to the time that he lost his sight, he was as instinctively familiar with the run of water, the dip and lurch of a canoe, and the turn of a paddle, as with the movements of walking on the land. Indeed, for days on end, at certain seasons, his life flowed on insistently to the very rhythm of rising and falling wave.

In at least one class of activities and beliefs Tom constantly received definite instruction from his father and maternal uncle. This was the world of unseen things, the mysterious domain of magic, of supernaturally compelling act and of preventive tabu. There were hundreds of things he must be careful to do or to avoid if he would have success in hunting and fishing, if he would be certain that unseen but ever present powers favor him in his pursuits or, at the least, desist from visiting harm upon him. He must be particularly careful not to anger the supernatural powers, among whom are to be counted [309] the fish and mammals of the sea, by contamination with unclean things — and most obnoxious of all unclean things is the presence or influence of a menstruating or pregnant woman. For instance, a sealer or hunter of sea lions must not drag his canoe down to the water's edge, but have it carried over, as otherwise it might run over offal or some spot through which a menstruating woman had passed, and thus carry with it a scent that would frighten away the game. And one must be careful about his

speech when hunting on the sea. A curious example of this is the fiction by which fur seal hunting is spoken of as gathering driftwood, the fur seal himself being referred to as "the one that sits yonder under a tree." It would not do to let him know too precisely what is going on while he is being hunted! The various tabus that Tom has learnt and practised in the course of his life are almost without number, and his practical success and longevity he ascribes in no small measure to his religious observance of them all.

The tabus are largely preventive measures. But Tom learned that there are more positive ways of working one's will in the world of magic. One of these is the use of certain amulets on the person, hidden in the house or woods, or in connection with hunting and fishing implements. As a general good-luck amulet, Tom was fond of wearing in his hat the spine of the "rat-fish." When his father was about to die, he called Tom to him and whispered in his ear an important secret. This was that the chief life-guarding amulet of the family had been a fire drill that was secreted at the bottom of an old box filled with all sorts of odds and ends. Its efficacy depended largely on the fact that hardly anybody knew of it. In general, secrecy helps tremendously in the power of all magic objects and formulae. An Indian likes to withhold as much as possible, even from his nearest kin, until economic urgency or the approach of death compels him to transmit the magical knowledge to some one that is near and dear to him. Some of his most powerful amulets Tom would secrete in the canoe or hide under the cherry bark wrappings around the hafts of his hunting spears. These amulets were of all sorts, but chiefly fragments of supernatural animals — blind snakes, crabs, spiders, or the like — obtained in the woods.

Some men are fortunate in getting power for hunting, fishing, wealth, love, doctoring, witchcraft, or whatever it may be, from [310] supernatural beings or visitations. Amulets are often obtained in connection with these experiences, which regularly take place in mysterious or out-of-the-way places — the open sea, a remote island, the summit of a mountain, the heart of the woods, — and of all mysteries, it is the mystery of the dark woods that most fascinates and inspires with dread the coast villager, so much at home on the sandy beach and on open sea spaces. The supernatural givers of power are a variegated and grotesque lot — mysterious hands pointing up out of the earth; the scaly, knife-tongued, lightning serpent; fairy-like beings; treacherous tree nymphs; hobgoblins; ogres; and strange hybrid animals that seem to have stepped out of nightmares. All these denizens of the supernatural



world have power to bestow that may not with impunity be refused. This power, once obtained, must be carefully husbanded by the observance of requisite tabus.

Tom has not had as many supernatural experiences as some men, but he has nevertheless been favored by two or three striking visitations. A gnome-like being of the beneficent, wealth-giving class known as Chimimis, once appeared to him as he was sitting out at dusk in company with two other men. Though these companions had their eyes directed at the Chimimis, they could not perceive him. Tom alone, speechless with astonishment, saw him place two spears on the roof of the house, walk off to the neighboring house, and disappear, so it seemed, in a log. When Tom came to himself, he scraped off those parts of the spear shafts that the hand of the Chimimis had gripped. He preserved the scrapings as an amulet and, in time, became one of the wealthiest men of his tribe.

At another time Tom obtained power from a supernatural being known as "Full-eyed," a diminutive, brownie-like creature. He was lying very ill in the house, gazing steadfastly at the fire, when the popping up of a little cinder caused him to raise his eyes. He saw what seemed to be a child circling the fire in a counter-clockwise direction, which is the exact opposite of the Nootka direction in dancing. He knew immediately that it was Full-eyed. The brownie carried a small storage basket on his breast, and picked up from the floor anything he could lay his hands on. Though Tom had been unable to sit up straight, this supernatural experience infused him with such sudden strength that he was now easily able to sit up. He believed also that, from this time on, wealth rolled into his house [311] more rapidly than ever. The third of Tom's supernatural experiences was less striking than the other two, but apparently equally potent in its practical results. Tom was reclining on the sleeping platform of the house, in the dead of winter, when he observed a strange thing in one of the storage baskets on the box that marked the head of his bed. He noticed that a big black humblebee gave birth to an infant bee. This seemed remarkable and evidently significant in view of the fact that the young bees ordinarily come into being in the summer, only. Because Tom was sole witness to so strange an occurrence, he was more than ever favored in the accumulation of wealth.

Such extraordinary occurrences as these are clearly in the nature of accidents; they cannot be relied upon for the necessary aid in the successful prosecution of life's work. The standard, and on the whole,



the most useful means of securing this necessary aid is by the performance of secret rituals. Nothing came to one who did not undergo considerable hardship in training. This Tom learned early in life. If he wished to be a successful fisherman, or a hunter of sea mammals, or a land hunter, he had to retire at certain seasons to secret places in the woods, known only to the respective families that frequented them. Here, for days on end, he would bathe, rub himself down with hemlock branches until the skin tingled with pain, pray to the Sky Chief for long life and success, and, most important of all, carry out secret, magical performances based on the principle of imitation. If he wished to obtain power in sealing, he would build effigies of twigs representing the seal, the harpooning outfit, and the hunting canoe. The aspirants for success would dramatize the future hunt in its magical setting. He himself performed imitative actions and offered continuous prayers for success. These periods of preparation tested physical endurance to the utmost; fasting, continuous wakefulness, sexual continence, and the observance of all sorts of tabus formed part of the training. There was little that one could not learn to do, if only he were hardy enough to undergo the necessary magical preparation. Such young men as were fired with extraordinary ambitions, say unusual success in whaling or the acquirement of potent shamanistic power, would train the will and chasten the cries of the flesh for incredibly long periods, their spiritual eye fixed singly on the austerities of magical procedure. [312]

Tom never devoted himself to unusual rigors in the acquirement of magical power. He contented himself with the normal routine enjoined upon those planning to seal, to spear salmon, to troll, to catch halibut with hooks, to spear cod with the aid of decoys, to accumulate wealth, to prepare for ritualistic performances, and to obtain enough shamanistic power to withstand the attempts of evil-minded people to bewitch him. He never ventured upon the more difficult and exhausting procedures required to make a successful whaler or hunter of sea lions. Of the more unusual types of secret ritual, Tom attempted but one. When past middle-age, he was fired with the ambition to learn how to interpret the speech of ravens. The ravens are believed to be the supernatural messengers of the wolves, the most austere and eerie of all beings, in the belief of the Nootka. Could Tom have learned to unravel the mysteries concealed in the croakings of these supernatural birds, there is little doubt that he would have been able to advance in ritual power far beyond his fellow tribesmen. Unfortunately he found the quest of

this difficult knowledge too exhausting, too baffling. Tom acknowledges his failure with a sigh.

The secret rituals could only be performed at auspicious periods, when the moon was waxing and when the days were becoming progressively longer. It was for this reason that Tom was always very careful to keep track of the passage of time, of the recurrence of the moons. If some neighbor, less wise and observant, committed the error of taking one moon for another and of performing magical rituals out of season, Tom would say nothing. He would smile and keep counsel with himself, knowing well that his neighbor's efforts when the hunting season came around, were doomed to failure. While Tom was one of those that never went out of his way to bewitch his neighbors or to spoil their luck, he was naturally not altogether displeased when they put themselves at a disadvantage. It was none of his business to correct them, to strengthen the hands of possible rivals.

Medicine men gained their power in a manner perfectly analogous to all other quests for magical assistance. The difference was simply that they sought aid of such beings as were known to grant power to cure diseases and to counteract witchcraft. The material guardians and amulets obtained by medicine men, generally certain birds and [313] rarer fish, were locked away in their breasts. When required for the detection of sickness, for the cure of the diseased, or for the overcoming of an evil opponent, they could be called upon to fly invisibly to the desired goal and to return at will. Tom himself obtained a modicum of power from the mallard ducks, but not enough to warrant his considering himself a regular practitioner. He had, also, a certain inherited, shamanistic power, or rather privilege, that came to him from a Ntinat ancestor. This is why at public shamanistic performances which form part of the Ts'ayek cult, Tom's oldest son has the right to initiate shamanistic novices at a certain point in the ceremonial procedure, though he himself is not a practising medicine man.

Many Nootka are accused of gaining power to bewitch their enemies or rivals, whether by the handling of their food, nail parings, and body effluvia, or by the pronouncing of direful spells in connection with the name and effigy of the hated person. Tom never indulged in such mean-spirited pursuits, but he is very sure that many of his acquaintances have done so. It is the constant fear of witchcraft that even to this day causes the Indians to keep many dogs around the house, and to lock their doors securely at night. The barking of the dogs is useful in calling attention to malevolent "pains" or minute disease objects that wander

about, particularly at night, while the locking of doors is essential in denying these objects an entrance.

The great supernatural beings of Nootka belief, such as the Sky-Chief, the Thunder-bird, and the Wolves, loomed very large in Tom's life, whether in prayer or in ritual. Certain Nootka are more deeply religious than others. They are more fervent in their prayers and they work themselves up to a greater ecstasy in the performance of rituals that are sacred to divine powers. In contrast to men of this type, Tom has always been rather sober, not a skeptic by any means, but not an emotional enthusiast. His knowledge of religious ceremonials is vast, but the spirit that animates this knowledge is rather one of order, of legal particularity, not of spiritual ecstasy. The practical economical world, the pursuit of gain, has always been more congenial to Tom's temperament. This does not mean that Tom is a rationalist in matters relating to the unseen world. Only the educated or half-educated half-breeds are rationalists, and more than one of them has angered Tom by his ill-advised attempts to disturb [314] him with skeptical arguments. However, there has been no change in Tom. He knows, as firmly as he knows his own name, that when the rumble of thunder is heard from the mountain, it is because the Thunder-bird is leaving his house on the peak, flapping his wings heavily, as he makes off for the sea to prey upon the whales. He knows also that when those that are not blind like himself tell him that there has been a flash of lightning, it is because the Thunder-bird has dropped the belt wound about his middle. This belt is the lightning serpent, zig-zagging down to the earth or coiling in a flash around a cedar tree.

Aside from the elementary problem of making his living, a Nootka's main concern is to earn the esteem of his fellow tribesmen by a lavish display of wealth. It is not enough for him to accumulate it and to live in private ease. He must, from time to time, invite the other families of his tribe, and the neighboring tribes, to public ceremonies known as potlatches, in which one or more of the important privileges to which he is entitled are shown and glorified by the distribution of property to the guests. The exhibiting of privileges may take several forms. The most important of them refer to ancestral crests, which may be shown in a dramatic performance, as a picture on a board, or latterly, on canvas, or symbolized in a dance. Ceremonial games are another frequent type of exhibitions of privileges at certain potlatches. Nearly all privileges have their proper songs, which are themselves jealously guarded privileges, and which are sung on these occasions.



There are two considerations that make the public performance of the more important privileges a matter of the greatest moment. In the first place, a man must clearly indicate his right to its performance by recounting the origin myth that it dramatizes, and by tracing his personal connection with the originator of the privilege. In the second place, he must be careful to distribute at least as much property as has already been distributed in his family, in connection with the public presentation of the privilege. If it is at all possible, he will try to exceed the record, so as to add to the public prestige not only of himself and his immediate family, but of the privilege itself. Should he fail in either of these essential respects, he is shamed. Hence, an important potlatch is not to be lightly undertaken. It requires much careful thought and preparation, and it necessitates the gathering of [315] enough wealth to pay for all the services rendered by singers and other assistants, to present substantial gifts to the guests, and to feed the crowd of men, women and children that are present at the ceremony.

A potlatch is not often given as a mere display of wealth. Nearly always it is combined with some definite social or religious function, such as the giving of a name, the coming to marriageable age of a daughter, marriage, a mourning ceremony, the Wolf ritual, or a doctoring ceremony. Potlatching in its fundamental sense, in other words the giving away of property to the guests, is an essential of practically all ceremonies, big or little, religious or profane. Every potlatch involves at least three parties, the giver, the guest or guests, and the person in whose honor the potlatch is given. The last of these is generally some young member of the family whose prestige is thus furthered early in life, but it may be a stranger who has done the giver a service. There are different kinds of gifts. Certain of them are ceremonial grants to which the highest in rank of the tribe are entitled, but which they are expected to return with one hundred per cent interest at a subsequent potlatch. Another class of gifts, which feature the most important and picturesque part of the potlatch, is made to the highest in rank among the guests. There is no rigid rule as to the return of these gifts, but in practice they are nearly always liquidated at a return potlatch, with gifts of an equal, and in many cases greater, value. Finally, towards the end of the potlatch, there is a general distribution of smaller amounts to the crowd. Less careful account is taken of the return of such gifts than of the first two types. In part, the giving of a potlatch amounts to an investment of value, though it is doubtful whether, among the

Nootka, the greater part of the expenditure incurred at a potlatch ever returned to its owner.

A potlatch serves not only a definite social and economic purpose for its giver, but affords, as well, an opportunity for minor distributions of property, such as public payments for services, on the part of other individuals present. Indeed any announcements of importance, such as the handing over of a privilege or a change in name, would be most appropriately made at a potlatch. The assembled tribesmen and guests were, to all intents and purposes, witnesses to such announcements.  
[316]

Tom began to give potlatches on his own account when still quite a young man. The first one of any importance that he was responsible for, was a potlatch in honor of his niece's husband. This was a man of low birth, whom Tom had vowed to have nothing to do with. When his niece, however, gave birth to a child, Tom relented and, in order to wash away the stain on his family's honor, he called together thirty of his relatives, and distributed four guns and a blanket to each. He also sang two of his privileged songs, which he then and there transferred to the child as its due privilege. This potlatch not only marked a reconciliation with his low-born nephew, but gave the little youngster a fair start in life in the race for status. The next of Tom's potlatches was a Wolf ritual, in which he himself performed two of the ceremonial dances, those of the Thunder-bird and the Wolf circling about on all fours.

Some time after this, Tom resolved to marry a Ts'isha'ath girl named Witsah. In spite of the fact that she was a member of his own tribe, Tom wooed the girl not as a Ts'isha'ath, but as a member of a Nitinat tribe, among whom he had kinsmen on his father's side. As his own father was dead, he had ten of his Nitinat uncles woo the girl on his behalf. The wooing is always an important part of the marriage preliminaries, and consists chiefly in the placing of objects, symbolizing one or more of the privileges of the suitor, outside the house of the girl's family. The suitor himself is not present. Sometimes the objects are refused, when the suit may be continued until an acceptance is gained, though this does not necessarily follow. The suitor privileges deposited by Tom's representatives consisted of ten fires and a carving, representing the lightning serpent. These were accepted and returned to Tom's uncle as an indication of willingness on the part of the bride's parents to proceed with the marriage ceremony. Not long after the return of the privileges, the marriage ceremony was celebrated among the

Ts'isha'ath people. The money distributed at that time by Tom and his Nitinat relatives constituted a bridal purchase, but when Tom's first child was born, the property then distributed was returned to Tom and the Nitinats with interest.

The greater part of the marriage ceremony consists of the performance of ceremonial games, each of which is accompanied by special songs, and followed by distributions of property. These games symbolize the difficulty of obtaining the hand of the bride, referring as [317] they do to legendary tests that suitors were compelled to undergo in the past, before they could be admitted by the bride's father. One of the tests, for instance, might be the lifting of an especially heavy stone, or standing for some time without flinching between two fires. According to legendary theory such tests should be endured by the bridegroom himself, but in actual ceremonial practice any one of the bridegroom's party may be the winner in the contest, and receive the prize from the bride's father or whoever of her people is the proud possessor of that particular marriage-game privilege.

Some time after his marriage Tom gave two potlatches in a single month. The first of these was a puberty potlatch in behalf of a younger sister of his. The second was a birth feast or, as the Nootka term it, a "navel feast" for his first child, a boy. About a year later Tom invited the Ucluelet people, one of the Nootka tribes, to a feast at which many dance privileges were performed and much property distributed. By this time Tom was getting to be pretty well known among the tribes of the west coast of Vancouver Island, for his rapidly growing wealth and for his potlatches. It was, therefore, no surprise to him, though it proved very gratifying, to have the chief of the Ahousat, one of the most powerful of the northern Nootka tribes, especially invite him to a potlatch at which he was given four of the chief's ceremonial songs. In return, Tom gave a potlatch to the Ahousat and the Comox, a tribe of alien speech from the east coast of the Island. He distributed four hundred blankets to the former, three hundred to the latter.

A year or two after this potlatch occurred the decisive event in Tom's social career. This was the birth of his first daughter. The most magnificent Nootka potlatches are generally given in connection with a daughter's puberty ceremony. Ever since his marriage, Tom had been hoping to be able, in the fullness of time, to make a record in potlatching among his people, and to show his most valued privileges at the puberty potlatch of a daughter. Now that he was actually blessed by the arrival of a little girl, Tom's plans took immediate shape. He set about the



accumulation of property with more zest than ever, driving many a sharp bargain with the Indians and whites, and he revolved frequently in his mind what tribes he was to invite, and what dramatic displays, dances and songs he was to use at the great ceremony. His first concern was to build a large house of [318] native construction that the guests were to enter when invited to the Ts'isha'ath people. Appropriate timbers for posts and beams are not easy to find, especially since the white man's sawmill has made its appearance in the country. Hence, Tom was indefatigable in making inquiries of various persons and keeping his eye out for sufficiently large and conveniently located cedars. As he found such trees, he had them felled, hauled up to the Ts'isha'ath village along the Somass river, and put in place as opportunity presented itself. The actual construction of the house was thus spread over a period of some ten or fifteen years.

At one time an unfortunate casualty occurred. One of the heavy crossbeams fell to the ground, fortunately without injuring any one, but the event was considered an ill omen. Nevertheless, Tom did the best he could to ward off the evil influence by having a dance performed in honor of the spirit of the beam. Special songs that he possessed for this purpose were sung at the time.

Tom hoped that he could have the house completed before his daughter arrived at maturity. He was doomed to disappointment. His house still lacked one of the crossbeams and all the lighter woodwork, when his wife announced to him one morning that their daughter had come of age, was menstruating, in other words, for the first time. There was nothing for it but to have the puberty ceremony performed at once, reserving the main puberty potlatch for a few months later. Tom painted his face red and invited the neighboring Hopach'as'ath tribe to the puberty ceremony, the "torches standing on the ground," as it is termed.

This ceremony marks the beginning of the period of seclusion of the girl. She is painted and ornamented for the occasion, generally with legendary insignia belonging to the family, is made to stand in front of two long boards painted with representations of Thunder-birds and whales, and has water thrown four times at her feet. Four or ten poles, the so-called "torches," are lighted and later distributed with gifts to those entitled to receive them. Songs of various types are sung, particularly satirical songs twitting the opposite sex. Ceremonial games, some of them anticipating later marriage games, are also performed and prizes are distributed. After a general distribution of goods, the guests depart, leaving the girl to fast for four [319] days and to enter upon a secluded

period of various tabus behind the painted boards in the rear of the house.

After the puberty ceremony, Tom proceeded to Victoria to lay in his store of supplies for the impending potlatch. He bought an enormous number of boxes of biscuits, and to this day nothing pleases him more than to tell of how he compelled the white merchant to give him a special rate on the unusual order. As soon as the provisions were safely deposited at his village, Tom invited twelve tribes to his potlatch. To the nearer tribes he sent messengers; the more remote tribes of the east coast he invited in person. When the appointed day arrived, the Ts'isha'ath found that they had on their hands by far the largest number of guests that had ever visited the tribe at a single time. It was the proudest moment of Tom's life. Everything went well. There was enough food for all, the distributions of property were generous, and all the privileges were interestingly presented. There were a considerable number of these privileges performed, one or two of them being fairly elaborate dramatic representations that were new even to the most northern Nootka tribes, great potlatchers though they are. Tom's hereditary claim to the performances, the dances and the songs, was carefully explained by the ceremonial speaker. The ancestral legends were in every case recounted at length. Tom's title to the special crests of the whale and the Thunder-bird was duly set forth. The explanation of the carved house posts took the speaker back to the creation of the first Ts'isha'ath man from the thigh of a woman. Due account, as usual in these origin legends, was taken of the flood. The potlatch securely established Tom's position among the Indians of the Island. To this day it is often referred to by the Ts'isha'ath and their neighbors. Tom's family was "put high" as never before. More than once, Tom's grandson has found himself, when visiting comparative strangers, say among the East Coast tribes, received with open arms and honored with gifts of great value, all on the strength of his grandfather's potlatch.

Tom's potlatching career did not end here. Some time later he invited the Kyoquot, a Nootka tribe adjoining the Kwakiutl. At this potlatch he gave a dramatic representation of a number of privileges, including two Thunder-birds, a spouting whale, the supernatural [320] quartz-beings known as He'na, and a supernatural bird known as Mihtach, a sort of mallard duck that haunts the top of the mountain called "Two-bladders-on-its-summit." The Heshkwiat tribe of Nootka was the next to be invited to a potlatch. A year or two after this, the second greatest ceremonial event in Tom's career took place, in the form of his second



Wolf ritual or Tlokwana. The ritual was given for the special benefit of his oldest son Douglas and his newly married wife. These were the chief initiates in the ritual. Curiously enough, Tom's little grandson, as yet unborn, was also initiated. This is an extreme instance of the tendency of the Nootka Indians to heap honors upon their offspring at the earliest possible opportunity.

The Wolf ritual is the most awesome, the most fascinating and fear-inspiring ceremony that the Nootka possess. Whatever religious exaltation or frenzy they are capable of, finds expression in this elaborate ritual. The performance, which generally lasts eight days, preferably in the winter, is dominated throughout by the spirit of the wolves who are believed to be hovering near at the outskirts of the village. The more important parts of the ceremonial are open to only such members of the tribe as have been initiated. Many tabus must be observed by those participating, and an attitude of high-minded seriousness must be maintained throughout. In the old days, frivolity during the more strictly religious parts of the ritual, aside of course from the ceremonial buffoonery, was very severely punished by the marshaling attendants. Spearing to death on the spot was the penalty for infraction of the most sacred tabus.

The ritual begins with the songs and other ceremonial activities of an ordinary potlatch. Rumors are set going of the appearance of wolves in the neighborhood of the village. These rumors, accentuated by tales of narrow escapes and bloody casualties, act powerfully upon the imagination of the children, who are soon reduced to a state of panic. All of a sudden the lights are extinguished, and the four "wolves" break through the side of the house. In the confusion that ensues they make off with the youngsters that are to be initiated. From this moment, begins the ritual proper. A certain number of the tribe have the hereditary privilege to "play wolf," that is, to act as wolves during certain parts of the ritual beyond the confines of the village, to make off with the novices, and keep these as supposed prisoners [321] in the woods. For a number of days, there are supposed to be unsuccessful attempts to take back the captured novices, but the wolves remain obdurate until certain songs are sung, when the novices are brought out in view of the people and the series of attacks finally succeeds in routing the wolves. The novices are supposed to be frenzied by the spirits of various supernatural beings that possess them. They must be brought back by force. Those privileged to do so lasso them, and, to the accompaniment of sacred songs, the struggling novices are conducted to the potlatch



house, whistling furiously all the while. The hubbub of mingled whistling, drumming and simultaneous singing of many distinct ritual songs, continues for the greater part of the night. The din is indescribable. During the following day is performed the most sacred episode in the ritual. The whistling spirits that possess the novices must be exorcised by means of sacred dances and songs. A purification ceremony of bathing in the river or sea follows. The remainder of the ritual consists of the performance of a number of special dances, each of which is appropriate to the particular supernatural being that is supposed to have possessed one of the initiates. There are many of these dances, varying greatly in their prestige as privileges, and in their character of religious frenzy. Probably the most austere of the dances is that of the supernatural wolf, who crawls about in reckless pursuit of destruction and has to be restrained with great difficulty by a number of attendants. Other dances represent various types of woodsy creatures or ogres. Many of them are pantomimic representations of animals, while human activities of various kinds are represented in still others.

With this Wolf ritual Tom's ceremonial activities gradually lessened. He continued to take an active interest in whatever potlatches were given by his family, and he often helped with his advice and active cooperation in the singing of songs and the delivering of ceremonial addresses, particularly of the formal speeches of thanks. Now that he had done his share in establishing the glory of his family, Tom sat back and allowed his eldest son to take the initiative, at least in theory, in all ceremonies affecting their standing in the tribe.<sup>[8]</sup>

It is long since Tom has been able to do useful work. He is entirely dependent on his oldest son's family, with whom he lives, but they do not feel his presence to be a burden. For one thing, he is [322] uniformly good-natured, very talkative about his own past and in judging his neighbors, and always ready to help with his advice in matters of importance, whether it be the preparations for a potlatch or some contested sealing claim. But back of the garrulous, shabby Tom of the present, looms up the Tom of the great potlatches of former days. It is to this Tom that his children and grandchildren almost entirely owe the high standing that they maintain among their people.

When Tom dies he will<sup>[9]</sup> be put in a coffin and buried in the ground. This was not the old Nootka custom. The more important families had caves in which their deceased members were put away; others were laid in burial boxes or rush mats which were then put up in trees back of the village. Near the place of the burial there would be put up a grave

post, constructed of roof rafters of the house, on which would be painted one of the crests of the deceased.

Though the old burial customs are no longer followed, some of the beliefs and practices attending death have not yet died out. Thus, the immediate personal effects of the deceased, as well as considerable additional property, are always destroyed. In the old days the whole house might be burned down, and tales are told of how the mourning survivors would move off to another spot to build them a new house. In all likelihood there will be performed immediately after Tom's death a ceremony intended to comfort the family of the deceased and to induce Tom's spirit to leave the house and its vicinity. Tom's soul will have left his body in the shape of a tiny shadow-like double of himself, through the crown of his head, to assume eventually the form of a full-fledged ghost. It is safe to assume that the tabu of the dead person's name will be carefully observed. Not only will Tom's name not be mentioned by his tribesmen for a stated period, but all words that involve the main element of his name will be carefully avoided. This element denotes the idea of "distant." People will have to get along as best they can without it, whether by beating about the bush, by stretching the meaning of some other element so as to enable it to take its place, or, if need be, by borrowing the corresponding element, provided it be of different sound, from some other dialect. Wailing sounds will be heard in the village for some time after Tom's death, and it is very likely that at a mourning potlatch a number of privileges belonging to the family, say four songs, [323] will be thrown away. Such privileges are tabued during the mourning period. At the end of the mourning period, which may be anything from a year to ten, another potlatch is given by one of the family and the tabus are lifted. When that time arrives Tom's name will have passed into native history. The name Sayach'apis, "Stands-up-high-over-all," will then be freely referred to with pride or with envy.

### Editorial Notes

Originally published in Elsie Clews Parsons (ed.), *American Indian Life* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1922), 297–323.

1. This article was previously published in *Queen's Quarterly* 28, 232–243, 351–367 (1921e) under the title "The Life of a Nootka

Indian"; it was, however, written specifically for Parsons' volume of 1922. The following notes indicate differences between the two texts, using the 1922 publication, reprinted in this volume, as the base form. Minor variations in punctuation and wording are omitted.

2. The 1921 publication refers to "a blind old Indian," the title of a poem Sapir wrote about Tom. See following item, this volume.

3. The 1922 publication omits the following sentence: "This name originated among the Wanini'ath, another of the great tribal subdivisions of the Ts'isha'ath."

4. The 1921 publication refers to the "right to use something," making clear that custodianship rather than ownership is involved.

5. Here and in a number of other instances, the term "Indian" appears in 1921 where a more specific term, usually "Nootka," appears in 1922. Parsons planned the volume such that each biographical sketch was to represent a specific tribe or culture area.

6. The 1921 publication has "long netting needles."

7. The 1921 publication has "the familiar wrapped weave." This style of basketry would have been more familiar to the Canadian readers of *Queen's Quarterly*.

8. The following paragraph, omitted in 1922, appeared in 1921: "There is another important Nootka ritual, known as the Ts'ayek. Though Tom has attended many of these ceremonies, he has never himself given a Ts'ayek. This ritual is performed as a method of curing an illness that has resisted all other attempts at treatment. The greater part of the ceremony consists in the singing of special songs. Unlike most Nootka songs, the Ts'ayek songs are delivered as solos, each individual singing his own group of hereditary songs while holding up his fingers in a certain prescribed fashion, and, towards the end of each song, jumping in accompaniment. The onlookers beat time with sticks. It is believed that there is something intrinsically mournful about a Ts'ayek song, and the singer of the songs of his own family is expected to burst into tears before he finishes them. Tom possesses a large number of Ts'ayek songs that have been handed down to him from his Nitinat ancestors. Indeed the whole ceremony has come to Ts'isha'ath from tribes to the south of them. The second part of the ritual consists of the initiation of men and women into the status of shamans or "doctors." Recognized shamans let their own supernatural guardians fly into the bodies of the initiates, who fall back as though dead until the spirits are recalled by the owners. When the initiates have been thoroughly "cooked" they are admitted to the guild of doctors. Actual success in



the pursuit of his doctor's trade counts for much in the prestige of a medicine man, but even here the idea of the hereditary privilege is not entirely dispensed with. There are several important functions in the course of the ritual that must be exercised by hereditary right. In a recent Ts'ayek among the Ts'isha'ath, performed after the ceremony had been allowed to lapse for over ten years, Tom's eldest son, while not a medicine man in the true sense of the word, enjoyed the privilege of singing certain songs necessary to the proper initiation of the medical applicants."

9. The 1921 publication inserts "like all Indians of today."

## The Blind, Old Indian Tells His Names

His staff was stamping like beginning rain,  
He smiled beneath a hat all dust and stain,  
And, looking blind into the beaming sun,  
He told his names. We heard the decades run.  
"I have four names. The first is 'Stand-up-high'...  
Long years ago there came down from the sky  
The Heaven-Chief and stepped into the dream  
My ancestor was dreaming. 'Ho! you seem  
To have no care for riches, you that sleep,  
Yet riches I would give, a name to keep  
While generations come and seep away.'  
And 'Stand-up-high' became a name that day  
And comes to me, for I am looking down  
Though poor, with squandered wealth and rich renown.  
My songs have rung in feasts, my wealth has thundered.  
Tribes have feasted and the slaves have wondered."  
His staff was beating to a feasting song  
And feeble, stumbling words now sang along:

"My wealth is drumming in the air,  
It flies down like a wind-bird,  
Whale oil is flaring up the flame,  
Lights up the circling Thunder-bird.  
Ho ho! ho ho, ho!"

"My wealth is droning in the air,  
Singing like a wind-bird,  
Whale oil is flaring up the flame,  
Lights up the circling Thunder-bird.  
Ho ho! ho ho, ho!"

He mused a moment. "'Talking-of-the-day,'  
This was my second name. I threw away  
My first, when seven tribes I called to feast  
And scattered wealth like eagle-down released

Upon the dancing-floor, and took a name  
From Daylight... Winter dawn was breaking flame  
Across the mountain snow, wherein he cowered,  
Sleeping for vision that he might be powered  
For capturing the whale, sea-otter, seal.  
'Wake up or freeze!' there stumbled on his heel  
A gnome, and he had clothes that fire-flashed.  
Then, roused, behind the twinkling gnome he dashed  
And caught him slipping in his ghost-canoe  
To make for whales at sea. Now tingling through  
With lust of magic might, he seized the spear  
This little gnome would hurl when drifting near  
A blowing monster, and the sea would redden,  
Maddened flukes would lash, the great eyes deaden.  
My ancestor was blessed and thanked the gnome  
With shredded cedar-bark. To curling foam  
Relapsed canoeman and canoe; and he,  
My ancestor, to a giant cedar-tree  
Made off and hid the spear among its boughs.  
And this his medicine would never drowse  
But worked afar and made the great sea-bulls  
To heave to shore, obeying the unseen pull  
Of magic. Four or ten, this was his catch  
Of whales a moon; he had no whaler match.  
Though I have never hurled a whale harpoon,  
Yet am I of his blood and whaling tune  
And name are mine. He prayed the Daylight oft,  
And thus his name." He murmured slow and soft  
A mighty whaling song, a song to pull  
To shore the lunging cow and eager bull:

"Go straight, go straight to the island-rock Totseet!  
Go straight, you mighty one, great barnacled whale!  
Mark well the face of snow-capped Ruddy-Mountain!  
Go straight, go straight, slow drifting to his feet!"

"'Red-mounded' is another whaling name,  
My third... A thick and thundering darkness came  
Upon our village shore and killed the day,  
While maddening rain drummed on our ears away.  
All eyes were blind save when a sudden burst,



Zigzagging, lit the path where Thunder first  
Went flapping through and dropped the lightning snake  
Sheer from his middle to the rocks and flake  
On flake glowed on the serpent's scaly length.  
It was a hunger time with all our strength  
Fast running out, and the brooding darkness kept  
Four days immovable. No hunter stepped  
Down to the beach and hunted on the sea,  
But all the houses wailed for misery.  
Yet there was one who wrapped himself around  
Close in a bearskin, standing stubborn ground  
Upon a rocky point out to the waves,  
And while the black, thick-raining tumult raves,  
He is a watcher, waiting for the snake  
To hurry down in a dizzy flash and break  
The darkness into two and give him light  
To peer for sustenance amid the night.  
He stood in vain. The lightning flashes showed  
No promise on the sea, but vainly glowed,  
Lone torches blowing out in rain. He held  
His ground, his heart was crying magic, yelled,  
'With secret medicine you rubbed your eyes  
That you might see delivering surprise,'  
And this his certitude made firm his limbs  
And sang into his ears assuring hymns.  
Out, lightnings, out, like pluckers flickering  
On rain, the night-bow's strange, enormous string  
That let no arrow fly that he might follow.  
Limbs were numbing now, his heart was hollow  
With despair, when suddenly his eye  
Clutched on a glimmer playing from the sky  
Upon a gentle-heaving mound at sea —  
Then darkness thundering. Wild ecstasy  
Shrieked from his heart as he were raving mad  
And all the villagers rushed out, unclad,  
Trembling. 'A whale adrift!' he yelled, and swooned  
And this is how a carcass whale, harpooned,  
They towed upon the beach beneath the lightning.  
Flick'ring for a torch. One day more, — bright'ning  
Broke the sun out on the rolling sea,

And climbed the smoke up from the revelry.  
Four days he lay in stupor, then arose  
And made a song for silencing his foes:

“Call me a miserable chief!  
Black are the rafters of my roof  
With dirty smoke that makes their eyes  
To water. This is their reproof.

“Call me a miserable chief!  
I have one food beneath my roof,  
Whale meat is what I give  
To feast on. This their reproof.

“‘Red-mounded’ is a name from breaking hunger.”  
He held us with his names a little longer.  
“Some day I’ll tell my fourth name at a feast,  
Throwing away ‘Red-mounded,’” laughed and ceased.  
He will have little secrets, hocus-pocus,  
Keeping mum a little to provoke us.  
Off he stumbled, quaintly like a toad,  
His staff went stumping down the dusty road.

### Editorial Note

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38–39.

## [Religion of the] Vancouver Island Indians

The Indians of Vancouver Island are not a homogeneous people, but belong to three clearly defined groups. The northern part of the island is occupied by tribes of Kwakiutl speech; they are closely related to tribes occupying the mainland of British Columbia to the east and for a considerable distance north of Vancouver Island. The southeastern part of the island is occupied by Coast Salish tribes. These are but a comparatively small section of the widely spread Salish stock, who are distributed south into the United States as far as the lower Columbia Valley. The remainder of the island — roughly speaking, the southern two-thirds of the west coast — is inhabited by a group of tribes variously known as Nutka (from one of the best known tribes of the group) or Aht. These Indians are almost entirely confined to Vancouver Island; the extreme northwestern part of Washington, however, in the neighbourhood of Cape Flattery, is occupied by the Makah Indians, an offshoot of the Nutka group. The Kwakiutl and Nutka tribes are quite clearly, if somewhat remotely, related in speech. The Salish languages may also prove to be related to Kwakiutl and Nutka, but only remotely so at best. These three groups of tribes exhibit numerous interinfluences, the dominant position, on the whole, being held by the Kwakiutl Indians of the north. In this article the religion of the Nutka Indians will be taken as the type for the aborigines of Vancouver Island. Data on the other tribes will be found in [the article] SALISH [in this Encyclopaedia].

Beliefs and practices of a more or less definitely religious character enter so largely into almost every phase of Nutka life that it is not altogether easy to mark off religion as a separate subject for ethnologic treatment. For practical purposes the subject of Nutka religion may be considered as embracing the beliefs in supernatural beings of various sorts, prayer, the acquisition of 'power' either by means of amulets and the help of definite beings or by means of the performance of secret rituals of predominantly magical content, shamanism and witchcraft, beliefs in souls, tabus of various sorts and other beliefs of more or less clearly religious reference, and public rituals.



1. SUPERNATURAL BEINGS. — It is very difficult to classify the various beings of a supernatural order that are recognized in Nutka belief. They range all the way from a Sky Being, who seems almost on the point of becoming comparable to our own conception of a Supreme Being, down to patrons or guardian spirits (*genii loci*) of specific objects, such as individual cedar trees or house-beams. The line between beings endowed with a more or less distinctive personality and mere amulets is strangely difficult to draw, as, midway between these two types, there are a considerable number of monsters whose only *raison d'être*, so far as humanity is concerned, is that some part of their body can be utilized for amuletic purposes. On the whole, the personality of the majority of Nutka supernatural beings cannot be said to be very firmly defined. As regards their relation to humanity, they might be classified as objects of prayer, beings capable of granting 'powers' of a great many different sorts, beings that are impersonated in rituals, generally in ritualistic dances, beings that figure in myths and family legends, and beings that are visibly represented, by those privileged to do so, as crests. This classification is not a mutually exclusive one, however, as many supernatural beings appear in more than one connexion. Thus, the Wolf is important in ritual, legend, and crest representation, and is believed to grant 'powers' or 'medicines.' On the other hand, the Whale is important as a crest and mythological being, but does not figure in public ritual, while hunting powers and other gifts are bestowed by him in legends and by virtue of inheritance of such legendary gifts rather than directly in the actual present. Differing from the Whale is the Thunder-bird, in that he is not identified with an actual animal species, and that he is very frequently, perhaps most frequently of all beings, impersonated in ritual performances. Again, such a being as the Ahlmakoh, a kind of demonic wood-spirit, plays an important part in ritual and as an amulet-dispenser, but is never represented as a crest (his mask is used only in connexion with a ritual).

It is difficult in some cases to tell whether a particular type of being is conceived of as a single personality, like the more important gods and goddesses of the Greeks, or as embracing a class of numerous individuals, like our fairies. The latter is probably far more often the case, though true examples of individualized beings undoubtedly also occur. Sometimes the Indians themselves seem to waver between contradictory conceptions, as in the case of the Thunder-bird. He is generally, it seems, thought of as a distinct individuality (legend has it that there were originally four Thunder-bird brothers, but that three of them

were destroyed by the Woodpecker), yet the tendency to localize his home on some particular mountain-peak and the necessarily different localizations current among the different tribes have led in the [592] minds of some to the rationalising conclusion that there is more than one Thunder-bird in existence.

In a class by himself is the Sky Chief, who enters hardly at all into the life of the natives except as an object of prayer. He is believed to dwell in the sky and to be, in a general way, the dispenser of life and happiness to mortals. He is not represented either pictorially or in rituals, and never, so far as known, occurs as a character in the mythology, not even as creator or transformer. So pale is his personality that one might be tempted to look for Christian influence, were it not for the obviously standardized form, and hence presumably great age, of the prayers addressed to him.

As in all Indian mythologies, a large number of animals are represented as human or semi-human characters in Nutka myths, many of them being endowed with supernatural powers. Few of these, however, can be considered as of interest in a purely religious connexion; the attitude of the Indian towards many of them is comparable to our own in reference to the fantastic characters of a romance or fairy-tale or even, not infrequently, to the purely human characters of a modern novel. The Raven, e.g., while important in some of the more northern Pacific Coast tribes as a creator or transformer, plays the part in Nutka mythology purely of a greedy trickster or buffoon, comparable to the European Reynard the Fox. The belief that animals are descended from human-like beings of the mythological period finds its counterpart in the belief that animals today, when out of sight of people, divest themselves of their animal blankets and look, talk, and act like ordinary human beings. Most of the animals represented in the mythology and a large number not so represented are impersonated, by means of face paints, masks, and ceremonial regalia, in the dances of the Wolf ritual (a few of these dances are the Raven, the Woodpecker, the Sea-gull, the Wasp, the Halibut, the Octopus, and the Deer). Even in this connexion, however, it is doubtful if the animal beings themselves, as a whole, have further religious significance than that their representation has become associated with a ritual which is charged with the quality of religious emotion. The animal dances as such seem to be of interest largely as pantomimic performances. Among all these animal beings, however, there are at least some that have a degree of religious importance. 'Powers' may be obtained (or were legendarily obtained) from the Wolf,

the Whale, the Hair-seal, the Sea-otter, the Shark, the Beaver, and others. Of particular importance among these is the Wolf. The Wolves are believed to form a supernatural community of their own, with four special fast runners of the chief and the Raven as news-teller. They are looked upon with great reverence — an attitude that finds its fullest expression in the Wolf ritual, founded, according to its origin legends, by the Wolves themselves.

In the mythology we also meet with a number of human-like figures that belong to the supernatural world without being identified with either animals or monsters. Here belongs the creator Kapkimiysis, who created the first man out of the thigh of the first already existent woman, made the island of Tsisha, the home of the Tsishaath tribe descended from them, and assigned them the various foods, animal and vegetable, that they and their descendants were to use. Kapkimiysis is evidently a purely local figure, and he is doubtless paralleled by local creators in the other Nutka tribes. Another important figure in the mythology is Kwatiyat, a sort of creator or, better, transformer, who experienced many curious adventures and did much to give the world its present shape. The rock-carvings in the interior of Vancouver Island are believed to be his work. He is still alive, but it is not known where he resides. With him is often associated his brother, who, like the Raven, is a trickster. Another transformer is known as Causing-everything-to-be-different. His work consisted chiefly in transforming various maleficent monsters into the relatively harmless animals that we know today.

We need no more than refer to a few of the host of powers with which the Nutka Indian peoples the land, the sea, and the air. The Heitlik, 'Wont-to-glide-to-the-ground,' is a snake-like, scaly being who darts out lightning with his red tongue. He is generally represented as gliding on the rocks, coiling up or down a tree, or coiled like a belt about the Thunder-bird. When seen, a bit of his tail should be lopped off and preserved as an amulet for success in whaling and other sea-mammal hunting. The Yaal are fairy-like folk that dwell on the summits of mountains. They wear feathers on their heads and are associated with fire and the aurora borealis. They are peculiarly elusive beings, frequently dissolving into foam. A supernatural bird, the Mikhtach, said to resemble a female mallard duck, is a potent source of luck in hunting. The Ahlmakoh, already referred to, is a kind of forest ogre, evidently related to the Nutlmis, or Fool-dancer, of the Kwakiutl; his nasal mucus is valued as an amulet for invulnerability. The Chiniath are brownie-like woods-folk who do all sorts of strange things, such as



hunting for sea-cucumbers as though they were seals; they give power to those who are fortunate enough to see them. The Pokumis are wild and elusive beings, transformed from human beings that have become estranged from human ways or overcome by intense cold. The Pokumis are often represented in the pantomimic dances of the Wolf ritual. The Shishchikuhl is a large animal-like monster who lives inside a mountain and whose red hair is a powerful amulet for success in war. A two-headed being, the Totohtsaktso, reddish in colour and with a tail attached to each of his heads, is particularly virulent as 'medicine'; a small part of his body is a powerful amulet in both war and hunting. He is doubtless the Nutka equivalent of the Sisiutl so often represented in the art of the Kwakiutl Indians. The Tsatsokhta is an enormously strong being with red, shaggy hair and with his right foot large, his left extremely small. The earth of his tracks is a strength-giving 'medicine.' One of the most important of Nutka supernatural powers, in ritual and legend as in the acquirement of 'medicine,' is the Hena, a class of beings conventionally represented by, but not actually believed to be identical with, quartz crystals. They have the power of incredibly rapid flight and make a loud, whizzing noise. They have become closely associated in Nutka belief with the Wolf ritual, their characteristic sound being identified with the supernatural whistling that is believed to emanate from the wolves and that is imparted to the initiates of the ritual. It is therefore not surprising that the quartz-like Hena is held to be found also in the body of a wolf, of whom it forms a sort of subsidiary soul.

It is remarkable that the power emanating from most of the supernatural beings of the Nutka is intimately bound up with some amulet-like or fetish-like object, generally some part of his body that is, often with considerable violence, taken from him. The conception of a benevolent attitude towards the seeker after 'power' and of a spiritual guardianship over him — a conception that prevails among so many American Indian tribes — is, on the whole, signally absent here. It is present in some degree in the legendary accounts of ancestral experiences of the acquisition of power, yet even here the chief emphasis is always placed on the supernatural object acquired and handed down or on the privilege of ceremonially representing such an experience, not on the notion of a mystic relationship.

2. PRAYER. — Prayer is often held to represent religious feeling at its purest, particularly when the prayer is individual and of unstandardized form. Among the Nutka Indians prayers are, so far as known, always of strictly standardized form. They are either sacred songs sung at a

ritual by a group or by an individual in the presence of the community (such prayers, e.g., are addressed to the Wolves of the Wolf ritual or in the rite of exorcism in the same ritual) or they are private, and indeed secret, spell-like formulae addressed to the Sky Chief in the course of the important secret rituals referred to below. The feeling that animates the former class of prayers is perhaps more intensely emotional; it may be characterized as fear or awe glorified into exaltation. The latter class have more of a magical [593] than purely religious connotation, and this in spite of the fact that they are addressed to the nearest approach that the Nutka have to a generalized Supreme Being. They are self-seeking in tone; more often than not they directly plead for a superiority in success at the expense of others.

Generally the secret ritual prayers are for some specific gift, as wealth, success in hunting or fishing, good luck in love, proficiency in the performance of a ritualistic act, or whatever else, good or evil, one may desire the fulfilment of. As a rule, however, the specific prayer is preceded by a more general *tichsimich*, or prayer for life. A typical example of such a 'life prayer' is: 'Look down on me, O Chief, have pity on me. Cause me to be alive. Cause to be sent back whatever evil words may be said of me by anyone. If at anytime one prays in secret for my death, may I cause his curses to recoil on himself; may I cause him to swallow his own [evil words]. Cause me to be without affliction, O Chief. Grant me, O Chief, thy wealth [or whatever else one desires]...' While the private prayers of the Nutka are strictly standardized in form, the texts of the prayers seem to differ considerably according to the varying family traditions. Here, as throughout Nutka life, family exclusiveness in matters of privilege and secret lore is much in evidence.

3. ACQUISITION OF POWER; SECRET RITUALS. — Like so many other primitive peoples, the Nutka feel the necessity of continuous supernatural assistance in the pursuit of the ends of life. The individual must, whenever possible, eke out his own powers by the support of some of the mysterious influences that surround him. Prayer can do much for him: the mere possession of an amulet or fetish or 'medicine' probably more; still more efficacious is a token resulting from an encounter with a supernatural being. The handling of all such tokens, as well as of all supernatural objects or animals not actually identifiable with specific beings, is regularly hedged about by various tabus. Generally fasting and a period of sexual continence are required, also absence from the home. A token may not be lightly rejected, if disaster is to be avoided. One must also know beforehand just how it is to be utilized, what one



must do or say in order to secure the benefits of its supernatural influence. Frequently one must be careful to take only the right half. Frequently, also, it may not be taken into the house, but must be kept in a secret spot in the woods. Its power may be communicated by rubbing or other handling, or a small piece of it may be directly used as an amulet; thus a bit of it may be inserted in the cedar-bark wrapping of a sealing or whaling harpoon. Every Indian possesses a considerable number of 'medicines,' for various purposes and of different degrees of potency. Their possession is generally a secret to all but the immediate heirs of their acquirer or inheritor; certain 'life medicines' may even be kept entirely secret until the approach of death. It is interesting to note that the mere possession of secret or magical lore is itself 'good medicine.' As one parts with knowledge, his power of resistance to adverse influences is lessened.

It is not always possible to secure the special assistance derived from supernatural helpers or inherited fetishes. Hence the main reliance of the Nutka Indian for the success of his hunting, fishing, or other ventures is on the punctilious performance of certain private magical ceremonies that we have termed 'secret rituals.' There is an astonishing number and a bewildering variety of such rituals. Every family possesses, by secret inheritance, enough to guide it safely through life. Sometimes several versions of a magical ritual — one derived, say, from the paternal, the other from the maternal, tradition — are known by an individual, but they may never be combined or confused. The secret rituals are always performed in a hidden spot at a considerable distance from the house; for the more elaborate rituals the various families have prepared spots deep in the woods, often near pools or in caves. The rituals range in complexity from comparatively simple magical performances, prayers, and spell-pronouncements lasting but a single night to elaborate ceremonies extended over a month or more. The former are either abbreviated versions of more elaborate rituals or relate to the easier quests, such as salmon-trolling; the latter are concerned with the more hazardous or exacting pursuits, such as whaling, sea-lion hunting, or sealing. Each secret ritual is in effect a prayer and magical compulsion toward some desired end — success in trapping fish, spearing cod, harpooning sea-otter, whaling, acquiring wealth, gaining love, bewitching an enemy; even the satisfaction of such unusual desires as success in stealing or the learning of a raven's speech may be compassed by the performance of a magical ritual. The details of each ritual differ according to specific family tradition and the nature of the end sought. The constant features



seem to be prayer, the pronouncement of spells, the observance of tabus, rubbing with 'medicines,' bathing and rubbing down with hemlock branches (until the skin peeled, in the practice of the hardier aspirants for success), the wearing of cedar-bark and feather regalia and the laying on of symbolic face-paints, and, most important of all, the performance of magical actions. In principle these actions are dominated by the philosophy of sympathetic magic and by the symbolic efficacy of imitation and the handling of effigies. Thus, the aspirant for success in whaling may spend hours diving into a pool and coming up to the surface and blowing in imitation of a whale or, bent over the ground, in humping his back like that of the whale; or he may make out of twigs rude effigies of a whaling canoe, its occupants, harpoon and floats, and the hunted sea-mammal.

The magical practices not infrequently included bizarre or revolting features, such as rubbing with the skulls of one's ancestors or the use of a new-born babe that had been stolen, killed, and had its eyes gouged out (a symbolic representation of the whale that is blind to his pursuer and allows himself to be caught). Needless to say, these secret rituals have little or no purely social bearing. The magic ritualist may, however, be accompanied by a close relative, say a son or nephew — frequently, in the more elaborate types, by his wife. Not the least interesting thing about the secret rituals is their dependence for success on a proper calendric placing. The most auspicious season for their performance is the period between the winter and summer solstices, when the days are progressively longer; during a given month it is the days of the waxing moon that should be chosen. The symbolism of this is as obvious as it is world-wide. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that what little precision of solar and lunar observation the Nutka Indians attained was conditioned by the necessity of correctly delimiting the span of auspicious days.

4. SHAMANISM. — The Nutka shaman, or medicine-man, is such by virtue of supernatural power personally acquired by him or, at least theoretically, by right of inheritance from an ancestor who had himself (or herself) acquired such power. Properly speaking, the acquirement of shamanistic power is on a par with the acquirement of any other type of supernatural power, as for hunting or fishing. In either case the possession of power may be due to the magic inhering in the performance of a secret ritual, to the acquirement of a supernatural token or amulet-like object ('medicine'), with or without the interposition [594] of a supernatural being, or to the inheriting of a family 'medicine.' What

distinguishes the medicine-man is the function exercised by his power, the class of being from whom it is derived, and the manner of holding and exercising this power.

The main functions of the medicine-man are the location of disease, generally conceived of as a worm-like malefic object that has been lodged in the body of the sufferer by an ill-wisher, the detection, if required, of the causes of the disease, and its removal. The divining, in a trance-like state, of future or distant events and the supernatural causation of disease are also frequently within the province of the medicine-man, but need not be.

The supernatural beings and 'medicines' that bestow shamanistic power are rarely the same as those that give power for other purposes. There is a long list of eerie or unusual objects whose discovery and retention are believed to make a man a shaman — at least to a limited extent, for a really powerful shaman has generally a number of sources of supernatural guidance. The specific beings that grant shamanistic power belong to two classes, 'birds' and 'fish.' Certain birds — e.g., ducks — certain land animals, and certain fish are believed to be powerful shamans themselves and to meet once a year in a doctoring contest. The leader of the 'birds' is a supernatural bird known as Khwini, or Khwili, who is said to belong to the Sky Chief; the leader of the 'fish' is a small eel-like marine fish. The former has the greatest shamanistic power of all. The shamanistic being (animal) bestows power not so much by way of a dream, as so commonly in aboriginal America, as by the amuletic virtue of his own body. This is in accord with the general materializing tendency that pervades Nutka religion.

The power of the 'medicine' amulet or being is, in the case of the Nutka shaman, exercised by virtue of its actual presence in his body. A shaman's supernatural power (*manitu*) is not a mystic influence that guides him, but resides in a concrete object that he is believed to keep inside his hand or chest. A powerful shaman may have half-a-dozen or more such 'medicines' in his chest, in supernaturally reduced form. These are never made visible to the laity except on special occasions, such as at a very severe illness or during the *tsavck* ritual, when the shaman may hold them up for inspection. The shamans are believed to have the power of causing their 'medicines' to fly through the air to any place or person desired. The widespread conception of the 'flying' or 'shooting' of disease-causing substances seems, by an easy transition, to have been transferred to the Nutka materializations of the *manitu* concept. The *modus operandi* of the Nutka shaman differs according to

circumstances. The usual methods are: sucking of the part affected (actually or supposedly), manipulation after rubbing the fists against the hands, resuscitation by uttering certain syllables in a conventional manner, and the singing of specific medicine songs. These songs are often dreamed during the performance of a secret ritual for the attainment of shamanistic power.

5. SOUL BELIEFS AND SUPERNATURAL PHENOMENA. — The Nutka Indians say that the course of life is like the walking of a man on a straight line as thin as a hair. If he misses a single step, he drops down and dies. The soul or living essence of a human being is conceived of as a wee mannikin, a shadowy doublet, which can be held in the palm of a shaman. It may leave the body through the crown of the head, but may either return of its own accord or be brought back through the ministrations of a shaman. If it fails to return, it means that it has reached the land of disembodied spirits, that its possessor, in other words, is dead. It is then referred to by a term, *cheha*, which may be rendered 'ghost,' but which is more freely used to refer to any discarnate spirit and even to any eerie or highly unusual being, such as an elephant. The ghost is always thought of as evil, and great efforts are taken to rid of its malign influence a house in which a person has died.

Distinct from the soul is the *hlimaksti*, often translated 'heart.' This is not the anatomical heart, but the mind or 'soul' in its psychological, not theological, sense. It is the seat or principle of intelligence characteristic of human beings alone, and is generally localized in the heart or breast. According to one legend, the creator Kapkimiya made a vertical column of ten faces, stuck close together, and put it into the breast of the first man as his seat of intelligence. This is the *hlimaksti* of today. If all ten faces look in one direction, the man's will is strong; if five look one way, five the other, he is in a state of evenly-balanced hesitation. The first woman had no *hlimaksti* put inside of her; hence women are believed to be more flighty and less intelligent than men.

The life after death is supposed to be located in an under world, which is divided into a 'good' and a 'bad' section. In the 'good' quarter are little streams in which spring-salmon run and form the food of the ghostly inhabitants. The spring-salmon of the world of the living are believed to be sent up here by departed spirits. The occupants of the 'bad' quarter of the underground world eat lice. In the opinion of some Indians, the dead turn into wolves or owls. This belief does not necessarily exclude the other.



As among all primitive peoples, there is a vast number of beliefs current among the Nutka in regard to supernatural phenomena and relations. Only a very few of these need be touched upon here. An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by a supernatural being known as Codfish-in-the-sky, who holds the luminary in his mouth. During an eclipse each of the Indians would rush off to perform a secret ritual for trolling fish. The magical concept at the basis of this practice is evident: the fish eventually trolled for was to bite just as the Codfish was biting the eclipsed sun or moon. Another very curious belief is referred to by the term 'going off to another place.' The Indians believe that at two unknown periods during the year a big tide comes in at night and shifts about everything in the village, houses and all. After a short time, during which it is difficult to keep awake, everything is shifted back to its proper place. Should one be lucky enough to keep awake during this periodic shift, and be engaged in a secret ritual, he is certain to prove successful in whatever he is praying for.

Perhaps the most interesting belief concerning the relation of human beings to the supernatural world is that which regards twins as salmon incarnations. So much is this taken as a matter of course that it is believed that a twin child involuntarily bursts into tears when it sees a salmon being treated cruelly. Both twin children and their father are subject to many onerous tabus, and the children are not expected to live long. The significant thing about twin fatherhood is that it makes of the father a mere instrument of the salmon-world. The appearance of twins is looked upon as a harbinger of an unusually big salmon run, and the father devotes all his energies during the fishing-season to the singing of songs, the performance of secret rituals, and the observance of tabus intended to propitiate the salmon and provide his fellow-villagers with a maximum catch. Should he disregard the injunctions of the [595] salmon-world implied by the birth of twins, dire misfortune is certain to befall him.

6. RITUALS. — Ceremonialism, both social and religious in character, is very prominent in Nutka life. It is somewhat arbitrary to divide ceremonies into the two classes, as, on the one hand, a religious quality (some sort of legendary or supernatural background) is rarely absent from even the most matter-of-fact or casual ceremony (say, a naming feast or invitation ceremony), while, on the other, every more properly religious ceremony, such as the elaborate and peculiarly sacred Wolf ritual, is given the setting of a secular *pottlach* (giving feast) and regularly contains numberless features that have a purely social, not religious,

significance. The two major ceremonies of primarily religious connotation are the Wolf ritual (known by the natives as *tlokwana*) and a shamanistic performance termed *tsayek*. The former undoubtedly has a native Nutka nucleus, but has been much influenced by the winter feast of the Kwakiutl Indians. The latter ceremony is primarily at home among the more southern Nutka tribes; it is also found among the Coast Salish and Quileute (north-west coast of Washington).

The Wolf ritual differs considerably among the various Nutka tribes in its origin legend and in its ceremonial details. In essence it is a quasi-dramatic representation, at least in native theory, of certain legendary occurrences. Just as a young man or woman, in the legendary past, is believed to have been carried away by the wolves to their supernatural home, to have been taught many religious dances and songs, and to have returned to his people with these immaterial gifts, so, in the ceremony of today, the novices, who are to be initiated into the ceremony, are represented as seized by wolves that break into the village and as carried off into the woods, there to be taught particular dances, which, after they are rescued by the villagers and exorcized, they perform among their own people in a state of religious frenzy. The dances vary greatly in character, but are largely pantomimic, referring either to animals, occupations, or supernatural beings. Many of them are inspired by a spirit of savage recklessness that may take the form of self-torture or ceremonial killing. The association of all those (novices and old initiates) who dance a particular dance into a 'secret society' is a very much more weakly developed concept than among the Kwakiutl. On the other hand, the individuals who are banded together throughout the ceremony as wolf-performers, by hereditary right, may be looked upon as constituting a true confraternity.

In a rather vague way the Wolf ritual may be interpreted as a kind of placating of the powerful supernatural beings that appear to us as wolves, but there can, in actual fact, be no talk of a definite function of the ceremony. It is a complex historical growth that serves as a traditional setting for the public expression of religious emotion (awe and exaltation) and for the satisfaction of certain artistic needs. Even the spirit of ribald humour finds expression in it. To a large extent, also, the purely religious and artistic motives are overlaid by the desire, so characteristic of West Coast culture, to enhance one's social prestige by display and a lavish expenditure of wealth. As usual with great tribal ceremonies, it undoubtedly means different things to different temperaments.



The *tsayek* ceremony is ostensibly undertaken, like so many other great tribal ceremonies among American Indians, for the cure of a sick person who has not profited by ordinary shamanistic treatment. The main feature of the ceremony is the singing of a peculiar type of songs, accompanied by beating of sticks and certain conventional gesticulations and jumps. Each Indian that takes part in the ceremony sings a number of such *tsayek* songs that have become his property by family inheritance. Novices who are to be initiated into the *tsayek* ceremony sing these songs for the first time. In the course of the ceremony another and more advanced type of initiation takes place — that of those who have had some supernatural shamanistic experience, or who have a hereditary shamanistic right, into the formal status, often theoretical rather than actual, of shaman. This part of the ceremony offers suggestive parallels to the well-known Midē'wiwin of the Ojibwa and other Algonquian tribes. Indeed, the two types of initiation, *tsayek* proper and shamanistic, may be looked upon as constituting a series of degrees not unlike the more intricately developed system of shamanistic degrees current among the Algonquian tribes.

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pp. 569–580; *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, pp. 311–737. For literature on Coast Salish religion see: F. Boas, 'The LkuṅḡEn,' *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, Leeds meeting, 1890, pp. 563–582; 'The LkuṅḡEn' (religious ceremonials), in *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, pp. 644–646; C. Hill-Tout, *British North America, I. The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Dene*, London, 1907; 'The Salish Tribes of the Coast and Lower Fraser Delta,' *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905, Appendix to Report of Minister of Education, Ontario, pp. 225–235; 'Report on the Ethnology of the Siciatl of British Columbia, a Coast Division of the Salish Stock,' *JR 41* xxxiv, [1904] 20–91; 'Ethnological Report on the StsEēlis and Sk-aulits Tribes of the HalkōmēlEm Division of the Salish of British Columbia,' *ib.* pp. 311–376; 'Ethnological Studies of the mainland HalkōmēlEm, a Division of the Salish of British Columbia,' *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, Belfast meeting, 1902, pp. 355–449; 'Notes on the Sk-qō'mic of British Columbia, a Branch of the great Salish Stock of North America,' *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, Bradford meeting, 1900, pp. 472–549.

### Editorial Notes

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1. The paragraph divisions of the original, in which some material was relegated to smaller print, have been slightly revised in this reprinting.

## Indian Legends from Vancouver Island

Legend and myth permeate the whole of Indian life. Each tribe has not only its stock of myths, wonder tales of what took place in the beginning of the world, told mostly for the fun of the telling, but also its set of legends, no less supernatural in content, which deal with tribal or family history, the origins of clans and ceremonies, and the strange adventures of remote ancestors.

The Nootka Indians, who embrace a number of tribes on the west coast of Vancouver Island, are no exception to the rule. They distinguish very strictly between myths proper and legends. Both are believed to be true, but the myths go back to a misty past in which the world wore a very different aspect from its familiar appearance of today, when animals were human beings, to be later transformed into the creatures we know, and the tribes of men had not yet settled in their historic places nor started upon their appointed tasks, while the legends deal with supposedly historical characters of human kind, are definitely localized and connect directly with the tribes of today and what is of ceremonial or social importance to them. A myth, among the Nootka Indians, is no one's especial property. It may be told by any one and is generally known to a large number. A legend, on the other hand, is family property. Only those may tell it who have an inherited right to it; who trace descent, in other words, from the hero of the legend, the ancestor who has met one or more supernatural beings, has gained "power" from them, and has bequeathed to his descendants not only this "power" but a number of privileges, such as names, songs, and dances, which derive from the ancestral experiences. Thus the legend becomes itself a formal "privilege," inheritable like all other types of privilege among these Indians.

As illustrative of the mythology of the Nootka Indians, I have selected a brief myth and a longer legend. The former, which tells of the origin of mosquitoes, belongs to a type that is particularly well represented in the mythology of the American Indians. This is the explanatory myth, in which some feature of the present-day world is carried back to the primeval period and explained as the consequence of a more or less

casual episode. The legend, it will be observed, though equally fanciful from our modern point of view, has a quasi-historical air about it. The hero and his jealous rival are named and the topography is specific. An Indian, hearing the story, connects it at once with a particular chief's family in a particular village and sees the social relevance of each and every incident in it. We are to understand that the hero's powers of supernatural sight and of the overcoming of his enemies with the grindstone, the gift of the whales, have come down to his descendants, in theory if not in practice. There is much in the legend that is redolent of the old Indian life of the West Coast—the capture of the whale-drift, the betrayal [143] of a hated rival, the revelation of the dead whale as a spirit canoe, the gum-chewing, the references to mourning, and the stark background of sea and rocky coast.

The stories are literal translations of Indian narratives that were dictated to me several years ago. I have not attempted to embellish them in any way nor to tone down passages that may seem somewhat coarse or brutal to a gentle reader. The Indian naiveté of expression, too, has been preserved so far as our English idiom allows. It seems worth while to give some idea of the oral literature of the West Coast natives as it actually exists and to leave a free, literary rehandling of the incidents to those who are interested in the Indians as exotic material rather than as objects of study.

[Dr. Sapir then gave two interesting examples of the type of myth and legend prevalent among the Nootka Indians of Vancouver Island. He read his own literal translations of a myth entitled: "What Mosquitoes Are Made Of" and a legend "Always-Lifts-Up" and "Sore-Headed Whales."<sup>[1]</sup> These valuable examples of Indian folk-lore are in the Archives of the Museum and may be seen and read on request.]

### Editorial Notes

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1. These texts are to appear in Volumes XI-XII of *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir*. The manuscript is in the National Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec.



## Songs for a Comox Dance Mask<sup>1</sup>

In November, 1913, while engaged in a study of the language and culture of the Nootka Indians living in the neighborhood of Alberni, British Columbia (Vancouver Island), I obtained from Tommy Bill, a half-breed Comox Indian<sup>2</sup>, a dancing mask which was used in the Grizzly-bear Dance. This dance, though known to the Nootka under the name of *na'naqi'nak*, imitating a grizzly-bear (cf. Kwakiutl *na'n*, »grizzly-bear«), is not a native Nootka dance, at least in the Barkley Sound region, but has come to them by intermarriage with Kwakiutl or other tribes, like the Comox, who have themselves under Kwakiutl influence. The Comox Grizzly-bear Dance, according to my

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### Footnotes.

<sup>1</sup> Published by permission of the National Museum of Canada. This paper, in an unfinished state, was found among Dr. Sapir's manuscripts at the time of his death, February 4, 1939. It had been completed to a point midway of the legend, apparently in 1927. The second half has been put together from his attached notes, and for any errors in this part, I must assume responsibility. The final paragraph, was of course, not contained in the notes. — L. S.

<sup>2</sup> The Comox (*q'ó'mó'xʷs*) are a Coast Salish tribe of the east coast of Vancouver Island. They live just south of the Kwakiutl.

informant, was used in a potlatch during what the Nootka call the *ma'at* part of the distribution of property, not the *pa'ttapa'ya*. The former term refers to the general distribution of property, for which the recipients make no return, the latter to the gifts made to specially invited chiefs, who are expected to make return gifts, equivalent or with interest, at a later time. The hereditary privilege, or *topa'ti*, to use the Nootka term, for this dance and its accompanying songs was derived by Tommy through his Comox mother. His Nootka father had nothing to do with this privilege in his own right.

The legend, without which no ceremonial dance is a true privilege, was recounted by Tommy Bill as follows:

A long time ago one of the Comox people, named *Ó'ma'ts*, called all his brothers together to hunt deer. He was the oldest of them and belonged to the *Xá'a'q'e'* band, »Born like a baby«. He took along a big canoe and there were twenty with him in all — eight brothers and twelve cousins or other kinsmen. They departed from the village of *T'ta'má'tauxu*<sup>3</sup> and went up into the bush for deer, but on that first day he did not get any. On the same [second?] day he went up again to hunt deer, this time to a place called *T'ciqó'otun*.<sup>4</sup> He got nothing.

(A shaman who was in the village dreamt at the time of the Winter Feast<sup>5</sup> about a big bird in the mountains who was called *Xwáiywai*. He dreamt that the hunter and his brothers were going out hunting again long after.)

The hunter did not know why he could get no deer, so next time they went out he took along two dogs, a male and female. The male dog was called *Anéno's* and was a good hunting dog. The bitch was named *Sil'pít*. The dogs started to bark in the bush, while the canoe was waiting in the water alongside the beach. The great bird *Xwáiywai* was heard making a noise in the bush by the hunters. It sounded like thunder, with the land sliding and making a prolonged sound of *x*, and the mountain trembled. All the time the dogs kept barking. Then they came down to the beach. *Ó'ma'ts* said to the bitch, »Why don't you bring down the thing which is making that noise?«

<sup>3</sup> On the Cameron River.

<sup>4</sup> Valdez Island, off Cape Mudge.

<sup>5</sup> I use the term that Boas has made familiar for the Kwakiutl. Tommy Bill used the Nootka term, *tto'kwa'na*. The Comox term is *át'edjo's'ot*.



Fig. 1. Comox dancing mask. National Museum of Canada.

So the dogs went back into the bush where the noise was. The noise came nearer and nearer toward the canoe.

Finally *Ó'ma'l's* saw the bird coming dancing like a man; just like a man he was, except for his face. And the dogs were driving him and were accompanied by a grizzly-bear who went before them. The dogs kept barking. Those men on the beach just watched and saw what was happening.<sup>6</sup> The bird started to dance toward the canoe and they watched it. *Ywáiywai* danced right into the ground, leaving behind him his feathers and wooden mask.

After the bird was gone, *Ó'ma'l's* went ashore and took the feathers, because he was the oldest brother. Thus he got the hereditary privilege (*tofa ti*) for this dance. The grizzly-bear went back into the bush: *Ó'ma'l's* did not kill him. The hunters returned home, taking the dogs with them. They never told anyone about it.

The oldest brother began a big potlatch at which he showed the people the *Ywáiywai* mask and the Grizzly-bear dance. He began to dance: everyone saw it. It was fine looking. Everybody wanted that dance privilege, but he would not give it to them. One of the chiefs of that tribe, of the band called

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Sapir's manuscript ended abruptly at this point. — L. S.



*Q'ô'mo'x's*, wanted to marry the daughter of *Ô'ma'l's*: she was named *Lôkwa.ig'*, «Favorite one». She married this chief and got the hereditary privilege to that dance. (If one has a daughter, she gets such privileges, *topa'ti*, for her son.) The privilege spread from them to other tribes. This dance started right here *T'ta'mi laux*.

In this dance, the dancer appears alone with the mask on his head, his body covered by a grizzly-bear skin. Mask and garment cover him completely, so that nothing human is visible. He moves his

9 4/4  $\epsilon - \epsilon i$  O — wa — ai a — ai a o  
 stick accompaniment:  $\epsilon$   $\epsilon$   $\epsilon$  and so forth  
 11 4/4 wa hwa hwa a a —  $\epsilon i$  — yi ne —  $\epsilon$  —  $\epsilon n$   
 10 4/4 hu — u  $\epsilon$  —  $\epsilon n$  Fine wa hwa hwa a a  
 6 4/4  $\epsilon y$  — i — a — a repeated ad libitum, with the part after Fine, which is left out only at last.

After a few repetitions the following variant occurs (the first two bars and the rest identical with the form above):

rubato, slower  
 8 4/4 ya — a ya — lai — klis xans na — la yo — wa — a — ai  
 8 4/4 hu — u  $\epsilon$  —  $\epsilon n$  etc. as above; after a few repetitions again the variant with the text is sung.  
 accompaniment:  $\epsilon$   $\epsilon$   $\epsilon$   $\epsilon$   $\epsilon$   $\epsilon$

The Grizzly-bear Song.

head about jerkily from side to side, uttering a rattled sound like *b' +*, and moving the beak up and down. The mask has no eye holes, so that the dancer has to see out through the nose.<sup>1</sup>

The dancer makes four appearances. When he enters the first time, they all start to sing the Grizzly bear song, beating time with sticks on planks by way of accompaniment. This song is sung twice; on the first and second appearances. The *Xwaxwax* (bird) song is sung at the third and fourth entries to the same accompaniment.

### *Grizzly-bear Song.*<sup>2</sup>

The song burden, as noted from Tommy Bill's lips, is:

'a'a' (or 'a'e') . 'b' . . *wa'hwa'hi na'n hu'm u* . 'ya'

The words, which are evidently in the Kwakiutl language, are: *ya'laikli's xoms 'na'la*, »making shake the sky» (referring to the grizzly-bear).

### *Xwaxwax Song.*

Burden and words of this song are:

*ya'ya'ya' he'ya' kwits no'nkwa'hanc'he'yek* . u . . u .

The prose form of the last words are *kwits do'qkwa'm<sup>3</sup> i\**, »lots of people, all tribes» (who see this dance).

<sup>1</sup> The photograph of the mask used here as an illustration was generously provided by Dr. D. Jenness and the National Museum of Canada. Dr. Sapir's catalog entry reads: »The present specimen has panther [cougar] skin attached, though it should properly speaking, be grizzly bear.» — L. S.

<sup>2</sup> The phonograph records of the two songs (Nos. 76 and 77) are deposited with the National Museum of Canada. Thanks are due Dr. George Herzog for the transcriptions reproduced here. Dr. Herzog makes the following comments:

»The song texts under the melodies represent what was heard from the records; thus the slight divergence from the text as dictated by the Indian.

»*Grizzly bear Song*: The accompaniment for the last staff alternates with the simple eighths given at first. The tones 'g' and 'd' were sung somewhat high. A grace-note without a head indicates uncertain pitch. The inverted hold stands for a slight shortening.

»*Xwaxwax Song*: The beats in parentheses are optional. They are often omitted; the second beat in the first bar was omitted occasionally. There is in both songs a slight increase of speed and pitch throughout. — L. S.

ya ya ya-ai hei-ya kwits non-kwa-ha ne-ye-hei-ye

beating of sticks

After a considerable number of repetitions of the song the following cries are uttered:

glissando glissando

accompaniment and so forth

Afterwards the song is taken up again

Variants:

The Xwaixwai Song.

This dance privilege seems to have been hereditary in a particular family within the *Xá'a xé'* band of Comox, to which the hero of the legend belonged. Tommy Bill, the present owner, got it from — or rather through — his mother from his maternal uncle, who when »tired of it» handed it over to Tommy. It had come into the hands of this maternal pair from their mother,<sup>9</sup> who in turn had inherited it from her father, *Ó'ma'l's*, head chief of the *Xá'a xé'* band (who was not the legendary hero of that name, however). In 1913 Tommy said that he expected to hand on the privilege to his son. Tommy, his mother and her brother, his maternal grandmother and greatgrandfather all

<sup>9</sup> Tommy's mother was named *Hé'gyais*, »Stone thrown into the fire:» her brother *Wá'akras* (a Bella Bella name; her mother *Tcítits'ok't'*, »Dancing robe». Tommy's maternal grandfather was of the *I'iqsin* band. — L. S.



belonged to the *Na'a'ya'* band. With Tommy and his son, the dance passed from the Comox into Nootka hands. Apart from the circumstances in the grandmother's generation, for which our data are incomplete, the record seems to indicate that men alone impersonated the dance character but that the property right could, and did, pass through female relatives.

The dance and its accompanying songs are used only in really big potlatches. When Tommy was about twelve years old, his mother's brother showed the dance at a Comox potlatch where the amount of property involved reached \$1000. Tommy himself said that he would not perform it at a mere \$100 or \$200 potlatch; yet on another occasion he stated that he had danced it at *Ts'wa'atH'a* Nootka reserve, near Alberni, in 1911 when he gave a potlatch costing him \$150 to the *T'ok'wa'atH'a* people. This potlatch was a puberty ceremony held for his half-sister,<sup>10</sup> and in it, said Tommy, »this dance was the main thing he showed».

The ultimate source of the Grizzly-bear Dance must for the present remain uncertain. The Comox claim to origin rests in their legend, but the fabrication of such tales to assign a local origin to demonstrably borrowed dances is a characteristic practice of Northwest Coast tribes. Against the Comox claim is the circumstance that the words of the Grizzly-bear song are presumably Kwakwaka'wakw. It may well be that the unity of dance impersonation and song represents only an historical amalgam from diverse sources. In any event the immediate source of the complex, so far as the Nootka are concerned, was the Comox; what was once Comox is now by inheritance Nootka, definitely established among their hereditary or *lopa'll* privileges.

<sup>10</sup> The notes state »for his half-sister... who was then '*ait'sil*.' In his paper »A Girl's Puberty Ceremony among the Nootka Indians» (Transactions, Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, Vol. 7, pp. 67-80, 1913, Dr. Sapir wrote that at the first appearance of the menses, »the father or guardian of the girl gives a feast or potlatch... This first ceremony is termed '*ait's'ota*, which may be translated 'menstrual potlatch', from '*ait'sil*' to have a menstrual flow' (p. 67). — L. S.

## Editorial Note

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## Luck-Stones among the Yana

The Yana Indians, who lived in the northern part of California east of the Sacramento River, would often pick up small stones known as *'ō'numuip!ā*<sup>[1]</sup> (etymology uncertain, but cf. *'ōmu-*, "to dig out"), that were characterized by peculiarities of color, markings, or shape. Those of round shape and such as had light-colored bands (interpreted as rattlesnakes) were particularly sought. They were believed to bestow good luck upon their finder and possessor in whatever pursuit he required their aid, — the cure of disease, hunting, gambling, and the like. As a rule, the possession of these luck-stones was kept a secret, as indicated, for instance, by the fact that they were not kept in the house, but in some secluded spot in the woods known only to their possessor. The women made small cylindrical baskets for their reception. The material of these baskets was merely the twigs of the Douglas spruce, the needles being left on; in construction they were open-work twined, the thin twigs serving as parallel perpendicular warp elements, thinner peeled strips as woof, while the needles served as a sort of thatch to fill up the open-work interstices. As regards size, they were about five or six inches in height and two inches in diameter, in general appearance not unlike a bird's nest. The spruce basket, with its luck-stones, was not placed on the ground, but was hidden up in a tree, so that no one might touch it. If one desired to obtain some of the magic power resident in the luck-stones, as, for instance, when preparing for a gambling contest, the hands were wetted and carefully rubbed over them, the knowledge of this action being carefully kept from all.

Still more potent than the *'ō'numuip!ā* were small, white prismatic rocks, generally of quartz. These were known as *k!ūlmats!i*, translated by the informant as "diamonds" (see Curtin, "Creation Myths of Primitive America," p. 473). As there is nothing to show that either the *'ō'numuip!ā* or *k!ūlmats!i* were directly worshipped, or even explicitly associated with spirits giving them their supernatural power, it is perhaps best to refrain from using the word "fetishism" in connection with them.



## Editorial Notes

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1. Sapir corrects the initial 'ō and 'ō in line 3 to 'ô.

## Review of C. Hart Merriam, *The Dawn of the World*

*The Dawn of the World*, Myths and Weird Tales told by the Mewan Indians of California. By C. Hart Merriam. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1910.

This work of a well-known American biologist resembles Jeremiah Curtin's "Creation Myths of Primitive America" in that it endeavors to acquaint the general public with a body of aboriginal American myths, further in the fact that the tribe selected for the purpose is Californian. Mr. Merriam's book, however, has not only a popular appeal but is of distinct scientific value and as such is worthy of careful perusal and study on the part of those interested in American Indian mythology and ethnology. The greater part of the Californian mythologic material hitherto published (Hupa, Kato, Wishosk, Lassik, Shasta, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Yana, Wintun, Maidu) belongs to the smaller half of the state lying north of San Francisco Bay. Besides some material, mostly San Luiseño and Diegueño, from the extreme southern part of the state, practically nothing, if we except Dr. Kroeber's "Myths of South Central California," which are chiefly Yokuts, has been published specifically referring to the folk-lore of the Indians between San Francisco Bay and the Mexican border. "The Dawn of the World," as explained by its subtitle, is devoted to the tribes variously known as Miwok (Merriam's Mewuk) and Moquelumnan. These tribes, of whom hardly anything beyond fragmentary notes have been published, include the Miwok proper of the San Joaquin valley and the foothills of the Sierra Nevada to the east, the Coast Miwok just north of Golden Gate nearly to Russian River, and the small group of Clear Lake Miwok northeast of the Coast Miwok.

The body of the book consists of a set of over thirty myths in the ordinary sense of the word, called "ancient myths" by Mr. Merriam, and a series of beliefs or "present-day myths" respecting animals, ghosts and the sign of death, natural phenomena, witches, pigmies, giants and other fabulous beings; an introduction on the general characteristics of

Miwok mythology prefaces these two parts. Many of the myths proper are very short and are evidently but fragments of what must originally have been fuller narratives. "During the few years that have passed since the tales were collected," says Mr. Merriam, "several of the tribes have become extinct." Hence even a fragmentary myth is of positive value and thanks are due Mr. Merriam for having rescued what in some cases would very soon have become irretrievably lost. Several points of interest come out when the main facts of Miwok mythology are considered in comparison with those of other Californian tribes. In the first place, the creation of the world from out of a watery waste, a myth that is characteristic of the Maidu, Wintun and Achomawi of northern California, is conspicuous by its absence here; the creation of man from feathers is characteristic of the tribe. Secondly, Coyote, who in most American Indian mythologies is, if not always entirely, yet generally to a considerable extent, looked upon as a "trickster," meddlesome and obscene, is among the Miwok a consistently benevolent being and is, somewhat vaguely, looked upon as the creator. The great role played in Miwok mythology by the falcon, to a less extent also the "condor," is further noteworthy; this feature is paralleled also in the mythology of the Yokuts, who live to the south of the Miwok. Not a few of the myths published by Mr. Merriam find ready analogues among other Californian tribes, some even outside of California. Such, to mention but a few, are the theft of fire, of which quite a number of versions are found in the book, the making of hands for man by the lizard, and the "bear and deer" story (pp. 103–112), a widely spread myth found also in the Columbia River region and among the Shoshone of the Great Basin. The second part of the book, the "present-day myths," contains much of ethnologic interest and many of the beliefs listed could be paralleled among other tribes. That it is necessary for a person before he dies to have his nose perforated (p. 218) is, for instance, a belief shared also by the Yana of northern California as well as by other tribes of the state.

The myths are told in a rather agreeable [558] style and seem to reproduce the spirit of the original as well as could be expected of narratives not based directly on Indian texts. The practise adopted by Mr. Merriam, as before him by Curtin, of speaking of the animal, or better, pre-animal, characters by their Indian names instead of by the English translations of these names is hardly to be commended. Nothing is gained thereby. The Indian names are not really proper nouns, but merely the ordinary words for the animals referred to, so that their use



not only taxes the memory of the reader, but, to some extent, gives him a mistaken idea of the character of the mythology. Yet it would be mere carping to dwell on so small a matter. It is to be hoped that this contribution to California folk-lore will be followed by others from the pen of Mr. Merriam.

### Editorial Note

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## Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology<sup>1</sup>

THE prominent place occupied by song in the mental culture of the American Indians is well recognized by ethnologists, in spite of the relatively small bulk of aboriginal musical material that has heretofore been published. Generally Indian music is of greatest significance when combined with the dance in ritualistic or ceremonial performances. Nevertheless the importance of music in non-ceremonial acts — for instance, in the hand-game played by practically all tribes west of the Rockies — should not be minimized. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to the part that song plays in one of these non-ceremonial cases, as illustrated by the southern Paiutes of southwestern Utah.<sup>2</sup> Not infrequently in America, particularly where song enters in, mythology is closely linked with ritual; but as Paiute myths have, as far as could be learned, no ritualistic aspect whatever, the term "non-ceremonial" as applied to them seems justified.

There is one type of myth-song that is evidently very common in America. This is the short song found inserted here and there in the body of a myth, generally intended to express some emotion or striking thought of a character. It is generally of very limited melodic range and very definite rhythmic structure. Sometimes it is quite different in character from the regular types of song in vogue, not infrequently being considered specifically appropriate to the character involved; while at other times it approximates in form such well-recognized types as the round-dance song or medicine song, according to the exigencies of the narrative. The text to such a song is very often obscure. Even where it does not consist either entirely or in part of mere hurdens, the words are apt to be unusual in grammatical form, archaic, borrowed from a neighboring dialect, difficult to translate, or otherwise out of the ordinary. Ordinarily collectors of Indian myths have re-

<sup>1</sup> Published with consent of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> Reference is here had to the Kaibab Paiutes of the neighborhood of Kanab, in southwestern Utah, and Moccasin Springs, in northwestern Arizona. They hunt deer on the well-timbered Kaibab Plateau south as far as the Colorado River. They now number about eighty or ninety individuals. Linguistically Kaibab Paiute belongs to the Ute-Chemehuevi group of Plateau Shoshonean, differing only dialectally from Ute, than which, it would seem, it is more archaic. The Paiute material made use of in this paper was obtained in four months' work for the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (February-June, 1910) with Tony Tillohash, a young man of the Kaibab Paiutes, then finishing a course of study at Carlisle. Despite his five years' absence from home, Tony's musical memory was quite remarkable. Besides the myth-songs spoken of here, over two hundred other songs of various kinds (threen or four varieties of "cry" or mourning songs, bear-dance songs, round-dance songs, ghost-dance songs, medicine songs, gambling songs, scalp songs, and others less easy to classify) were obtained from him.



frained from taking down music and words of such songs,<sup>1</sup> though there is small doubt in the mind of the writer that they occur in regions widely apart. From the point of view of style in native mythology, an aspect of the subject not generally given the attention it deserves, it would be highly desirable to record carefully all such myth-songs. A few such songs have been recorded by the writer in Uintah Ute and Kaibab Paiute myth-texts. As it is intended to publish them in their proper setting, it is not necessary to anticipate in this place. They do not differ in general character from songs of the type already published.

There is evidence of the existence of a second type of myth-song in America, — the song which itself narrates a myth. The most elaborate examples known of such myth-songs are the Homeric poems, which, as is well known, were sung by rhapsodists to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument. Dr. Kroeber refers to dream myths of the Mohave, that are sung by the person who has dreamt the myth. As he has as yet published no example of these songs, it is impossible at present to say whether the myths are sung entire or only in part, and whether the words are set by the dreamer once for all to a definitely recurring melody or set of melodies, or, as seems more probable, may vary in actual form so long as they fit the rhythm of the song and tell the story. It is not clear whether the Mohave myth-songs referred to are of the same general type as the Diegueño songs of which specimens have been recently published in text without music by Mr. Waterman.<sup>2</sup> These are set songs of no great length, that, in a more or less definitely determined series, relate, or perhaps more accurately refer, to a myth. It seems that also the Navaho and the Pueblo Indians have such series of songs of mythical reference. In any case, however, such songs do not adequately reflect the mythology of the tribe, but seem rather to form an ancillary body of artistic material of ritual use, based on the mythology proper. As far as can be gathered, it seems more probable that the long Mohave myth-songs that Dr. Kroeber speaks of are in a class apart from these. Perhaps they resemble the Paiute recitatives to be spoken of presently.

So far as known, the Paiute do not have set songs referring to mythical incidents, though it does not seem unlikely that the texts of at least some of the mourning and bear-dance songs did originally have such reference. On the other hand, what may be called "song recitative" is well developed in the mythology of this tribe. The narrative portions of a myth are always recited in a speaking voice. The conver-

<sup>1</sup> Published examples of this type of song are to be found in Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, pp. 11, 63; Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 24, 154; Boas, *Chinook Texts*, pp. 116, 117, 118, 144, 146, 150, 151, 192, 235; Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, pp. 58, 68, 90, 94, 96, 134, 142, 150; Sapir, *Takelma Texts*, pp. 14, 15, 46, 62, 102, 104, 106, 164.

<sup>2</sup> T. T. Waterman, *The Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 8, no. 6, 1910).

sational passages, however, are either spoken or sung, according to the mythical character who is supposed to be speaking. Some characters, such as Porcupine, Chipmunk, Skunk, and Badger, are represented as talking rather than singing; at any rate, the writer's informant did not know of any style of singing connected with them. Other characters, and among them are Wolf, Mountain-Bluejay, Gray-Hawk, Sparrow-Hawk, Eagle, Lizard, Rattlesnake, Red-Ant, Badger-Chief, and a mythical personage known as Iron-Clothes (literally, Stone-Clothes), regularly sing in speaking. Coyote regularly speaks, though, as often in other mythologies, character is sometimes given his words by a style of delivery meant to convey conceit, scorn, astonishment, or other state of mind appropriate to him. Once, however, on the death of his brother Wolf, he breaks out into an excitedly melancholy recitative. A Paiute song recitative is not peculiar to any particular myth, but always to a particular character, there being as many distinct styles of recitative as there are singing characters. Both Wolf and Gray-Hawk have been found in more than one myth, yet their recitative style remains the same in any myth that they are actors of. On the other hand, in one myth, that of Iron-Clothes, three styles of recitative are found exemplified, belonging to Rattlesnake, Red-Ant, and Iron-Clothes respectively. It is, then, theoretically possible, aside from rhythmic difficulties, to sing any given text to the tune of any recitative; and when so sung, the character in whose mouth the words are put is determined, as no two characters sing exactly alike.

The recitative consists of a melody of determined rhythm, there being a definite number of beats to the period, that recurs indefinitely. In some cases the recurring period is linked to the preceding period without a pause; in others there is a slight pause between the periods, which are thus given more evident unity of form. Owing to the varying words that go with the recurrent periods, and the consequent variations in number of syllables for each period, there must necessarily be slight changes in details of melody in passing from one period to another. Thus a quarter-note may, on its recurrence, be broken up into two eighths; two eighths may be resolved into a triplet of eighths; a triplet of eighths may be combined into a triplet consisting of a quarter and an eighth; and so on indefinitely, the fundamental rhythm and melody, however, always remaining the same. A few flaws of rhythm have been found here and there; but, on the whole, the rhythmical march of these recitatives is good, as indicated by the fact that for very considerable stretches the phonograph records have been found to go well with the beats of the metronome. The words that go with the recitatives are not fixed, except in one or two cases to be noted below, but are composed on the spur of the moment. Obviously the singer, in other words the narrator of the myth, has to be careful to choose words

## 4

of appropriate syllabic structure, though he is helped out to a large extent by the freedom with which he can lengthen or break vowels and add padders. These padders are either meaningless syllables (like *vī*, *vīnī*, *vīanīnā*,<sup>1</sup> and others of similar form) or words and parenthetical statements of rather colorless content (such as *ōq̄wāyā*, prose "q̄wāi", "that," invisible objective, which may be rendered "truly, forsooth;" and *mai'an' q̄q̄w aikā*, "that is what I say").

The linguistic form of the recitative texts differs also in another respect from the ordinary prose form. Paiute and Ute, in their normal form, are full of voiceless and whispered (in Paiute murmured) vowels that are reduced, owing to general phonetic laws, from original fully voiced vowels; they may at times be lost altogether. In recitative, and indeed in song-texts generally, these reduced vowels are restored to

<sup>1</sup> NOTE ON PHONETICS. — Some of the characters here used require explanation.

*i* is short and open.

*ī* short and close.

*ī̄* long and open.

*ī̄* long and close.

*ū* is long and open (cf. *oo* in English *poor*).

*o* is short and open.

*ō* short and close.

*ō* long and close.

*A* like *u* in English *but*.

*ä* like *a* of *hat*.

*ī̄* is high back unrounded.

*U* differs from *ī̄* in being lower and perhaps slightly rounded.

*p*, *t*, *tc*, *q*, *k*, are "intermediate" (voiceless and lenis).

*tc* approximately like *ch* of English *church*.

*q* not very decidedly velar.

*g* occurs in songs as variant of *q*, *k*, or of corresponding spirants *γ*, *χ*.

*v* is either dentolabial or bilabial.

*r* tongue-tip weakly trilled.

*γ* velar voiced spirant.

*V*, *Ā*, and *x* are voiceless spirants corresponding to *v*, *r*, *γ*.

*vw* is bilabial *v* with inner rounding and is not identical with *w*.

*γ* is weak *γ*-glide,

*kʷ* and *xʷ* are palatalized *k* and *x* (*xʷ* like German *ch* of *ich*).

*η* is *ng* of English *sing*.

*mʷ* is *m* with *w*-glide to following vowel.

*ʼt* and *ʼp* are *t* and *p* with simultaneous closure of glottis, not identical with "fortis" *tʼ* and *pʼ*, which are not found in Paiute.

*ʼ* represents aspiration (*pʼ*, *tʼ*, *tcʼ*, *kʼ*, *qʼ*, *kʷʼ* are voiceless aspirated stops).

*ʷ* palatalized aspiration (practically weak *xʷ*).

*ʷ* weak *x* resulting from *ʼ* before *q*.

*ʷ* glottal stop.

*ˑ* length of preceding consonant.

*ˑ* nasalization of vowel.

superior vowels are unvoiced when found after *ʼ*, murmured (German *Murmelstimme*) before and after *ʷ*.

*ʷ* over vowel (e. g., *ä*) denotes *a* with weak "glottal *r*" or *Knarrstimme* (*aʷ* sometimes becomes *äʷ* or *ǟ*).



their original form, and may, like other vowels, be lengthened or broken at will. Thus Paiute *t'qūā'm'* ("your flesh") becomes *təqə'ām'i* in one of the recitatives; in another recitative, with different rhythmic requirements, it might just as readily have become *təqə'am'di*. In order to give an idea of how a recitative text compares with the corresponding prose text, a passage from one of Sparrow-Hawk's speeches will be given in both forms. In the myth to which the passage applies some one has maltreated his wife, so that she flees to Gray-Hawk for protection. The latter refuses to give her up, so that Sparrow-Hawk prepares to contend with him. Before leaving, he addresses the following words to the people of his village. It may be noted that the text was composed by the informant as he sang the recitative into the horn of the phonograph.

ayán'ik'y'ávaāt'siηw<sup>w</sup> áik'y'ai úηwái'  
 m<sup>w</sup>ʊmíntcu'áη'āā[vū] 'úηwaiā[vī]  
 sapígaq'ávaāt'siηw<sup>1</sup> áik'y'aiy'í[vī]  
 tīv<sup>w</sup>ít'sisámpāā η η 'urú'aiy'í[vī]  
 qwííq'w'aināā η η 'urú'aiy'í[vī]  
 uηwávat'cōqwāāq'wái'iván ix'y'āā<sup>1</sup>

The accent (') indicates a beat, of which there are six to a period. Padding syllables are enclosed in brackets. The prose form with translation, of this speech, is, —

ayán'yk'yavāt'siηwAηw	áik'y'ai	uηwái' <sup>a</sup>
Being about to do (pl.) in what way to him (invis.) you (pl.)	are saying (pl.)	that one (invis. obj.)?
m <sup>w</sup> ʊmíntcu'āη	uηwái' <sup>a</sup>	
You (pl.) inter. him	that one (invis. obj.)	
s <sup>a</sup> píx'y <sup>a</sup> qavāt'siηw	áik'y'ai	
being about to overcome (pl.) him (invis.)	are saying (pl.),	
tīv <sup>w</sup> ít'sampāη	η η	urú'ai'
really although his	she (invis.)	is
qwííq'w'aināη	η η	urú'ai'
his having taken away	she (invis.)	is?
uηwávat'cux <sup>w</sup> q'w'aivān'ix'y'a <sup>a</sup>		
To that one (invis.) off will I go then!		



That is, "What is it that you all do say you will do to that (Gray-Hawk)? Do you say that you will overcome him, even though really he has taken her away? To that one, then, away I will go!"

<sup>1</sup> -ga- and -qwaā- with stop consonants instead of the spirant consonants γ (or x) and ηw (or xw) that would be expected; (cf. prose forms a<sup>w</sup>- and x<sup>w</sup>-). They are used because there is enough of a pause between them and the preceding vowels to prevent spirantization.

The musical period or melodic unit of each song recitative obtained will now be given, including the first line or two of text. It is highly probable, indeed certain, that there are many more recitative styles, corresponding to as many more mythological characters, than could be obtained; but enough are given here to indicate clearly the general character of Paiute myth recitative.<sup>1</sup>

#### I. WOLF'S MYTH RECITATIVE



The full period of this recitative (*sīnaηwāvī . . . uq'wāyā*) consists of twenty-two beats, and is divided into two sections of eleven beats each. The sections are parallel in structure throughout, the first three beats of each being identical in melody, while with the fifth beat of the second section begins the musical answer to the latter part of the first section. The half-note may, on recurrence, be split up into two quarters, while a group of two eighths may be combined into a quarter. The pauses at the end of each section, particularly the one ending the period, are somewhat irregular in length. They are frequently a trifle too long to be metrically correct, in order to allow time for the catching of the breath. The fifth recurrence of the period is given for the sake of showing the extent of melodic variation. It should be admitted, however, that it is often difficult to distinguish  from .



Following is the prose text and translation of these two periods, together with the translation of the text of the four intervening periods.

<sup>1</sup> Transcriptions are by the author.

Padders, indicated above by brackets, are omitted. The wives of the Badger people have abandoned their husbands and joined the village of Wolf and Coyote. Wolf tells Coyote not to lie around lazily, but to get ready for battle.

sīnáŋwāv<sup>i</sup> uv<sup>w</sup>úxwá'no úv<sup>w</sup>a<sup>i</sup>  
Coyote, go ahead then there!

nāyúq<sup>i</sup>wiŋqīt'uAm<sup>i</sup><sup>a</sup>  
Go and engage in battle along with others!

One should not be acting in that way (as you act), forsooth,  
When he has as wife some one else's wife that he has taken away.  
Go ahead then there, go and engage in battle along with others,  
That, forsooth, I say, O Coyote!  
But here, I say, I shall be lying down.  
Coyote, go ahead then there!  
Go and engage in battle along with others, that, forsooth, I say!  
One should not be lying down in that way,

nīmpiŋwáritsaŋwáp<sup>i</sup>ŋwáxaa<sup>i</sup><sup>yu</sup>  
When he has as wife some one else's wife that he has taken away,  
máian aik<sup>y</sup> cīnáŋwāv<sup>i</sup>  
That I say, O Coyote!

## 2. BADGER-CHIEF'S MYTH RECITATIVE



M. M. ♩ = 160.

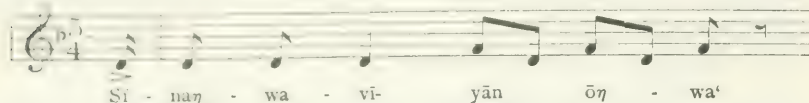
Qat - teō tca - nī- [vun - nī'] ā - it ti - nī - tē sr -

ī - yaē - ap - pā - [vun - nī'] si - naŋ - wa - vi - yaŋ - ŋwāŋ<sup>y</sup>

The period of this recitative (*qat'cōtcānīvun<sup>i</sup>*) consists of a single measure of five beats. Rhythmically it is characterized by the syncopation of the second beat and the decided staccato of the last note, to which corresponds the aspiration of the final vowel in the text. At times the eighth pause following the period is irregularly lengthened, as in the preceding recitative. The scant melody and characteristic rhythm of Badger-Chief's recitative remind one strongly of the first type of short myth-song referred to above, and it seems probable that it was extended into a recitative from what was originally a mere snatch of rhythm occurring once or twice in a particular myth. So short is the period, that it is often found inadequate for words of some length. In such cases either the word is cut in two and divided between two periods (the second and third periods above are a case in point), or the period is irregularly extended to six beats (as in the fourth period above).



The use of six instead of five beats seems, however, to be considered a flaw. When the attention of the informant was called to the metrical structure of the fourth period, for instance, he suggested the following, with anacrusis and resolution of the characteristic  into , as an improvement:



The prose form of the first four periods, and the translation of Badger-Chief's speech, follow, the periods after the fourth being separated by bars. The speech is taken from the same myth as the preceding recitative. The chief of the Badger people (i.e., people who are wont to hunt badgers), then away from their home, has dreamt of the abandonment of the Badger women for Coyote's village. He tells his people of his dream:

qat'cút'can' a'át'in'onos'ia'p'a      sínáŋwaviyan' uŋw áik'⁴y  
I did not                  not dream well                  of Coyote I                  he (invis.)                  say<sup>1</sup>

Of that one (invis.) | our wives (obj.) | our wives (obj.) he (invis.) | his (invis.) having taken to wife. |

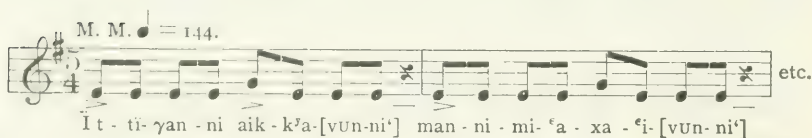
I did not | not dream well | not, |

While you (pl.) keep on doing so to them,<sup>2</sup> | that forsooth I say, | of those (invis.) our wives |

What (they) all will eat.<sup>3</sup> | Soon, forsooth, we | shall start back home. |

Coyote he (invis.) | our wives (obj.) | caused to turn away, | that I have dreamt.

### 3. MYTH RECITATIVE OF MOUNTAIN-BLUEJAYS



The period of this recitative (*íť'í'an'i . . . man'imi'axa'ivun'i*), as of the former, consists of a single measure of five beats, of which only four are taken up by the melody. The pause at the end of the period is rarely a full quarter; generally it is a trifle less, as indicated by the minus-sign under the staff. Again, as in the second recitative, each line of text ends in aspiration. What was said above in regard to the rhythmic character and possible origin of the period in the second recitative applies equally here. The G of the melody, it may be noted, is not always a clear minor third from the tonic E, but at

<sup>1</sup> Meaning "of that Coyote, I say."

<sup>2</sup> That is, keep on digging for badgers.

<sup>3</sup> That is, which our wives are to have as food.

times seems to be depressed to F<sup>♯</sup>. The form of melody given is the one that most commonly occurs; but the two following are also found, of which the second has only three sung beats:

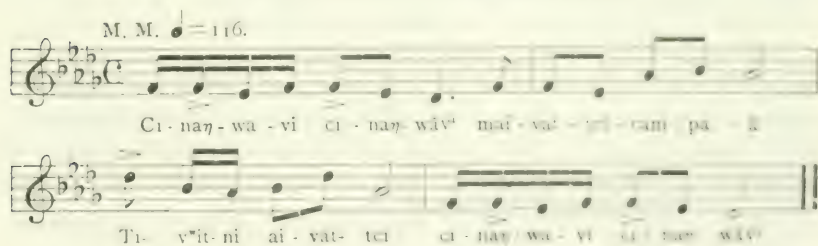



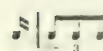
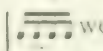
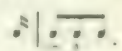
This recitative is taken from the same myth as the first two. Among the helpers of the Badger people in their war upon Wolf and Coyote are the Mountain-Bluejays or, as they are termed in the myth, Blue-Hat people. Wolf and his companion Panther retreat *before* their enemies to a mountain where protection is in store for them. Two Mountain-Bluejays, who still survive, press on and exult:

'tīān'i aik'y man'im'miāxa  
'T is too bad you say thus doing as you go along,<sup>1</sup>

O Panther! | my | my going to be had as panther-skin blanket, | I having slain you. |  
'T is too bad you say | thus doing as you go along, |  
In front of me | standing as you go along, | mountain (obj.) | having started towards it |  
What have you there | on that mountain it? |  
Thus saying you do, | in front of me | standing as you go along. |  
'T is too bad you | thus say as you move, | whom I shall slay, |  
You | who have great power, | say you so? | O Wolf! |  
'T is too bad | will thus be | your |  
Your flesh | this earth (obj.) on it lying.

#### 4. RATTLESNAKE'S MYTH RECITATIVE



Instead of  it is possible, and perhaps preferable, to write  with anacrusis; instead of  we may write . This recitative has a period (*cinanawā* . . . second *cinanawā*<sup>1</sup>) of sixteen beats, the period being divided into two well-marked sections of eight beats each. The second half of the second period is identical with the first half of the first period. Instead of the first two eighths of the second measure (F and E), we sometimes have a triplet consisting of F, E, and F. The half note of the second measure, to a less degree the corresponding long notes of the other measures, are accele-

<sup>1</sup> That is, 't is too bad you have to retreat.

## 10

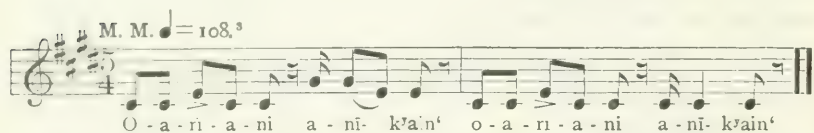
rated somewhat from their due length. This seems to occur so regularly, that it is perhaps better considered a rhythmic characteristic of the song than a metrical flaw. The long note of the second measure, moreover, regularly begins with a peculiar slurred break in the voice, as it were, which may be inadequately rendered by writing  $\text{♪} \text{♪} \dots$  instead of  $\text{♪}$ . In the myth from which this speech of Rattlesnake's is taken, Coyote carries Rattlesnake around in a sack while on his way to help war against the wicked Iron-Clothes. He derides his legless friend as one unfit to do battle, but Rattlesnake claims that he can kill the antelope which serves Iron-Clothes as a warner of impending danger:

Cīnáŋwaw<sup>i</sup> cīnáŋwaw<sup>i</sup> máivāt'cīcamp<sup>a</sup>  
O Coyote, Coyote! though ever speaking thus,<sup>1</sup>

tīv<sup>w</sup>ít'sin<sup>i</sup> áivāt'c<sup>i</sup> cīnáŋwaw<sup>i</sup> cīnáŋwaw<sup>i</sup>  
As though truly ever speaking,<sup>2</sup> O Coyote, Coyote!

While teasing people, carry me then on your back, carry me then on your back!  
I forsooth am the one, that antelope of his  
Who will slay, that forsooth I say.  
O Coyote, Coyote, Coyote, Coyote!

## 5. IRON-CLOTHES' MYTH RECITATIVE



In this recitative the full period (*oariani* . . . second *anik<sup>y</sup>ain'*) consists of ten beats. As in the case of the preceding recitative, the period is divided into two sections of equal length, the first half of each section being the same. Once or twice the second section begins with an anacrusis  $\text{♪} \text{♪}$ . The  $\text{♪} \text{♪}$  of the first section may be omitted, also the final eighth-note (C) of the second section. Iron-Clothes has begun to scent danger, having taken note of unwonted occurrences. His wife, whom those that have set out to war against him have come to liberate from his tyranny, is continually grinding seeds, eventually to serve as food for his enemies. His antelope has made an unwonted sound, having been slain, as Iron-Clothes does not yet know, by Rattlesnake. Iron-Clothes addresses his wife, and, suspecting a spy's work, voices his uneasiness:

<sup>1</sup> That is, always mocking people.

<sup>2</sup> That is, pretending always to speak truthfully.

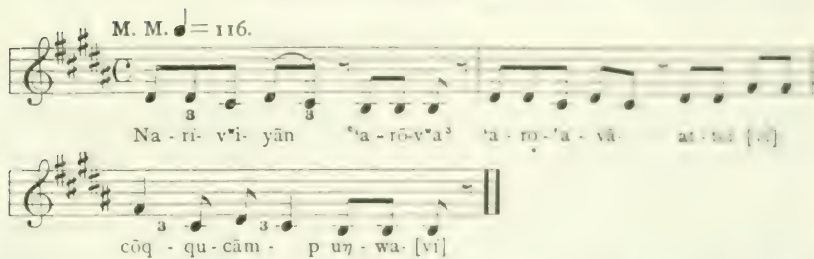
<sup>3</sup> In the last measures of the song the tempo accelerates to  $\text{♪} = 115$ .





oárian'	anik <sup>3</sup> ain <sup>4</sup>	oárian'	anik <sup>3</sup> ain'
Of one spying	(is) what has	of one spy-	(is) what has
on me	been done,	ing on me	been done, <sup>1</sup>

That forsooth I say. Are you wont to do thus,<sup>2</sup>  
 You, then, as that Coyote  
 As he has caused to do, acting in that manner?  
 That antelope of mine, he that is mine,  
 Has uttered a raucous sound qx + , never having done so before.  
 Are you thus wont to do, always grinding?  
 (You) who do as one who is spying on me has told (you),  
 As that same Coyote has caused (you) to do,  
 He saying, "You shall grind!" you who are doing (thus).

## 6. RED-ANT'S MYTH RECITATIVE



Instead of the  of the beginning, we may also have . The period (*nariv<sup>3</sup>iyān . . . urwavi*), consisting of twelve beats, is divided into two sections of unequal length. The first consists of four beats; the second, of eight beats, is just twice as long. It seems preferable to look upon the second and third measures as forming a single section rather than to divide the song into three sections of equal length, as the beginning of the second measure duplicates that of the first in a manner suggesting two-sectioning of the whole melody; moreover, after the B of the first measure there is no natural note to pause on until the B of the third is reached, the dominant (F#) of the second measure being particularly impossible as a sectional close. The whole song as recorded ends, on its last recurrence, with the first section. This is of no further significance except as showing that it is not absolutely necessary, though doubtless in better form, to round out a recitative with a full period. In the final combat with Iron-Clothes' people, his daughters prove for a long while to be invincible. Red-Ant, the valiant hero with but one arrow, attempts a ruse. He calls out to the daughters to turn their backs to their opponents and bend down, claiming that he too has found that proceeding of service to him in combat. He then prepares to shoot them with his one arrow. His speech runs, —

<sup>1</sup> That is, some one who is spying on me has done all this.

<sup>2</sup> That is, you have never done thus before, never kept grinding seeds.

<sup>3</sup> Fragmentary form anticipated from following word.

12

nariv<sup>w</sup>iyān 'arō'avat'e cū'q<sup>'u</sup>camp u<sup>'wa</sup>  
 'Tis my wont always being only one (obj.) he (invis.)

Always having arrow I,<sup>1</sup> you Coyote.

I forsooth am he that is ever wont to have but one arrow.

My task too was it once, facing backwards, to keep bending down with buttocks held out,

My (task) too was it once to do so facing this way.

O tearful thing that we all, as it seems, do lose in combat,

We all, as it seems, are losing in combat,

O tearful thing, forsooth! Let me, then, just for fun

Shoot at them!

### 7. EAGLE'S MYTH RECITATIVE

M. M. ♩ = 152.

Pi - yae - nip - pu - tsî U - v<sup>w</sup>U - tca- n[u - qwā - yā]

ti - in - tu - gwan - tim - pān\* [°oq - qwā - yā]

Sometimes, in fact generally, the eighth pause of the last measure is accelerated, so that the measure does not receive the full value of four beats. The period of this recitative (*piyā'nip'utsî . . . °oq'wāyā*), consisting of sixteen beats, is quite symmetrically divided into two eight-beat sections, the first halves of the sections being identical. Young-Eagle, who dwells in the west, is about to travel east into the country of the Sibit Paiutes<sup>2</sup> in order to hunt jack-rabbits and get him a wife. Before leaving he tells his mother,—

piyān<sup>d</sup>'puts<sup>\*</sup> uv<sup>w</sup>utcan<sup>i</sup> tīintu<sup>w</sup>antimpān<sup>i</sup>  
 Little mother,<sup>3</sup> let me me be about to go eastward,

Let (me) go and eat jack-rabbits that I have killed myself,<sup>4</sup> but do you here

Continue to stay, forsooth. In the Sibit land, forsooth, I say,

There (am) I about to go and eat jack-rabbits that I have killed myself.

Here shall you stay forsooth, there at our house,

That forsooth I say, there at our house stay.

<sup>1</sup> That is, I am he who is ever wont to have but one arrow.

<sup>2</sup> A band of Paiutes living west of the Kaibab Paiutes in the neighborhood of St. George on the Virgin River.

<sup>3</sup> Diminutives are often used in Paiute, as elsewhere, to express affection.

<sup>4</sup> This was forbidden to boys.

## 8. SPARROW-HAWK'S MYTH RECITATIVE

M. M.  $\text{♩} = 114.$

A - γan - ni - k'ā - va - āt - tsi qu w' aik k'ā d w' wai m'

min - teu - aη - ηa - ā - [vū] 'uη - wai - ā - [vū]

The period of this recitative (*aγan'ik'avaāt'sinquw' . . . uγai*) has six beats, and is divided into two sections of three beats each. It is the only recitative secured of which the melody is in triple time. The sections are here linked somewhat more closely than usual, each beginning with an anacrusis in the preceding measure; still there is sometimes a time-disturbing pause before the  $\text{♩}$  that begins the second section. In the first two rounds of the period the second measure seems to have  $\text{♩}$ , as given above, but after that always  $\text{♩}$ . There is nothing further involved here than inaccuracy of singing or perception. A metrical flaw occurs once in the song, — the group  $\text{♩}$  of the first section, which ordinarily occurs but twice, has been once found to occur three times, its measure thus containing four instead of three beats. Text and translation of the song have been given above (p. 5).

## 9. GRAY-HAWK'S MYTH RECITATIVE

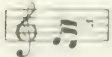
M. M.  $\text{♩} = 108.$

To - gō - ga-wī - wī ya-nī pai-yā ya-nī pai-yā ya-nī tā -

gō - ga-wī - wī ya-nī pai-yā ya-nī pai-yā ya-nī

This recitative might as well have been written in  $\frac{1}{2}$  time by dividing each measure as given into two, but it seemed preferable to write eight beats to the measure for convenience of comparison with the following recitative. The period (*toḡōgawīwī . . . second paīyāyānī*) has sixteen beats, and is divided into two sections of equal length, each section beginning with an anacrusis of a sixteenth. There is no pause




between the sections, the song moving on without a halt until the end  is reached. Gray-Hawk sets out to gamble with Toad, and, before leaving, addresses his wife Lizard, —

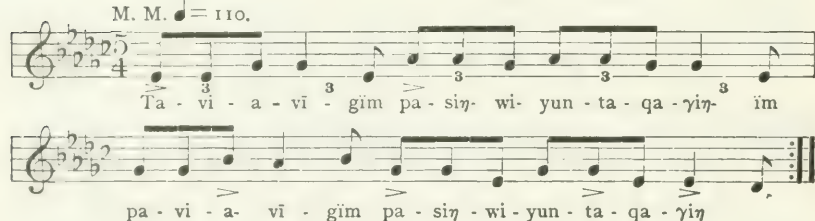
*Tōgōgawīwī yanī paiyāyanī paiyāyanī,  
tōgōgawīwī yanī paiyāyanī paiyāyanī.*

Behold, I shall forsooth go off there,  
Behold, I shall forsooth go off to visit,  
But do you stay here.  
I shall forsooth return in the evening, forsooth.  
You, then, shall stay here, that I (say), there,  
That forsooth I say, who am about to go forth.

The text of the first period cannot be translated,<sup>1</sup> and is not felt as conveying any meaning. It seems to serve merely to set the pace for the melody and rhythm of the recitative. Nearly every speech of Gray-Hawk's begins with the words *tōgōgawīwī . . . paiyāyanī*, either for the first period or only for its first section. It seems very likely that the words originally had a definite meaning or specific reference in a particular myth dealing with Gray-Hawk, and later, being associated with Gray-Hawk, came to form part of his recitative. Should this be the case, it would corroborate the theory above suggested (Nos. 2 and 3) for the origin of myth recitative as an elaboration of the omnipresent simple Indian myth-song.


#### 10. LIZARD'S MYTH RECITATIVE

M. M.  = 110.



Ta - vi - a - vi - gim pa - siη - wi - yun - ta - qa - γiη - im

pa - vi - a - vi - gim pa - siη - wi - yun - ta - qa - γiη

There is at times an irregular pause at the end of the period (*taviaviγim . . .* second *pasinwiγuntagaγiη*) which permits the singer to catch his breath. Melodically there is no pause in the recitative, which, like the preceding, moves on without a halt until the end of the song. As recorded on the phonograph, the end is reached shortly after the beginning of the last recurrence of the period: .

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that *paiyāyanī* is a song form of *paiyān*<sup>1</sup> ("my breast").

another example of incomplete rounding out. It is evident, after a brief examination, that the melodic movement of this recitative is identical with that of the preceding, the eight-beat section of the latter being replaced by a five-beat section, while the characteristic melodic figure  $\text{♩} \text{♩}$  is replaced by a triplet  $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ . There is little doubt that this practical identity of melody is quite intentional. It is appropriate enough for Gray-Hawk and his wife to sing in similar strain, — Gray-Hawk in more measured fashion, as comports with greater dignity; Lizard in flightier spirit, as befits a woman. These two recitatives are thus an interesting example of the presence among Indians, as among ourselves, of a distinct feeling for melody as apart from rhythm.<sup>1</sup> On hearing of her husband's resolve to go off visiting, Lizard begs him to take her along:

Taviavix'a'                      t'a' ciŋwiyuntaq'a'yei'  
While lying in the sun      like gravel (she) changes color as sunbeams wave over (her),

taviavix'a'                      t'a' ciŋwiyuntaq'a'yei'  
While lying in the sun      like gravel (she) changes color as sunbeams wave over (her)

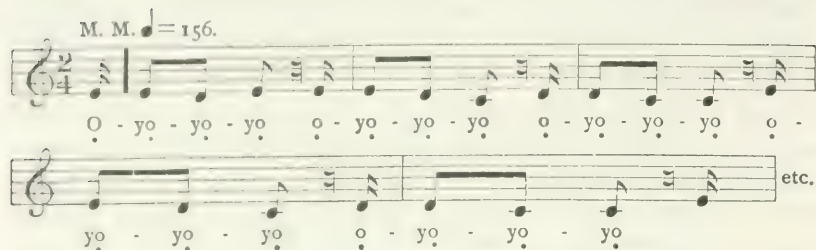
How, forsooth, say you? whither, forsooth, will you go off?  
Pray, then, take me along with you,  
With you, then, let me go along.

The text of the first period of the recitative refers to the basking in the sun of the lizard, and has no more direct bearing on the matter in hand than the *toŋōgawīwī* of Gray-Hawk. Like the latter, it generally takes up the first period or section of any speech of Lizard's, evidently serving to outline the melody of the recitative. Perhaps the very similarity of the melodies of the two recitatives made the use of such preliminary melodic tags of service. In any event, the conventional and irrelevant character of Lizard's first words again points to the origin for Paiute recitative already suggested. Linguistically the poetic form of these words is decidedly peculiar. *-gim* and *-ŋiŋim* are to be explained as secondary developments of *-x<sup>(ŋ)</sup>ai* (prose *-x<sup>(ŋ)</sup>a'*) and *-ŋeiyi* (prose *-ŋeiy<sup>(ŋ)</sup>*) with unexplained inserted (?) *-ŋ-* and added *-m*, the latter nasal assimilating following *t-* to *p-*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is borne out by the fact that some of the mourning songs were recorded in two forms, — an old-fashioned and new-fashioned way of singing, — which differ not melodically, but rhythmically.

<sup>2</sup> Ordinarily nasal consonants are assimilated by following stopped consonants. Thus *-ŋeiyin tavi-* would have been expected. Perhaps *-ŋimim paŋi* is due to assonance of *-gim paŋiŋ-*.

## II. COYOTE'S MYTH RECITATIVE OR LAMENT



The period of this recitative consists of ten beats distributed among the five measures of two beats each. In accordance with the excitedly lamenting character of the text and melody, the period does not show clear sectioning into two parts, but is best considered as a series of five disjointed fragments of melody, of which the fourth and fifth are respectively identical with the second and third. The period begins with a sixteenth anacrusis, and ends of course with the last C of the last measure given above. The five melodic fragments making up the period may be considered conventionalized musical forms of wails or sobs. The cry of sorrow, *oyoyoyo*, which makes up the text of the first round, is repeated every now and then in the succeeding rounds, serving as a convenient padder. On account of the shortness of the melodic fragments, some of the words have to be cut up into two or three parts; thus *iyāntī' uinqīyāiyag'an<sup>i</sup>* ("while giving warning to me of it") becomes *iyāntī*, *tu'inqīgai*, and *iyag'anī*. Wolf and his younger brother Coyote have been doing battle against their enemies. Owing to disobedience, on Coyote's part, of his brother's directions, Wolf has been slain, whereupon Coyote laments:

*Oyoyoyo oyoyoyo oyoyoyo oyoyoyo oyoyoyo,*

Here I shall put away my quiver against my return, *oyoyoyo oyoyoyo.*

Why should that one<sup>1</sup> have said to me, *oyoyoyo,*

Warning me of this? *oyoyoyo.*

From the musical point of view, perhaps the most remarkable fact to be noted in regard to these recitatives is the variety of rhythms employed. Out of only eleven examples obtained, no less than five meters can be illustrated, —  $\frac{4}{4}$  (Nos. 4, 6, 7, and 9),  $\frac{2}{4}$  (No. 11),  $\frac{3}{4}$  (No. 8),  $\frac{5}{4}$  (Nos. 2, 3, 5, and 10), and  $\frac{1}{4}$  (No. 1); the relative frequency of quintuple time, and the occurrence of an eleven-beat melodic unit, being particularly noteworthy. As regards musical form, the recitatives fall into two types, — those whose period or largest melodic unit is not subdivided into sections (Nos. 2 and 3), and those whose period is built up of two balancing sections (Nos. 1, 4, 5,

<sup>1</sup> That is, Wolf.



6, 7, 8, 9, and 10). In every case but one (No. 6) these sections are of equal length, and in five cases (Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, and 7) the second section repeats material already made use of in the first.

The existence of myth recitative in Paiute is interesting in connection with style and characterization in Indian mythology generally. It seems to be generally assumed that the only element of interest or importance in American mythology is the incident or complex of incidents, and myth comparison has been almost entirely confined to a comparison of such incidents. It seems, further, to be often thought that character plays little or no part except in so far as the identification of a mythological being with a given animal necessitates certain peculiarities of action. Had most or all of the many American myths now already published been collected as fully dictated texts, there is small doubt that Indian mythologies would be more clearly seen to have their peculiarities of style and character as well as incident. A myth obtained only in English may sometimes be more complete as a narrative than the same myth obtained in text, but will nearly always have much of the baldness and lack of color of a mere abstract. As a matter of fact, there is a very considerable tendency in American mythology to make characters interesting as such. One of the most common stylistic devices employed for the purpose is to set off the speech of the character by some peculiarity. Thus in *Takelma* we find that Coyote almost regularly begins his sentences or words with a meaningless *y-* or *c-*,<sup>1</sup> while Grizzly-Bear uses in parallel fashion an *l*, a sound not otherwise made use of in *Takelma*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in Ute mythology a meaningless *-áik'wā* is sometimes added to words spoken by Coyote. When collecting material from the Wishram Indians of Yakima Reservation, the author heard of myths in which Bluejay, generally a humorous character, begins words with a meaningless *ts/-*. These myths were said to be characteristic rather of the down-river tribes, such as the Clackamas, than of the Wishram and Wasco themselves. Were pertinent material available to any considerable extent, it would probably be found that this simple quasi-humorous stylistic device could be illustrated by hundreds of examples from large regions in America.<sup>3</sup> Given such a general tendency to give color to the speech of a mythological character, we have a contributing factor towards the development of myth recitative.

It seems quite possible that the Paiute have borrowed the idea of myth recitative rather than developed it themselves. The closely

<sup>1</sup> Sapir, *Takelma Texts*, p. 56, note 2; p. 66, note 1; p. 87, notes 4 and 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118, note 2; p. 120, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Since this was written, the author has come across a rather interesting example of such phonetic play in the mythology of the Nootka of Alberni Canal. In the speech of Deer, every *s* or *c* becomes *ʔ*, *ts* or *te* becomes *l*, and *tʃ* or *tʃʔ* becomes *ʔʃ*.

related Utes seem to possess no such device. On the other hand, the Mohave to the west have been said, as we have seen, to possess long song-myths, though ignorance of the exact character of these makes it impossible at present to decide on their relation to the Paiute recitatives. It would not be surprising if it turned out, indeed, that these have been suggested by something similar among the Mohave, in which case the Muddy River Paiutes of southern Nevada will have served as intermediaries. In this connection we must not fail to note that practically all of the more than one hundred and twenty-five Paiute mourning-songs obtained are not in Paiute text, but in an unintelligible language said to be Mohave, — at any rate, some un-Shoshonean form of speech spoken to the west along the Colorado. There is thus reason for believing that the Mohave or other Yuman tribes have exerted a considerable influence on the musical stock in trade of the Paiute.

### Editorial Note

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## Two Paiute Myths

The two stories that follow are selected from a series of Paiute myths recently obtained from Tony Tillohash, a young Paiute Indian from the southwestern part of Utah, a typically semi-arid section of our country characterized, among other things, by the washes or arroyos that are incidentally referred to in the first of these myths. All the myths obtained from Tony were dictated to the writer in the form of Paiute Indian text, and it is intended, as soon as time and opportunity will allow, to publish the whole body of myth in text and carefully worked out translation as one of the series of anthropological publications of the University Museum. The translation of the two myths here offered as preliminary specimens of Paiute mythology, while not rigidly literal, is sufficiently so to preserve both the exact content and spirit of the Indian original [16]

The characters in these myths, as in Indian mythology generally, are beasts and birds; not mere speaking animals in the manner of an Aesopian fable, but supernaturally endowed human beings who lived on earth before the coming of men and who were later transformed into their present shape. The human and animal characteristics of these beings interplay constantly in the mythology. Needless to say, the older Indians, particularly such as have been but little affected by contact with the ideas of the whites, believe firmly in the truth of these myths. Such figures as Sparrow Hawk and Gray Hawk are not to them the mere idle fancies of an hour of story-telling, but the mythologic prototypes of still powerful beings, beings whose supernatural aid the medicine-man strives to obtain. Characteristic of Paiute mythology in particular is the prominence of song as an element of myth-telling; some of the characters, indeed, regularly sing their parts. A considerable number of such myth songs were taken down on the phonograph and will be incorporated with the myths to which they belong when these are offered to the public.



## The stratagem of wood rat.

At that place dwelt Wood Rat, and once to the Deer and Mountain Sheep people he said, "Ho there! do you all come to my place and have a round dance!" said he. "What is it that Wood Rat says?" said the Deer and also the Mountain Sheep. "'To my place do you all come and have a dance!' that is what he says," said some. And so at his place they had a round dance. Those Deer and Mountain Sheep danced the round dance while that Wood Rat and two from among the Deer and Mountain sheep, one from each, sat together at the side of the round dance that was taking place and talked with one another as men are wont to do in council.

One young Mountain Sheep was the first to sing for the dance, and in this wise he sang,

Moving through the sand-wash he goes, kicking up his knees,<sup>1</sup>

sang along thus up to nearly in the middle of the night. Then one young Deer sang for the dance after him, and that one sang in this wise,

Visible are the summer footprints, footprints, footprints,<sup>2</sup>

sang along thus up to the break of day. And then that Wood Rat went right into the round-dancing line and joined hands with the Deer and the Mountain Sheep buck who had been singing. In this wise sang he as he stood moving along between the two of them,

When indeed I say it, you will close your eyes, you will close your eyes, and they all closed their eyes. Then both of them through the neck just above the collar bone he stabbed with his knife, and having treated them thus, he began to weep. "Oh! what has happened to them?" said Wood Rat, and then he said, "Ho there! do you all go and return again into the land which you own. And then at the setting yonder of the sun I shall burn them on a pyre." "It is well," said those Deer and Mountain Sheep, and they arrived into their own land. But Wood Rat cut up the two at that place and what leaves and branches he had butchered them on he set afire. And the Deer and Mountain Sheep, seeing the blaze from afar, said, "In that way it will be, he did [17] indeed say. Surely it starts a-burning at his house." But Wood Rat cut up the meat into thin slices in order that he might preserve it for food.

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1. This refers to the peculiar walk of the mountain sheep.

2. This refers to the footprints of the deer during the hunting season.

As he had first spoken, so did Wood Rat continue to speak from time to time, and every time he commanded a round dance to take place. Now those Deer and Mountain Sheep did say, "For what reason does he always say, 'You shall have your eyes closed as you dance,' in such words speaking?" And one time again he announced in a loud voice that they should come together for a round dance. "Oh!" said they, "let us all go and have a round dance at his place, as he says." And in very deed they had the round dance at that place.

Now one young Mountain Sheep, as was their wont, did sing,

Moving through the sand-wash he goes, kicking up his knees,

and as those before him had done, so did he, sang for the dance up to nearly in the middle of the night. And then one young Deer did also sing for the dance, and as those before him had sung, so sang he.

Visible are the summer footprints, footprints, footprints.

Then that Wood Rat sang for the dance as in times before then he had done. One of the Deer bucks together with a Mountain Sheep buck stood on either side of him as they danced along. As in times before then he started in to sing along,

When indeed I say it, you will close your eyes, you will close your eyes,

but this time a young Mountain Sheep barely peeped out from behind his nearly closed eyelids as he danced along. "He is about to stab the two of you!" he exclaimed just as Wood Rat was indeed about to stab them. Wood Rat ran off in haste and scampered down under a rock. The Mountain Sheep buck struck at it with his horns, and as soon as he had done so, the rock was shattered to pieces. As far as here, perhaps, does the story go.

### The contention of sparrow hawk and gray hawk.

At that place were people once camping for the hunting of jack-rabbits. Now a certain one among them gave his wife a beating, whereupon that woman ran off towards the mountains. Therein was Gray Hawk dwelling up on a snow-covered peak and with him was his mother. When that Gray Hawk went off in yonder direction, then there in the midst of the mountains did he find the woman and home to his house he returned with her.

Now those who were camping for the hunting of jack-rabbits began to miss the woman and they called upon the white-breasted one<sup>3</sup> that he might find her. And starting from the edge of the land he flew about looking everywhere but on the mountain peak, which still was left. As soon as it commenced to be evening, he returned and arrived where they were camping for the hunting of jack-rabbits. "I have not seen her," he said, "but still that snow-covered peak is left," said the white-breasted one. Early in the morning he went off to look over the snow-covered peak and on it he found the woman, found that Gray Hawk was having her to wife. Back whence he came he returned, back to those camping for the hunting of jack-rabbits. "What say you all that you will do to him?" said he. "Not easily to be overcome is Gray Hawk, and with him it is that dwells that woman. What, then, think you all to do to him?" thus spoke that white-breasted one. Then some one [18] said, "Let us call upon Sparrow Hawk!" "It is well," they said, and proceeded to call upon that Sparrow Hawk. To him they said, "Go now and lead the woman away from Gray Hawk. Thus after having done to her, for your wife you shall have her," said they who were camping for the hunting of jack-rabbits.

Then there in the doorway was Sparrow Hawk sitting and kept a-singing. "What say you all that you will do to that one, Gray Hawk? Not easily to be overcome is he, he who has great power. Will you slay him?" said he as he sat there in the doorway. Only his flesh it was that did so, singing as he sat, but that soul of his to yonder mountain peak departed and to his elder brother<sup>4</sup> came. Then upon arriving he took hold of the woman and said, "This woman here is mine, having been given to me for a wife. Do you, then, without saying anything, give her up to me." "I shall not give her to you, for mine she is, having been taken up by me," said Gray Hawk. "Do not say that, say I! Quickly let her go, for mine she is, having been given to me for a wife, that is what I say." "But mine she is, having been taken up by me. Why, then, shall I give her up to you?" "Without saying so, quickly let her go! Otherwise I shall slay you," said Sparrow Hawk. "It is well, in no case shall I let her go. I care not if you kill me," said Gray Hawk as he held her by her arm; that Sparrow Hawk was holding her by her other arm.

"It is well," said Gray Hawk. "If you are angered, in what way would the earth appear, say you?" Then said that Sparrow Hawk, "When I

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3. A white aquatic bird, something like a seagull.

4. Gray Hawk is considered Sparrow Hawk's elder brother.



am angered, the earth would become filled with fog. And as for you?" "When I am angered, the mountains would all go up in dust, then all would be a level space," said that Gray Hawk. And then said Gray Hawk to his mother, "Should I be killed, all my body you shall boil." Then one of the woman's arms he wrenched off, and between them both they divided her body, each pulling her to himself. After they had done so, Sparrow Hawk slew Gray Hawk, and after he had gathered together all parts of the woman's body, all that had formed her body, he restored her to her former self.

Then the mother of Gray Hawk boiled him as he had told her to do. Then, when it dawned upon the earth, coming down from the sky was heard a noise of flapping wings, and on the rim of the bucket wherein he had been boiled he lit and sang thereon, "Sparrow Hawk I shall go and slay." And then his mother said, "Is it of a stranger that you speak, of one who is no kin of yours, seeing that you talk of going to kill?" "No, thus I say; but that one yonder slew me too," and towards the camp of the jack-rabbit hunters he flew. "Oh! Gray Hawk has come to do us ill," said those who were camping for the hunting of jack-rabbits, as they fled in haste, but that Sparrow Hawk just lay beside his wife and sang, as though nothing were happening. Gray Hawk swooped down upon him, thinking to hold him down, but in vain; whereupon that woman he took hold of. Both of them tried to tear her away from each other. Now Gray Hawk struck above him with his wing, but merely grazed his head. "Nearly, my elder brother, did you kill me," said Sparrow Hawk. And then their mothers led them away in different directions. "Do you act as though you were strangers to each other?" said the two old women, as they held on to their sons.

Did any of you hear something make a noise on the other side from here?<sup>5</sup>

### Editorial Note

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5. This last sentence is addressed by the narrator of the story to his auditors. It is not to be literally construed, but is merely a conventional way of ending a myth by way of changing the subject. The auditors are expected to answer, "No, I did not."



## The Mourning Ceremony of the Southern Paiutes [Abstract]

The main ceremony of the Southern Paiutes of Utah, Arizona, and Nevada is an annual mourning ceremony or "cry." The expenses of such a ceremony, which generally lasts for five days in June or July, are borne by two men, one of them a close relative of a recently deceased member of the tribe. Sometimes neighboring bands are invited to take part in the ceremony. The place of the mourning ceremony varies from year to year and is decided upon at a preliminary council meeting. The essential elements of the ceremony are the singing of numerous mourning songs and the offering of valuables, such as baskets, articles of clothing, and horses, in memory of the dead. [169]

The songs, which are accompanied by rattles held by each singer, are to be classified into four sharply distinguished types—roan songs, bird songs, coyote songs, and mountain-sheep songs. Each of these has its characteristic type of melody and accompanying movements on the part of the singers. There does not seem to be any idea of a grouping of the participants of the ceremony into four societies singing these different types of songs; one may join in the singing of any class of songs and leave one group of singers for another. There is, however, a song leader for each type of song. This merely means that certain people are proficient in the singing or composing of particular classes of songs. The texts of the songs are in comparatively few instances in Paiute, but belong to a language that is unintelligible to the singers. There is reason to believe that the types of songs, the actual song texts, and perhaps the whole ceremony, are borrowed from the Yuman tribes to the west. There is a possibility that the song texts consist of an elaborate system of burdens.

At various stages during the singing, which forms the major part of the ceremony, ceremonial "cries" take place which are conducted by a cry leader. On the last night of the mourning ceremony, during which it is forbidden to sleep, the articles which have been set aside as offerings to the dead are burned on a funeral pile; horses are shot, and valuable articles which have been exposed as offerings may be taken by others



and replaced by objects of less value. It is evident that the Paiute mourning ceremony bears considerable resemblance to mourning ceremonies of various California tribes.

### Editorial Note

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## Yana Terms of Relationship

While engaged at Montgomery Creek, California, in collecting Northern Yana texts and working out the grammatical structure of that dialect in the summer of 1907, I succeeded in obtaining from my main informant, Betty Brown, a fairly comprehensive, though by no means altogether satisfactory, set of relationship terms. The opportunity did not present itself of obtaining a corresponding set of terms for the closely related Central Yana dialect,<sup>1</sup> though a small number of supplementary Central Yana terms turned up incidentally in working up the texts. A much fuller and more satisfactory set of relationship terms for the Southern Yana (Yahi) dialect was secured at Berkeley, California, in the summer of 1915 from Ishi, the only survivor of his tribe, since then deceased.<sup>2</sup> The Yana orthography used in this paper is the same as that already employed in my *Yana Texts*,<sup>3</sup> except that the glottal stop is here represented by an apostrophe ('). For simplicity's sake, moreover, *ts* and *ts'* are here regularly written as *tc* and *tc'*, of which they are merely phonetic variants, *s* as *s*. Stress accents are omitted.

<sup>1</sup> Sapir, E., *Yana Texts*, Present series, ix, 2-4, 1910, also forthcoming and *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*, *Am. Anthrop.*, n. s., xviii, 329, note 4, 1916. "Ishi, the informant, spoke very little English, but I succeeded in the full data on kinship terms that I obtained from him, aside from a few doubtful points, as thoroughly reliable. This is due to the fact that the terms were collected very slowly and with the utmost care and circumspection, with repeated checking whenever opportunity was offered; further to the fact that data already obtained from the Northern Yana helped me to follow the informant. The many agreements in nomenclature between the Yahi and Northern Yana systems are in no case due to suggestion on my part. The work was rendered possible by the use of counters, differing in appearance for males and females, arranged in the form of a genealogical tree; this device put the whole investigation on a directly visible footing. My familiarity with Northern and Central Yana (by that time also of Yahi) naturally also helped, though the language of the discussion itself was a crude jargon composed of English, quasi-English, and Yahi."

<sup>3</sup> *Yana Texts*, 4, 5.

## I. NORTHERN (AND CENTRAL) YANA TERMS

1. *tc'igal-la* "father" (assimilated from \*-*na*, absolute noun suffix for all monosyllabic nouns and for all nouns ending in long vowel, diphthong, or consonant); vocative *tc'igal-lā* or *gaisi-nā* (*-lā* assimilated from \*-*nā*; this vocative *-nā* is probably merely lengthened *-na* and is not confined to terms of relationship, cf. *k'ai-nā* "rock!"<sup>4</sup> from *k'ai-na*). I may state here once for all that Yana terms of relationship are treated precisely like other nouns as regards possessive pronominal affixes (e.g. *dji tc'igal-'lidja* "my father," *dju tc'igal-'luma* "thy father," *dji tc'igal-'ligi* "our father," *dju tc'igal-'luga* "your father," *ai-k' tc'igal-la* "his, their father," like *dji bal-'lidja* "my mouth" from *bal-la* "mouth"; similarly, *dji nīna-ndja* "my mother" like *dji wawi-ndja* "my house"). Vocative *gaisi-nā* is probably directly related to Yahi *galsi* "father" (see below, II, 1), of which *gal-* is at least possibly related to *-gal-* of Northern Yana *tc'i-gal-la*.

2. *nīna* "mother"; vocative *gan-nā* (regular vocative of Yahi *gan-na* "mother," see below, II, 2).

3. *p!aun'i* "son"; vocative *p!aun'i-nā* or *t!inīsi-nā*. Inasmuch as *t!inīsi-nā* means also "daughter" (see no. 4) and *t!i'nīsi* is used in Yahi for both "son" and "daughter," it seems plausible to infer that Northern Yana *t!inīsi* means "son" or "daughter," i.e. "child." This is supported by its etymology; cf. *t!inī-* "to be little."

4. *t!inīsi* "daughter"; vocative *t!inīsi-nā*. Probably may also be used for "son" (see no. 3). According to this, there would be no exclusive term for "daughter." This agrees well with Yahi, in which there is no term for "daughter" strictly corresponding to *p!au'ni* "son" (see below, II, 5 and 6). One may also use *dji wa'alā-mari'mindja* "my girl" for "my daughter," if it is necessary to be explicit, but *wa'alā-mari'mi* (like its male correspondent *wa'ana-isi* "boy") is no true term of relationship. As plural is used, in both N. and C. Yana, *'amait's!gi* (or *'amait's!its!gi*) "children" (without regard to sex); *yuwunt's!gi* is used for "boys, sons," vocative *yuwunt's!gi-nā*. *-ts!gi* of these forms is diminutive plural suffix. In Yahi *'amait's!gi* seems to be confined in use to girls (see II, 6).

5. C. Yana *dāt'i* "child," used for both "son" and "daughter"; vocative *dāt'i-nā*. Plural *dat't'iwī*. It corresponds to N. Yana *t!inīsi*.

6. *umāyā-na* "older brother" (male speaking); vocative *umāyā-nā*. This term may be readily analyzed into *u-* "to be," *-mā-* "in company

<sup>4</sup> Yana Texts, 25, 1. 16.



with," and *yā-na* "person," i.e. "person who lives in company with one." That it is a secondary descriptive term is indicated by the fact that Yahi has an unrelated term meaning "being older" (see below, II, 7). Its plural is *umā-yariwi*.

7. *wayimāi'mā-* ('*nidjā*) "my younger brother" (male speaking); vocative *wayimāi'mā-nā*. This term may be analyzed as *we-* "to sit," *-yēmai-(rī-)* "in the middle," and *-mā* of unknown meaning (unless it is another form of *-mā* "in company with"), i.e. "one who sits in the middle (of the house)." This also is a secondary descriptive term, as indicated by the fact that the corresponding Yahi term, meaning "being younger" (see below, II, 8), is unrelated.

8. *isī'yau-na, isī'yau-na* "older brother" (female speaking); vocative *isī'yau-nā*. Central Yana *isī'yau-na*. This term may be analyzed as *'isī* "male, man" and *-yau-na* suffix of verbal nouns, i.e. "being male." Its Yahi correspondent *'i'si-yau-na* (see below, II, 12) is used to refer to "woman's brother," whether older or younger.

9. *k!atc'u* "younger brother" (female speaking); vocative *k!atc'u-nā*. This and *k!atdai-na* (no. 11) are the only terms for "brother" and "sister" which are not clearly analyzable. It has no Yahi equivalent.

10. *marī'miyau-na* "older sister" (male speaking); vocative *marī'miyau-nā*. Central Yana *marī'miyau-na*. This term may be analyzed as N. Yana *marī'mi*, C. Yana *marī'mi* "female, woman" and *-yau-na* (as above, see no. 8); i.e. "being female." Its Yahi correspondent *marī'mi'yau-na* (see below, II, 9) is used to refer to "man's sister," whether older or younger.

11. *k!atdai-na* "younger sister" (male or female speaking); vocative *k!atdai-nā*. Central Yana *k!andai-na*. This term is not analyzable (cf. no. 9 above). It has no Yahi equivalent, which has a specific term for "woman's younger sister" (see below, II, 11) corresponding to "man's younger brother" and fails to distinguish between "man's younger sister" and "man's older sister."

12. *umāmarī'mi* "older sister" (female speaking); vocative *umāmarī'mi-nā*. This term may be readily analyzed into *u-* "to be," *-mā-* "in company with," and *marī'mi* "woman," i.e. "woman who lives in company with one." It is a secondary descriptive term entirely analogous to *umāyā-na* "man's older brother" (see no. 6), to which it is related precisely as the Yahi term for "woman's older sister," which means "older woman" (see below, II, 10), is related to that for "man's older brother" (literally "being older").

13. *adjui* "father's mother"; vocative *adjui-nā* (male speaking). Comparison with Yahi *'a'djuwi* "mother's mother" (see below) and with N. Yana terms for "woman's son's child" (see no. 14) would lead one to suspect that *adjui* (read probably *'adjui*) means "mother's mother," not "father's mother," as recorded. However, as *t'u'ai-na* (see no. 18) was given for "mother's mother," it may be that *adjui* in N. Yana has departed from its original meaning ("mother's mother") and that *amāwi*, originally "father's mother" and "woman's son's child," has become confined in meaning to the latter. This, if correct, would mean that "father's mother" and "woman's son's child" are not reciprocal terms in N. Yana, which is exceptional for Yana and far from likely a priori.

14. *amāwi* "woman's son's son"; vocative *amāwi-nā*. Comparison with Yahi *'amāwi* (see below, II, 14) strongly suggests that this term properly means or originally meant also "father's mother."

15. *amāwimarim'i* "woman's son's daughter"; vocative *amāwimarim'i*. Compounded of no. 14 and *marim'i* "woman."

16. *t'ugu-na* "father's father"; vocative *t'ugu-nā*. Also, though doubtfully, recorded for "mother's father," for which no other term was obtained. Should *t'ugu-na* actually mean "grandfather" (paternal or maternal), it would be easier to understand Betty Brown's rendering of *'adjui* as "father's mother" rather than "mother's mother" (see no. 13).

17. *t'ugunāsi* "man's son's son"; vocative *t'ugunāsi-nā*. Evidently derived from no. 16. No term for "man's son's daughter" was obtained. Analogy with *t'u'aimarim'i* (see no. 20) suggests that man's son's daughter" is *t'ugunāmarim'i* (cf. also no. 15). *-si* of *t'ugunāsi* is used in several other terms indicating relation to one of a younger generation (cf. *t'inīsi*, no. 4; *t'u'aīsi*, no. 19; *p'aiganasi*, no. 29). No terms were obtained for "man's daughter's child."

18. *t'u'ai-na* "mother's mother"; vocative *t'u'ai-nā* or *t'u'aimarim'i-nā* (doubtful). Cf. Yahi *t'o'oi-na* "mother's mother," but only when her husband is no longer alive (see below, II, 17).

19. *t'u'aīsi* "woman's daughter's son"; vocative *t'u'aīsi-nā*. Evidently derived by *-si* suffix (see no. 17) from no. 18.

20. *t'u'aimarim'i* "woman's daughter's daughter"; vocative *t'u'aimarim'i*. Compounded of no. 18 and *marim'i* "woman."

21. *murdi* "father's sister"; vocative *murdi-nā*.

22. C. Yana *untc!ayau-na* "father's sister." This term must be of secondary origin, as N. Yana *murdi* (see no. 21) agrees with Yahi

*muedi* (see below, II, 19). It cannot be satisfactorily analyzed, though *-yau-na* is evidently verbal noun suffix, as in several other terms of relationship. It is etymologically identical with Yahi *'ontshu'an-na* (see below, II, 47), which was rendered by Ishi as "wife of (paternal or maternal) grandfather" (not kin grandfather). If both Sam Batwi's and Ishi's information is correct as noted, this means that there has been as to its significance, either in C. Yana or in Yahi, both a generation shift and a shift in reference to consanguinity versus affinity. Would a maternal grandfather's (second) wife be identical with one's father's sister, i.e. would he marry one of his sandilaw's sisters?

23. *un'ima* "father's brother"; vocative *nā'imau-nā*. There is some doubt as to whether *un'ima* means "paternal uncle" or "maternal uncle" in C. Yana. *un'imani* "our uncle" (Yana Texts, p. 52, l. 12) was explained by Sam Batwi as meaning "mother's brother," though in this context there is no reference to true relationship, which contradicts N. Yana testimony. Moreover, N. Yana *udji'yau-na* "mother's brother" (see no. 26) agrees with Yahi *u'dji'yau-na* (see below). Silkworm, who is called "uncle" in above passage, answers with *wadāt'imauyariwinā* "O nephews!" (Yana Texts, p. 57, l. 11); but *wadāt'imau-na* means "man's brother's son" in N. Yana (see no. 27). We must therefore assume either that C. Yana *un'ima* and *wadāt'imau-na* have respectively changed their significance from "paternal uncle" and "man's brother's son" to "maternal uncle" and "woman's brother's son," which seems unlikely, or that C. Yana *un'ima* was misinterpreted and is another form of *gare'imāsi* (see no. 24), with which it is etymologically connected.

24. C. Yana *wan'imāsi* "father's brother." Evidently related to *un'ima* (see no. 23), *u-* being replaced by *wa-* "to sit" or "to consider as, hold for"; *-si* is agentive. This term is clearly identical with Yahi *wa'nimāsi* "stepfather, man's stepchild" (see below, II, 44). Perhaps its real meaning is something like "one who is considered as *un'ima*" (i.e. is true *un'ima* "paternal uncle" or, like or instead of him, marries my widowed mother).

25. *garai-na* "mother's sister"; vocative *garai-nā*.

26. *udji'yau-na* "mother's brother"; vocative *udji'yau-nā*. This term is to be analyzed as *udji* "to be old" and verbal noun suffix *-yau-na*, i.e. "being old." Possibly this refers to the peculiar status so often enjoyed by the maternal uncle (even in tribes without maternal descent or maternal clan organization) as "guide, counsellor, elder."



27. *wadāt'ima-u-na* "man's brother's son"; vocative *wadāt'ima-u-nā*. Plural *wadāt'ima-u-yarīwi*; vocative *wadāt'ima-u-yarīwi-nā* (for *-yarīwi* cf. no. 6). According to Sam Batwi *wadāt'imauna* means "man's brother's child," whether boy or girl. Its analysis is clear: *wa-* "to consider as," *dāt'i* "child" (see no. 5), and passive participle suffix *-mau-na*, i.e. "considered as own child." In other words, one's brother's children are potentially one's own by virtue of the obligation to marry their mother on the death of her husband. In Yahi (see below, II, 21) its exact correspondent *wa'dāt'ima-u-na* was interpreted as "sister's child."

28. *wadāt'imaumarim'i* "man's brother's daughter"; vocative *wadāt'imaumarim'i*. (Compounded of no. 27 and *marī'mi* "daughter.")

29. *p'aigana* or *p'aiganasi* "man's sister's child; woman's brother's or sister's child"; vocative *p'aiganā* or *p'aiganasi-nā*. Possibly *p'aigana* refers to "woman's sister's child," *p'aiganasi* to "woman's brother's child" and "man's sister's child," but my notes are not clear enough on this point to warrant certainty of statement. Plural *p'aiganasi-yarīwi*.

30. *iwā'nait'inīsi* "(man's) brother's children, nephews and nieces" (Yana Texts, p. 184, l. 17). Evidently compounded with *t'inīsi* (see no. 4).

31. *il'auyā-na* "cousin"; vocative *il'auyā* or *il'auyā-nā*. Evidently compounded with *yā-na* "person." Plural *il'au-yarīwi*. In Yahi (see below, II, 13) *ilauyā-hi* (*-hi* corresponds to N. and C. Yana *-na*) was interpreted as "man's sister," but was said by Ishi to be used in that sense only by Coyote, Panther, and other mythological characters.

32. *garāk'aiyā-na* "cousin"; vocative *garāk'aiyā* or *garāk'aiyā-nā*. Evidently compounded with *yā-na* "person." I do not know how this term differs in range of significance, if at all, from *il'auyā-na* (no. 31). Possibly it is related to *garai-na* "mother's sister" (no. 25), in which case it may indicate "children of sisters."

33. C. Yana *yarīwi* "relatives, friends." Translated by Sam Batwi as "cousins" in its widest sense, as synonymous with "relatives, kinsfolk." He distinguished between such "cousins" and "real cousins," whom he called *il'auyā-na*, plural *il'au-yarīwi* (see no. 31).

34. C. Yana *māwagai-na* "friend"; vocative *māwagai-nā*. Plural *māwagai-yarīwi*.

35. *k!utp!ama-u-na* (N. Yana) "husband"; vocative *k!utp!ama-u-yī*. This term is to be analyzed as *k!ut-* (C. Yana *k!un-*) "to like,

love," -*p!a-* voice suffix expressing status, condition, and passive participle -*mau-na*, i.e. "(he) who is loved, desired." It is noteworthy that in Yahi (see below, II, 24) "husband" is rendered simply by "male, man."

36. *wak!alp!amau-na* "wife"; vocative *wak!alp!amin-nā*. Passive participle in -*mau-na* of verb *wak!alp!a-* "to keep" (*na-* "to consider as, hold for," -*k!al-p!a-* "to keep"), hence meaning literally "kept, owned." In Yahi (see below, II, 25) "wife" is simply "female, woman."

37. *tc'ap'dju'i* "(man's or woman's) father-in-law"; vocative *tc'ap'dju'i-nā*.

38. *tc'ap'djūp!un'-na* "(man's or woman's) mother-in-law"; vocative *tc'ap'djūp!un-nā*. Compounded of no. 37 and stem *p!ut'* "woman" (cf. plural *p!ut'diwi* "women" and -*p!di* "woman" in certain compounds).

39. *nigā'i* "(man's or woman's) son-in-law"; vocative *nigā'i-nā*.

40. *tc'a'wai-na* "(man's or woman's) daughter-in-law"; vocative *tc'a'wai-nā*.

41. C. Yana *wana* "(man's or woman's) son-in-law"; vocative *wanā* or *ai'wana*, *ai'wanā*. This term in its specific sense of "son-in-law" seems peculiar to C. Yana, which has no term corresponding to N. Yana *nigā'i* (see no. 39; Yahi, however, has exactly corresponding *ne'ga'i*, II, 30). C. Yana *wana*, at least in its vocative forms, refers also to "(man's) mother-in-law." Its use as incorporated subject or object is very curious; examples are: *djuma'wanaui'i* "do you (pl.) give it to (my, man's) son-in-law!" (Yana Texts, p. 58, ll. 7, 15); *p'usā'wanasi'i* "(my, man's) son-in-law will smoke" (*ibid.*, l. 8); *dol'lip!annai'wanak'ihandj* "I (woman) have covered over very thickly (my) son-in-law's (sleeping place)" (*op. cit.*, p. 111, l. 1); *k!undjumaip!amtc'iwana'ask'inigi* "we, father-in-law and son-in-law, like each other." In Yahi (see below, II, 27) *wana* is used as compounded element in terms of affinity involving taboo relationship. It is not unlikely that originally *tc'ap'dju'i* meant "father-in-law" (of man only); *wana*, "mother-in-law" (of man only) and reciprocally "son-in-law" (of woman only); *tc'ap'djūp!un'-na*, "mother-in-law" (of woman only); *nigā'i*, "son-in-law" (of man only), but that these terms gradually extended their meanings so as to overlap in part. Note that nos. 37 and 38 are specifically used also in C. Yana for "father-in-law" and "mother-in-law" respectively.

42. C. Yana *'awaudja* "(man's or woman's) daughter-in-law." As N. Yana *tc'a'wai-na* (no. 40) directly corresponds to Yahi *tc'a'wathi*

(see below, II, 31), this term is doubtless of secondary origin. It may be analyzed as 'a- "woman goes," -wau- "to," and -dja- "off, away," i.e. "woman who goes off (from her own house) to (her husband's people)."

43. C. Yana *wīman'mau-na* "(woman's) son-in-law" (Yana Texts, p. 109, l. 7; p. 112, l. 3). -*mau-na* is passive participle suffix; in form this term is merely passive participle of verb *wīmat'*. This verb is explained by Ishi's Yahi data. According to these, *wīmat'* means "to avoid certain ones of opposite sex to whom one is related by affinity"; in other words, a man must neither look at nor speak to his mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, a woman to her father-in-law and son-in-law. *wīman'mau-na* thus properly means "avoided because of affinity taboo" and very likely applies not only to "woman's son-in-law" but also to "woman's father-in-law," "man's mother-in-law," and "man's daughter-in-law."

44. 'igai-na, 'igai-na "wife's brother"; vocative 'igai-nā.

45. *djī'mayau-na* (C. Yana *djīmayau-na*) "man's sister's husband"; vocative *djī'mayau-nā*. Seems to contain verbal noun suffix -*yau-na*, but its further analysis is unclear.

46. *djīdjadja'wayau-na* "husband's sister"; vocative *djīdjadja-dja'wayau-nā*. In view of Yahi -*wī*- of corresponding *djīdjadja'wī-yau-na* (see below, II, 38), N. Yana -*wa*- is doubtless to be corrected to -*wai-yau-na* as in no. 47, but further analysis unclear.

47. *gāmaidjawai'yau-na* "woman's brother's wife"; vocative *gāmaidjawai'yau-nā*. -*yau-na* as in no 45, but further analysis unclear.

48. *u'naiyā-na* "brother-in-law or sister-in-law, when speaker is of opposite sex," i.e. "wife's sister," "husband's brother," "woman's sister's husband," and "man's brother's wife." It is analyzable into *u*- "to be," -*'nai*- "other, elsewhere," and *yā-nā* "person," i.e. "person who is of other (sex)." Its exact Yahi equivalent *oxnaiyā-hi* (see below, II, 41) means "wife's sister" (possibly also other terms listed under *u'naiyā-na*), but was not used in ordinary speech; it was used only in myths by Coyote, Panther, and other characters.



## II. YAH! TERMS

1. *galsi* "father"; vocative *galsi-nā* (male speaking), *gūsi* (female speaking). Also "father's (older or younger) brother." Ishi recognized *tē'igal-la* (see I, 1) as *garimanna*, i.e., belonging to N. and C. Yana dialect.

2. *gan-na* "mother"; vocative *gan-nā* (male or female speaking). Also "mother's (older or younger) sister." According to Krocker, *nāna* (see I, 2) was also used by Ishi.

3. *t!t' nīsi* " (man's or woman's) child; son, daughter" (cf. I, 3, 4). Does not properly correspond to our "son" and "daughter," as it is applied to one's child when he is not yet grown up, though able to run around.

4. *p!au'ni* " (man's or woman's) son."

5. *'i'sip!a* " (man's or woman's) son" or *'i'sip!ai'amauyā-hi*; vocative *'i'sip!a-nā* (male speaking), *'i'sip!ā* (female speaking). Also "man's brother's son" and "woman's sister's son." These terms are to be respectively analyzed as *'i'si* "man, male" and *-p!a* diminutive suffix, i.e. "little man"; and *'i'si* "man, male," *-p!ai-* incorporated form of *-p!a-*, *-ʔa-* "to be," *-mau-* participle suffix, and *yā-hi* "person" (Yahi *-hi* is used in certain cases for N. and C. Yana *-na*, see I, 1), i.e. "being-little-man person." As plural is used *yuuwunts!gi* "boys, sons"; *-ts!gi* is diminutive plural.

6. *mari'mip!a* " (man's or woman's) daughter" or *mari'mip!ai'amauyā-hi*; vocative *mari'mip!a-nā* (male speaking), *mari'mip!ā* (female speaking). Also "man's brother's son" and "woman's sister's son." Analysis as in no. 5, except that for *'i'si* is substituted *mari'mi* "woman, female." As plural is used *'amait!gi* "girls, daughters"; for *-ts!gi* cf. no. 5.

7. *dut'yau-na* "man's older brother"; vocative *dut'yau-nā*. Also "man's father's brother's son older than self" and "man's mother's sister's son older than self." To be analyzed into *dut'* "to be grown up, older" and *-yau-na* verbal noun suffix, i.e. "being older." Plural *dut'yêwi* (*-yêwi* is plural correspondent of *-yau-na*).

8. *t!et'yau-na* "man's younger brother"; vocative *t!et'yau-nā*. Also "man's father's brother's son younger than self" and "man's mother's sister's son younger than self. *t!et'* may mean "to be younger," but I have not come across it in any other connection; *-yau-na* as in no. 7. Plural *t!et'yêwi*.

9. *mari'mi'yau-na* "man's (older or younger) sister"; vocative *mari'mi'yau*. Also "man's father's brother's daughter" and "man's

mother's sister's daughter." To be analyzed into *mari'mi* "woman" and *-yau-na* (see no. 7), i.e. "being woman." Plural *mari'mi'yêwi*.

10. *dut'mari'mi* "woman's older sister"; vocative *dut'mari'mi*. Also "woman's father's brother's daughter older than self" and "woman's mother's sister's daughter older than self." Compounded of *dut'*- (see no. 7) and *mari'mi* "woman," i.e. "older woman." Where no ambiguity would result, it seems that *dut'yauna* can be used instead of *dut'mari'mi*; thus, in explaining *oxnaiyā-hi* (see below, no. 41), Ishi paraphrased it as *mari'mi k' dut'yauna*, which can only mean "wife her older sister." Plural *dut'mari'miyāhi* (*yāhi* "people") is equivalent to N. and C. Yana *yariwi* (cf. I, 6, 29, 33).

11. *t!et'womāri'mi* "woman's younger sister"; vocative *t!et'womāri'mi*. Also "woman's father's brother's daughter younger than self" and "woman's mother's sister's daughter younger than self." *t!et'*- as in no. 8; *-wo-* I cannot explain; *-māri'mi* compounded form of *mari'mi* "woman." Probably *t!et'yauna* can also be used for "woman's younger sister" (cf. no. 10). Plural *t!et'wop!di* (for *-p!di* cf. C. Yana *p!udi-wi* "women").

12. *'i'si'yau-na* "woman's (older or younger) brother"; vocative *'i'si'yau*. Also "woman's father's brother's son" and "woman's mother's sister's son." To be analyzed into *'i'si* "man, male" and *-yau-na* (cf. no. 7), i.e. "being man." Plural *'i'siwit'yêwi* (*'i'si-wi* "men, males"; *-t'*- plural infix, as frequently; hence plural or collective suffix *-wi* seems to occur twice).

13. *ilauiyā-hi* "man's sister" (interpreted by Ishi as *mari'mi-yauna*, see no. 9). Used only by mythological characters, such as Coyote and Panther. Perhaps its range of meaning is wider, "*mari'mi'yauna*" being merely illustrative of its significance. Cf. N. and C. Yana *il'auyā-na* "cousin" (I, 31).

14. *'amāwi* "(man's or woman's) father's mother," also "woman's son's son, daughter"; vocative *'amāwi* "father's mother!" "son's daughter!" "son's son!" (woman speaking), *'amāwi-nā* "father's mother" (man speaking). *'amāwi* is further used for "(man's or woman's) father's mother's sister" and, reciprocally, "woman's sister's son's son, daughter." It may also be employed to refer to "father's father's wife" (not kin paternal grandmother), though *'a'yansiya* (see below, no. 22) seems to be more properly used for this affinity. Plural *'amāwiyā-hi*.

15. *'awāwi* "(man's or woman's) father's father," also "man's son's son, daughter"; vocative *'awāwi-nā* "father's father! son's son!" (man speaking), *'awāwi* "father's father!" (woman speaking), "son's

daughter!" (man speaking). *'auau* is further used for "(man's or woman's) father's father's brother" and, reciprocally, "man's brother's son's son, daughter". Plural *'auauyā-hi*.

16. *'a'djuwi* "(man's or woman's) mother's mother," also "woman's daughter's son, daughter"; vocative *'a'djuwi*. Plural *'a'djuwā-yā-hi*. This term is used if maternal grandmother's husband (maternal grandfather) is alive, otherwise no. 17 is employed. *'a'djuwi* may also be used to refer to "mother's father's wife" (not kin maternal grandmother), though *'a'pauwau* (see below, no. 22) is more appropriate.

17. *t'o'oi-nā* "(man's or woman's) mother's mother," perhaps also reciprocally "woman's daughter's son, daughter". Cf. N. and C. Yana *t'u'ai-na* (I, 18). This term is used if maternal grandmother's husband (maternal grandfather) is no longer alive.

18. *ma'dju* "(man's or woman's) mother's father," also "man's daughter's son, daughter"; vocative *ma'dju-nā* "mother's father! daughter's son!" (man speaking), *ma'djū* "mother's father!" (woman speaking), "daughter's daughter!" (man speaking). Plural *ma'djuyā-hi*.

19. *mucdi* "(man's or woman's) father's sister," also "woman's brother's son, daughter"; vocative *mucdi*. Plural *mucdiwiyā-hi*.

20. *u'dji'yan-na* "(man's or woman's) mother's brother," also "man's sister's son, daughter"; vocative *u'dji'yan-nā* "mother's brother's brother! sister's son!" (man speaking), *u'dji'yan* "mother's brother!" (woman speaking), "sister's daughter!" (man speaking). It is to be analyzed as *u'dji*- "to be old" and verbal noun suffix *-yan-na*, i.e. "being old" (cf. I, 26). This term is used further for "mother's sister's husband" (but see *'āp'dju'wiyā-na* below, no. 40) and, reciprocally, "wife's sister's son, daughter", "father's sister's husband," but apparently not "wife's brother's son, daughter" (see *umāwagāi-na* below, no. 45); "father's mother's brother" and, reciprocally, "man's sister's son's son, daughter", apparently also "man's father's sister's son" (see *'ō'yanmau-na* below, no. 23). Plural *'u'djiwit'yēwi*.

21. *wa'dāl'iman-na* "sister's son, daughter", plural *yēdāl'imān*. For analysis see I, 27: Yahi *yēi*, N. and C. Yana *yan*, is plural stem corresponding to singular *wa*. Ishi did not specify whether "man's sister's child" or "woman's sister's child" was meant. Comparison with N. Yana (see nos. 25 and 26) and Ishi's habit of using "sista" for both sister and brother (he had always to be very carefully con-



trolled on this point) make me suspect strongly that this term really means, as its etymology and levirate reference ("held as own child") would imply, "man's brother's child" and "woman's sister's child," thus including *'i'sip!a* and *mari'mip!a* (see nos. 5 and 6) in their reference to "nephew" and "niece").

22. *'a'yansiya*, plural *'a'di'yansiya*. This term covers several types of cousin relationship, also several remoter consanguineous and affinity relationships. It is used to refer to "woman's father's sister's daughter," "man's father's sister's daughter," and "man's mother's brother's daughter"; to "father's father's sister"; to "(man's or woman's) mother's brother's wife"; and to "father's father's wife" (not paternal grandmother by kin; *'amāwi* may also be used, see no. 14) and "mother's father's wife" (not maternal grandmother by kin; *'a'djuwi* may also be used, see no. 16). *'a'yansiya* may be analyzed as verb stem *'a'yan-* (of unascertainable meaning), agentive *-si*, and feminine suffix *-ya*. Its reciprocal term is in every case *'o'yanmauna* (see below, no. 23).

23. *'o'yanmau-na*, plural *'u'di'yanmāwi*; vocative *'o'yanmau-nā*. This term covers several types of cousin relationship, also several affinity relationships. It is used to refer to "man's mother's brother's son," "woman's mother's brother's daughter," "woman's mother's brother's son," and "woman's father's sister's son"; to "woman's brother's son's son, daughter"; to "husband's sister's son, daughter"; and to "husband's (not own) son's son, daughter" and "husband's (not own) daughter's son, daughter." *'o'yanmau-na* may be analyzed as *'o'yan-* causative or active form of verb *'a'yan-* (see no. 22) and *-mau-na* passive participle suffix, i.e. approximately "made to stand in (reciprocal) relation to *'a'yansiya*." In only one recorded case ("man's mother's brother's son") is its reciprocal other than *'a'yansiya* (see no. 22). For this reason I am strongly inclined to believe that there is some mistake here and that *u'dji'yauna* in its sense of "man's father's sister's son" has as reciprocal not *'o'yanmau-na*, as recorded, but *u'dji'yauna* (see no. 20).

24. *'i'si* "husband, husband's brother." Possibly also "woman's sister's husband," for which no term was recorded. *'i'si* means properly "man, male."

25. *mari'mi* "wife, wife's sister." Possibly also "man's brother's wife," for which no term was recorded. *mari'mi* means properly "woman, female."

26. *yāhi* general term for "parent-in-law" and "child-in-law." Plural *yat'hīwi*.

27. *alts'ila'wana* general term for such "parents-in-law" and "children-in-law" as must not be spoken to or looked at (*wa'mat'* is verb indicating such attitude to one; cf. L. 43), i.e. "woman's son-in-law, man's mother-in-law, man's daughter-in-law, woman's father-in-law." This term is compounded of *alts'ila* (cf. N. Yana *alts'ilāna* "dead person appearing in one's dream, ghost," hence probably "tabooed person" generally) and *wana* (cf. L. 41 and see below, nos. 28-33, 40), i.e. "tabooed (father, mother, son, or daughter) in-law." Plural *ādilts'ilāwi'wana*.

28. *tc'ap'dju'i* "(man's or woman's) father-in-law"; vocative *tc'ap'dju'ī*. Also "woman's sister's father-in-law" and "man's brother's father-in-law." Plural *tc'ap'dju'iwī*. *tc'ap'dju'i'wana*, compounded of *tc'ap'dju'i* and *-wana* (cf. no. 27) applies to "tabooed father-in-law," i.e. "woman's father-in-law, woman's sister's father-in-law."

29. *tc'ap'djup'un'-na* "(man's or woman's) mother-in-law." Also "woman's sister's mother-in-law" and "man's brother's mother-in-law." Compounded of *tc'ap'dju(i)* "father-in-law" (see no. 28) and *-p'ut'* "woman." Plural *tc'ap'djup'ut'gā-hi*. *tc'ap'djup'ut'-wana*, compounded of *tc'ap'djup'ut'* and *-wana* (cf. no. 27), applies to "tabooed mother-in-law," i.e. "man's mother-in-law, man's brother's mother-in-law."

30. *nc'ga'i* "(man's or woman's) son-in-law"; vocative *nc'gā'i*. Also "brother of son-in-law." Plural *nc'ga'iwī*; vocative *nc'ga'iwī*. *nc'ga'i'wana*, compounded of *nc'ga'i* and *-wana* (cf. no. 27), applies to "tabooed son-in-law," i.e. "woman's son-in-law, woman's son-in-law's brother."

31. *tc'a'waihi* "(man's or woman's) daughter-in-law"; vocative *tc'a'waihī*. Also "sister of daughter-in-law." Plural *tc'a'waihiwī*; vocative *tc'a'waihiwī*. *tc'a'waihi'wana*, compounded of *tc'a'waihi* and *-wana* (cf. no. 27), applies to "tabooed daughter-in-law," i.e. "man's daughter-in-law, man's daughter-in-law's sister."

32. *nc'ga'imari'mi* "(man's or woman's) son-in-law's sister." Compounded of *nc'ga'i* (see no. 30) and *mar'i'mi* "woman, female," i.e. "son-in-law woman." When compounded with *-wana* (cf. no. 27), i.e. *nc'ga'imari'mi'wana*, it applies to "tabooed son-in-law's sister," i.e. "man's son-in-law's sister."

33. *tc'a'waihi'ī'si* "(man's or woman's) daughter-in-law's brother." Compounded of *tc'a'waihi* (see no. 31) and *'ī'si* "man, male," i.e. "daughter-in-law man." Plural *tc'a'waihi'ī'sai*. When

compounded with *-wana* (cf. no. 27), i.e. *tc'a'waihi' i'si'wana*, it applies to "tabooed daughter-in-law's brother," i.e. "woman's daughter-in-law's brother."

34. *bul-la* (assimilated from *\*-na*) "(man's or woman's) son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's father"; vocative *bul-lā*. Plural *bulyā-hi*.

35. *bulmari'mi* "(man's or woman's) son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's mother"; vocative *bulmari'mi*. Compounded of no. 34 and *mari'mi* "woman, female." Plural *bulmari'miyā-hi*.

36. *djima'yau-na* "man's sister's husband"; vocative *djima'yau-nā*. Plural *djit'mat'yēwi*. For analysis, cf. I, 45.

37. *ya'gaihi* "wife's brother"; vocative *ya'gaihi-nā*. Plural *yat'gaihiwi*; vocative *yat'gaihiwi-nā*.

38. *djīdjadja'wiyau-na* "husband's sister"; vocative *djīdjadja'wiyau-nā*. Plural *djit'djadja'wi'yēwi*. For analysis cf. I, 46.

39. *gāmaidjawī'yau-na* "woman's brother's wife"; vocative *gāmaidjawī'yau*. Plural *gat'maidjawī'yēwi*. For analysis, cf. I, 47.

40. *k'ūt'c'disi* "daughter-in-law" (after death of son originally married to her), "son-in-law" (after death of daughter originally married to him), "parent-in-law" (after death of wife or husband who has been their daughter or son). This term seems to be used also for "new wife, sister of deceased," as applied to her by her new husband and her parents-in-law. Plural *k'ut'tc'disīwi*. When compounded with *-wana* (cf. no. 27), i.e. *k'ūt'c'disi'wana*, it applies to "tabooed child-in-law or parent-in-law" (after death of person whose marriage has brought about affinity), i.e. "man's mother-in-law" (after his wife's death), "man's daughter-in-law" (after his son's death), "woman's father-in-law" (after her husband's death), "woman's son-in-law" (after her daughter's death). *k'ūt'c'disi* may be analyzed into *k'u-*, *k'ū-* "to be not," *-tc'di-* "to leave behind" (compounded of *-dja-* "off, away" and N. Yana *-di-* "to leave"; cf. N. Yana *ultc'di-* "to leave" from *uldja-* "to throw away"), and agentive *-si*, i.e. "one who is left behind without (wife, husband, son, or daughter)."<sup>5</sup>

41. *oxnaiyā-hi* "wife's sister." This term is used only by such mythological characters as Panther and Coyote. Its analysis is given

<sup>5</sup> Not properly terms of relationship are: *k'umāp'āya* "widow" (N. Yana *k'umā'aya*; *k'u-* "to be not," *-mā* "along with," *-p'a-* verb suffix indicating state, *-ya* "female," i.e., "woman who has not [her husband] with her"); *p'unēsi* (also N. Yana) "widower" (*-si* agentive); *dī'gaisi* "man whose child has died" (*-gal-* indicates removal of part from whole, e.g., N. Yana *dōgal'di-* "to peel off skin," *-si* agentive, i.e., something like "man who is deprived of [his offspring]"); *dī'galwaya* "woman whose child has died" (*-ya* "female"); *tc'umum'amauyā-hi* "male or female whose father or mother has died" (*-mau-* participle suffix, *yā-hi* "person").



above (see I, 48). Very likely, as suggested by N. Yana *o'omōō-nā*, its proper range of significance is wider; it may have embraced all meanings of *'i'si* "husband" and *ma'i'mo* "wife" but their literal ones (see above, nos. 24 and 25).

42. *p'ima'o* "(man's or woman's) father's brother's wife, also "stepmother"; vocative *p'ima'o-nā* "(man speaking, p'ero'o (woman speaking). Plural *p'en'mo'ōpa-hi*.

43. *dāt'ip!a* "husband's brother's son, daughter" also "woman's stepson, stepdaughter"; vocative *dat'ip!ā* "To be analysed into *dāt'*" (cf. C. Yana *dāt'i* "child," I, 5) and diminutive *-p!a*, i.e. "little child." Despite its literal significance, *dāt'ip!a* is used even for a grown-up man or woman.

44. *wa'nimāsi* "(man's or woman's) stepfather; man's stepson, stepdaughter"; vocative *wa'nimāsi-nā* "stepfather! stepson!" (said by man), *wa'nimāsi* "stepfather!" (said by woman), "stepdaughter!" (said by man). (Cf. N. Yana *un'tōō* "father's brother" (I, 23), C. Yana *wan'imāsi* "father's brother" (I, 24).

45. *umāwagai-na* "wife's brother's son, daughter"; vocative *umāwagai-nā*. Its reciprocal is *u'dji'yau-na*, which, among other uses, refers to "father's sister's husband" (see above, no. 20). Its analysis is unclear, but *u-* "to be" and *-mā-* "along with" seem plausible. It is clearly related to C. Yana *māwagwēnu* (see I, 24), interpreted as "friend"; there is, however, no clear relation in meaning.

46. *'āp'dju'wīyau-na* "mother's sister's husband"; vocative *'āp'dju'wīyau-nā*. Analysis unclear except for *-yau-na* verbal noun suffix. Plural *'at'p'dju'wīyēwi*. Ishi stated that one's "wife's sister's children" (reciprocal to above) were addressed as one's own children, but he was not altogether intelligible here. "Mother's sister's husband" is apparently also covered by *u'dji'yau-na* (see above, no. 20).

47. *'onts!a'yau-na* "mother's father's wife" (not kin maternal grandmother), "father's father's wife" (not kin paternal grandmother), perhaps only after kin grandmother's death; vocative *'onts!a'yau-nā*. This term was not defined altogether satisfactorily; it leaves some room for doubt. Observe that its assigned meanings have already been covered by *'a'yansi-ya* (see above, no. 22). Its C. Yana etymological equivalent, *antstayau-na* "father's sister" (see I, 22), differs considerably in meaning. Plural *'ōd'onts!a'yau-na*.

## III. DISCUSSION OF YANA TERMS

The number of Yahi terms of relationship corresponding etymologically to Northern and Central Yana terms is considerable. In many cases the meanings are identical, at least in part; in comparatively few others they diverge, though generally along sociologically intelligible lines. The following table presents a summary of the facts of linguistic relationship of kinship terms:

N. (AND C.) YANA	MEANING	YAHİ	MEANING
<i>gaisi-nā</i> (voc.)	father!	<i>galsi</i>	father; father's brother
<i>gannā</i> (voc.)	mother!	<i>ganna</i>	mother; mother's sister
<i>nāna</i>	mother	<i>nāna</i> (Kroeber)	mother
<i>p!aun'i</i>	son	<i>p!au'ni</i>	son
<i>t!inīsi</i>	daughter, son (?)	<i>t!i'nīsi</i>	child
<i>dāt'i</i> (C.)	child	<i>dāt'ip!a</i>	husband's brother's child; woman's stepchild
<i>'amait's!gi</i>	children	<i>'amait's!gi</i>	girls, daughters
<i>yuwunts!gi</i>	boys, sons	<i>yuwunts!gi</i>	boys, sons
<i>isi'yau-na</i>	woman's (older) brother	<i>'i'si'yau-na</i>	woman's brother; woman's father's brother's son; woman's mother's sister's son
<i>mari'miyau-na</i>	man's (older) sister	<i>mari'mi'yau-na</i>	man's sister; man's father's brother's daughter; man's mother's sister's daughter
<i>adjuri</i>	father's mother (?)	<i>'a'djuwi</i>	mother's mother; woman's daughter's child
<i>amāwi</i>	woman's son's son	<i>'amāwi</i>	father's mother; woman's son's child;
<i>amāwimarim'i</i>	woman's son's daughter		father's mother's sister; woman's sister's son's child
<i>t'u'ai-na</i>	mother's mother	<i>t'o'oi-na</i>	mother's mother (after death of mother's father)
<i>t'u'aisi</i>	woman's daughter's son		
<i>t'u'aimarim'i</i>	woman's daughter's daughter		
<i>murdi</i>	father's sister	<i>mucdi</i>	father's sister; woman's brother's child
<i>unte!ayau-na</i> (C.)	father's sister	<i>'onts!a'yau-na</i>	mother's father's wife; father's father's wife
<i>un'ima,</i> <i>wan'īmāsi</i> (C.)	father's brother	<i>wa'nīmāsi</i>	stepfather; man's stepchild
<i>uđji'yau-na</i>	mother's brother	<i>u'dji'yau-na</i>	mother's brother; man's sister's child; mother's sister's husband; wife's sister's child; father's sister's husband; father's mother's brother; man's sister's son's child; man's father's sister's son
<i>wadāt'imau-na</i>	man's brother's son	<i>wa'dāt'i-mau-na</i>	"sister's" child
<i>wadāt'imaumari-</i> <i>m'i</i>	man's brother's daughter		
<i>il'auyā-na</i>	cousin	<i>ilauyā-hi</i>	man's sister (mythological)
<i>māwagai-na</i> (C.)	friend	<i>umāwagai-na</i>	wife's brother's child
<i>tc'ap'dju'i</i>	father-in-law	<i>tc'ap'dju'i</i>	father-in-law; woman's sister's father-in-law; man's brother's father-in-law

N. (AND C.) YANA	MEANING	YAHÍ	MEANING
<i>te'ap'djāp'an'</i> <i>na</i>	mother in law	<i>te'ap'djū-</i> <i>p'us'ad</i>	wither (in law) woman's sister's mother in law; man's brother's mother in law
<i>nigā'i</i>	son in law	<i>ac'ga'i</i>	son in law's brother
<i>te'a'wai-na</i>	daughter in law	<i>te'a'waihi</i>	daughter in law's daughter; in-law's sister
<i>wana</i> (C.)	son in law; man's mother in law	<i>wana</i>	tabooed parent in law or child in law
<i>wīman'man-na</i>	woman's son in law	<i>wīnat'</i>	"to have taboo relation toward affinity"
<i>*igai-na</i>	wife's brother	<i>ya'gaihi</i>	wife's brother
<i>djū'ima'jau-na</i>	man's sister's husband	<i>djūma'jau-na</i>	man's sister's husband
<i>djadjadja'wayau-</i> <i>na</i>	husband's sister	<i>djadjadja'</i> <i>wījau-na</i>	husband's sister
<i>gāmaidjawai'yau-</i> <i>na</i>	woman's brother's wife	<i>gāmaidjau'</i> <i>ya-na</i>	woman's brother's wife
<i>u'naiyā-na</i>	wife's sister; husband's brother; woman's sister's husband; man's brother's wife	<i>ana'iyā-hi</i>	wife's sister (mythological)

There is undoubtedly at least some element of error in comparing the northern with the Yahi terms. Were this removed, we should probably find even fewer discrepancies in meaning between the two sets than are revealed by the foregoing comparative table. In particular, the Northern Yana terms *adjuwi* and *amāwi* (*amāwi'marim'*) have, quite likely, been fallaciously defined. Some of the more distinctive features of the Yana kinship system are listed in the following paragraphs:

1. Distinctive term for "son," but not for "daughter" (I, 3 = II, 4). "Daughter" is included in "child" (I, 4 = II, 3). Yahi "little man" (II, 5) and "little woman" (II, 6) for "son" and "daughter" respectively are hardly true relationship terms, their proper interpretation being probably as "boy" and "girl."

2. Recognition of difference between "older brother" and "younger brother" and between "older sister" and "younger sister" (I, 6, 7 = II, 7: 8; I, 2: 1 = II, 10: 11; I, 10: 11). In Yahi there is no difference recognized between "woman's older brother" and "woman's younger brother" or between "man's older sister" and "man's younger sister." I am not at all certain that Northern Yana differs radically in this respect from Yahi. My notes are not as clear on this point as I could wish, but it seems not altogether unlikely\* that N. Yana *k'at'e'ic* (I, 9)

\* From incidental remarks made by Betty Brown in connection with signs "woman's brother" (Yana Texts, 176, l. 12), I concluded that it was doubtful if *isī'yau-na* necessarily meant "woman's older brother" alone but that it was possible that women said *k'at'e'ic-na* to their brothers before those were of age, *isī'yau-na* "being man" after puberty.



and *k!atdai-na* (I, 11; at least when used by male) are really pre-pubertal terms and that *marī'miyau-na* (I, 10) and *isi'yau-na* (I, 8) are respectively inclusive, as in Yahi, of "older and younger sister" and "older and younger brother." These terms themselves suggest by their etymology not relative seniority, but sex contrast. However, Northern Yana and Yahi do not need to correspond in detail.

3. Recognition of difference between male and female speaker. This applies to brothers and sisters (I, 6, 7: 8, 9 = II, 7, 8: 12; I, 10: 12 = II, 10, 11: 12; I, 11 seems to contradict this principle, perhaps only through misleading character of data as recorded); to men and women in relation to their nephews and nieces (as necessary consequence of principle of reciprocity, see 4, below); to men and women in relation to their grandchildren or grandchildren of brothers and sisters (again as necessary consequence of principle of reciprocity); to certain terms for "cousin" (II, 20: 23 "father's sister's son"; II, 22: 23 "mother's brother's daughter"); to spouse (I, 35: 36 = II, 24: 25); to certain affines (see 8 below for classification of brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law; II, 20: 23 "spouse's sister's child"; II, 45: 43 "spouse's brother's child"); and to stepchildren (II, 44: 43). It seems not unlikely that in the case of brother and sister terminology, the recognition of the sex of the speaker is a reflection of the semi-taboo relation that in many American tribes subsists between brother and sister, particularly after the maturity of the latter. Thus, among the Yana, social intercourse between brother and sister, after the playing days of childhood, was not free. To avoid the implication of too great familiarity, brother and sister addressed each other in the plural instead of the normal singular (Yana Texts, note 139). Both social custom and kinship feature are paralleled among the Nootka. However, the hypothesis here suggested needs to be followed up in detail among many tribes before great weight can be attached to it.

4. Reciprocity, i.e. application of same (or etymologically closely related) term to both members of related pair of individuals (e.g. paternal grandmother and woman's son's child, man's mother-in-law and woman's son-in-law). This principle is exemplified, though not always completely, in grandparents and grandchildren (II, 14; I, 16: 17 = II, 15; I, 18: 19, 20 = II, 16; II, 18); in granduncles (grand-aunts) and grandnephews (grandnieces) (see references for preceding category; further II, 20 "father's mother's brother, man's sister's son's child"; II, 22: 23 "father's father's sister, woman's brother's son's child"); in uncles (aunts) and nephews (nieces) (II, 19; II, 20);

in cousins (I, 31, 32; II, 22: 23<sup>7</sup>); in man's mother-in-law and woman's son-in-law (I, 41); in certain other relations of affinity (II, 20 "mother's sister's husband, wife's sister's child"; II, 22: 23<sup>8</sup> "mother's brother's wife, husband's sister's child"; II, 27, II, 34, 35, II, 40); and in step-relationship (II, 44; II, 22: 23<sup>9</sup> "father's father's wife, husband's son's child; mother's father's wife, husband's daughter's child").

5. Recognition of difference between relationship via father (reciprocally, son or brother) and via mother (reciprocally, daughter or sister). This applies to grandparents, reciprocally grandchildren (I, 13: 18 = II, 14: 16, 17; I, 14, 15: 19, 20 = II, 14: 16; II, 15: 18); to granduncles and grandaunts, reciprocally grandnephews and grandnieces (see references for preceding category; further, II, 20 "father's mother's brother, man's sister's son's child"; II, 22 "father's father's sister": 23 "woman's brother's son's child"); to uncles and aunts, reciprocally nephews and nieces (I, 21, 22: 25 = II, 19: 2 "mother's sister"; I, 23, 24: 26 = II, 1 "father's brother": 20; I, 27, 28: 29 "man's sister's child" = II, 5, 6, 21 [?] "man's brother's child": 20 "man's sister's child"; II, 19 "woman's brother's child": 5, 6, 21 [?] "woman's sister's child"); to cousins (II, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 "father's brother's child, mother's sister's child": 20 [?], 22, 23 "father's sister's child, mother's brother's child"); to certain terms of affinity (II, 46 "mother's sister's husband": 20 "father's sister's husband";<sup>8</sup> II, 20 "wife's sister's child": 45; II, 22 "mother's brother's wife": 42 "father's brother's wife"; II, 23 "husband's sister's child": 43 "husband's brother's child"); and to certain step-relationships (II, 14 "father's father's wife": 16 "mother's father's wife"<sup>9</sup>).

6. Merging of paternal (reciprocally, fraternal) and maternal (reciprocally, sororal) lineage (reverse of 5). This feature is not fundamentally characteristic of Yana, and it is doubtful if all recorded cases are genuine (I, 16 [?]; I, 29 "woman's brother's or sister's child"; I, 31, 32; II, 20 "father's or mother's sister's husband"; II, 22 "father's or mother's father's wife"; II, 23 "husband's son's or daughter's child"; II, 47 [?]).

7. Secondary sex discrimination (in contradistinction to such primary discriminations as grandfather and grandmother or uncle and

<sup>7</sup> *ʼa yansa* (II, 22) and *ʼa yansa* (II, 23) are typologically related and form in effect a reciprocal kinship pair.

<sup>8</sup> II, 20, however, seems to include also "mother's sister's husband" (see 6).

<sup>9</sup> II, 22, however, may be employed for both of these relationships.

aunt, in which cases etymologically unrelated stems are used). These embrace certain cases of brother and sister (I, 6: 12 = II, 7: 10; II, 8: 11); of grandchildren (I, 14: 15; I, 19: 20); of nephew and niece (I, 27: 28); of terms of affinity (I, 37: 38 = II, 28: 29; II, 30: 32; II, 31: 33; II, 34: 35). Note also *'a'yansiya* (II, 22), which is a feminine derivative of the stem contained in its reciprocal term *'o'yanmau-na* (II, 23); the latter term, however, would seem to include several feminine references. Particularly noteworthy is the secondary origin of "mother-in-law," literally "father-in-law woman" (I, 38 = II, 29). The same feature is found also in Chimariko:<sup>10</sup> *-maku* "father-in-law," *-mako-sa* "mother-in-law" (Chimariko *-sa* corresponds to Yana feminine *-ya*).

8. Classification of brothers-in-law and sister-in-law according to whether speaker and relative are of same or different sex. When the speaker and relative are of the same sex (man's sister's husband, wife's brother, woman's brother's wife, husband's sister), a distinctive term is used for each of the four relationships (I, 44 = II, 37; I, 45 = II, 36; I, 46 = II, 38; I, 47 = II, 39). When they are of opposite sex (man's brother's wife, wife's sister, woman's sister's husband, husband's brother), they are either lumped together under a single term (I, 48 = II, 41) or, in Yahi, identified with husband or wife (II, 24, 25).

9. Merging of terms of consanguinity and affinity (including step-relationship). Generally these two classes of terms of relationship are kept rigidly apart, but there are certain cases of merging in Yana (I, 14, 16; II, 20; II, 22, 23).

10. Merging of distinct generations, apart from cases of reciprocity. This does not happen often (II, 20, 22, 23).

11. Distinction in terminology dependent on whether third party (connecting link in terms of affinity) is alive or dead. (a) In terms of consanguinity (II, 16: 17); (b) in terms of affinity (II, 28, 29, 30, 31: 40). It is possible that this principle operates to a greater extent than would appear from recorded evidence.

12. Reflection of taboo relationship (man's mother-in-law, man's daughter-in-law, woman's father-in-law, woman's son-in-law; also certain remoter relationships) in kinship terminology (I, 41 "man's mother-in-law, woman's son-in-law";<sup>11</sup> I, 43; II, 27; *-wana* forms in II, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 40).

<sup>10</sup> Dixon, R. B., *The Chimariko Indians and Language*, Present series, v, 374.

<sup>11</sup> But also "man's son-in-law."



13. Reflection of levirate custom (marriage of widow by brother of deceased, marriage of widower by sister of deceased) in kinship terminology.<sup>12</sup> The cases involved may be grouped into two classes: (a) those which depend on what may be called the sociological equivalence of brothers and of sisters; and (b) those which represent step-relationship in terms of the levirate. Under (a) come the following cases: identification of paternal uncle and maternal aunt with father and mother respectively (II, 1, 2); of man's brother's children and of woman's sister's children with own children (II, 5, 6, 1, 27-11, 21); of cousins on paternal uncle's or maternal aunt's side with brothers and sisters (II, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12); of grandfather with grandfather's brother and of grandmother with grandmother's sister, reciprocally of man's grandchild with his brother's grandchild and of woman's grandchild with her sister's grandchild (II, 14, 15); of husband with husband's brother and of wife with wife's sister (II, 24, 25); of parent-in-law with man's brother's or woman's sister's parent-in-law, or son-in-law with son-in-law's brother, and of daughter-in-law with daughter-in-law's sister (II, 28, 29, 30, 31). Under (b) come the following cases: identification of father's brother's wife with stepmother, reciprocally of husband's brother's child with woman's stepchild, itself meaning literally "little child" (II, 42, 43); etymological identity of N. and C. Yana terms for paternal uncle with Yahi term for stepfather (I, 23, 24; II, 44). It should be noted that the dependence of these facts of terminology on the custom of the levirate was throughout quite clear and practically self-evident to Ishi.

It is worth noting that of the four recognizable cases of kinship terminology reflecting some feature of social usage (3, 11,<sup>13</sup> 12, 13) three are symptomatic of a taboo or semi-taboo.

<sup>12</sup> For a general treatment of this matter, with use of Yahi data, see Squier, E., *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*. *Am. Anth.*, n. s., xviii, 327-337, 1916.

<sup>13</sup> Change of term undoubtedly connected with mourning taboo, i.e., taboo of explicitly or implicitly mentioning the deceased person.

## Editorial Note

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# Edward Sapir's Unpublished Southern Paiute Song Texts

Edited by  
Robert Franklin and Pamela Bunte<sup>1</sup>

With a Note on Musical Transcriptions by Thomas Vennum, Jr.

In 1909, Edward Sapir spent two months in eastern central Utah under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania Museum collecting seven narrative texts, six in Ute with English translation and one in English only, from Charlie Mack, a Northern Ute living at White Rocks on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation (Sapir 1930e: 299). His interest in Southern Paiute-Ute language and culture piqued, the following year Sapir made arrangements with the museum and the Carlisle Indian School, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to conduct linguistic and ethnographic interviews with Tony Tillohash, a young Southern Paiute student from the Kaibab Band of northern Arizona and southern Utah.

From February through May of that year, Sapir worked with Tillohash eliciting a full range of linguistic and cultural data and collecting a variety of texts, including twenty-two mythic and non-mythic narrative texts and over two hundred texted songs (Sapir 1910d: 455; 1930d: 3; 1930e: 299–300). During this period, Sapir also made wax cylinder phonograph recordings of Tony Tillohash singing various song genres, several cylinders of Tillohash recounting one particularly long mythic tale, "Toad and Grey Hawk Gamble," with the tale's myth recitative songs included, and one cylinder recording of him imitating various animal calls (ms. 1910a: Sapir's typescript catalog of Southern Paiute phonograph recordings). Sapir's father, Jacob Sapir, a professional cantor, transcribed the song recordings into musical notation.

The greater part of Sapir's Southern Paiute-Ute textual material was published in 1930. That same year, Sapir's first publication on Kaibab



Paiute analyzed eleven texted songs of a genre that he called the "song recitative," a song type occurring widely in North America as a characteristic feature of mythic narratives (Sapir 1910d). As Sapir noted, the song recitative is a "short song found inserted here and there in the body of a myth, generally intended to express some emotion or striking thought of a character" (1910d: 455). In his Kaibab data, Sapir found that for those mythic characters, e. g., Wolf, Gray Hawk, or Red Ant, whose speeches were regularly rendered in song recitative form, each character's recitatives possessed a distinctive voice, linguistic form, and melodic and rhythmic style (Sapir 1910d: 457–470). This seminal article brought people's attention to the complexity of the song recitative and thus became the major introduction to this genre for North America, especially the Great Basin.

Twenty years later in 1930, Sapir published *Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean Language* (1930d), a detailed grammar of Southern Paiute, along with *Texts of the Kaibab Paiutes and Uintah Utes* (1930e), which included the Northern Ute narratives collected from Mack and Tillohash's Southern Paiute narrative texts. Seven Southern Paiute myth recitative songs were also included in this latter publication (Sapir 1930e: 478–483), six of which were reanalyzed versions of texts and musical transcriptions that Sapir had published previously (1910d: 463–467, 470). The following year, his *Southern Paiute Dictionary* appeared (1931k). Sapir's previously unpublished ethnographic notes, newly edited by Catherine S. Fowler and Robert C. Euler, appear in Volume X of *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir* (Sapir 1992), hereafter referred to as Sapir X or X.

Other materials gathered during these four months of research with Tony Tillohash were never published, among them some 209 additional song texts of various genres which Sapir had transcribed and annotated with ethnographic and linguistic information. All but two of these songs, his No. 51 and No. 52, had also been recorded on wax cylinders. These song texts comprised several genres: four song genres from the Southern Paiute "Cry," or mourning ceremony, including roan songs (or "salt songs" as they are known in English to Paiutes today), bird songs, coyote songs, and Cry greeting songs; Round Dance songs; Ghost Dance songs; Bear Dance songs; handgame, or "bone gambling" songs; medicine songs used in curing; Scalp Dance or war songs; one additional myth recitative, a partial version of which appeared in Sapir's collection of texts (1930e: 483); and several other songs of less determinate types. In this edition, we present in modern interlinear format and phonetics

Sapir's unpublished song texts together with the ethnographic and linguistic annotations that Sapir made to the text as well as Jacob Sapir's musical transcription. The remainder of this introduction to the texts is divided into three sections dealing with the following topics: an evaluation of the linguistic and ethnological value of the song texts and associated materials; a discussion of the ethnological context of the Southern Paiute song genres represented in Sapir's texts; and finally, information on Sapir's transcription style and the modern format used here.

### Evaluating Sapir's Unpublished Southern Paiute Song Text Materials

#### *Sapir's Song Text Manuscripts and Sound Recordings: Availability and Quality*

During his lifetime, Sapir made his unpublished Southern Paiute song materials available to other interested scholars apparently without restriction (Sapir ms. 1910b, in Harrington 1985: R1 171, Fr 0618 - 0633; Herzog 1935: 415). After his death, Sapir's cylinder recordings, copies of his original song transcriptions annotated with linguistic and ethnographic information, and Jacob Sapir's musical transcriptions for the songs were kept by the University of Pennsylvania Museum, which in 1960 deposited them with the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana (Seeger and Spear 1987: 154, Indiana University Library 1990). Sapir's typescript catalog of the contents of the cylinder recordings apparently passed directly from Sapir to George Herzog and then to Charles Adams (ms. 1910a: Sapir's typescript catalog of Southern Paiute phonograph records, handwritten note on p. 1). Adams deposited a copy of Sapir's catalog with the Archives of Traditional Music in 1969, where it was grouped with the rest of Sapir's song text materials. All of Sapir's written song text materials as well as all existing sound recordings are currently available to scholars through the Archives of Traditional Music, both on-site in its reading and listening rooms and in the form of photocopies and audiotape copies.

In 1984, the Archives of Traditional Music duplicated for preservation on audiotape all of Sapir's original cylinders which could still be played. Unfortunately, many of the cylinders were found to be unplayable and

the sound quality of the remainder was already seriously compromised. This is probably due in part to their having been played repeatedly for purposes of musical transcription. The Archives of Traditional Music rated the sound quality of Sapir's remaining cylinder recordings as poor or very poor (Archives of Traditional Music 1984: 599–611). On listening to the audiotape copies, however, we found that Tillohash's voice could be made out well enough to verify Sapir's linguistic transcription and/or his father's music transcriptions in a number of cases.

The archives' copies of Jacob Sapir's transcriptions and of Sapir's catalog of the cylinders' content are excellent and without flaw or missing pages as far as we can ascertain. The copy of Sapir's original annotated song transcriptions, the most valuable document from the anthropological linguist's viewpoint, is missing no pages and is also legible, although we occasionally found Sapir's handwriting difficult to interpret.

There are, unfortunately, several small lacunae in this latter document, both in the song text transcriptions themselves and in the ethnographic notes to the text. When the original notes were copied, apparently during Sapir's lifetime or after his death at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, some of Sapir's notations written on the extreme top, bottom, and side margins of several pages were not copied. For the text transcriptions themselves, all but one of these lacunae proved recoverable, due to the existence of a second manuscript version for 132 of the songs, described below (Sapir ms. 1910b, in Harrington 1985: Rl. 171, Fr. 0618–0633). This second manuscript was also useful for verifying our reading of Sapir's handwriting, as was Sapir's published dictionary of Southern Paiute (Sapir 1931k), which contains a number of lexical entries from the song texts cross-referenced by song number. The one lacuna in the transcriptions of the texts that was not recoverable was the first letter or letters of the first word in Song No. 111, where we have noted the missing portion with a question mark in brackets. Missing passages in Sapir's ethnographic notes are marked in brackets as illegible. Thanks to Sapir's typescript catalog of his cylinder recordings, which contains versions of some of his notes to the songs, we were also able to recover this missing information in the majority of cases, and have included it in our notes to the texts, along with supplemental information from other sources.

Sapir made a second manuscript copy for 132 of the 209 unpublished Southern Paiute song texts. On May 26, 1910, Sapir wrote to John P.



Harrington, concerning 129 roan, bird, and coyote Cry songs and three Ghost Dance songs which Sapir believed might be "in Mohave or some other Yuman dialect" (Sapir ms. 1910b, in Harrington 1985: Rl. 171, Fr. 0618). Sapir asked Harrington if he could identify the language of these texts and if possible also translate them. With this letter and apparently in succeeding installments, Sapir included ink copies of these song texts, which are now among the Harrington Papers in the Smithsonian Institution's Anthropological Archives at Washington, D.C., and were recently published on microfilm (Sapir ms. 1910b, in Harrington 1985: Rl. 171, Fr. 0618–0633).

Sapir clearly took great care to make this handwritten transcription of these songs more easily legible to others than his original. Moreover the microfilm copy has preserved an excellent copy of the original ink copy without lacunae. However, it also contains much less linguistic and ethnographic detail than the original. Sapir simplified and broadened his transcription style in the second version, eliminating much of the phonetic specificity that characterized his original, very narrow transcription, notably his transcription of slight variations in repeated verses within single song performances. Sapir also left out some repeated verses or portions of verses, some of his ethnographic notations, and other notations found in the original texts.

Our edition of Sapir's unpublished Southern Parute song texts is based primarily on Sapir's original notes as they appear in the version held at the Archives of Traditional Music (ms. 1910a) as this is the most complete and the most detailed. However, this version was carefully compared with the Harrington Papers song texts. As noted earlier, this second version was used to fill in lacunae in the original song text transcriptions and to cross-check our reading of Sapir's handwriting in the original notes. Our treatment of differences in the two manuscripts' phonetic transcriptions and placement of spaces between groups of syllables are dealt with below in our discussion of transcription styles.

Similarly, because Sapir's grammar (1930d) and dictionary (1931k) provide another phonetic transcription for specific lexical items from the song texts, we have used it to verify our reading of Sapir's handwriting. We have also made use of Sapir's grammar and dictionary for the supplemental linguistic information it offers and cite it at several points in our notes to the texts and in the texts themselves.

*The Linguistic and Ethnological Value of Sapir's Unpublished Song Texts*

Sapir's song text material must also be evaluated from the standpoint of their overall value for linguistic and ethnological research. Sapir himself noted on a number of occasions that he was greatly impressed by Tillohash's capabilities as an informant and by the high quality of the linguistic and ethnological data which Tony Tillohash provided (e.g.: Sapir 1910d: 455; 1930d: 3; 1930e: 299–300). As Sapir wrote in his first publication drawn from these data, his article on the "myth recitative" genre (1910d: 455):

Despite his five years' absence from home, Tony's musical memory was quite remarkable. Besides the myth-songs [i.e., myth recitatives] spoken of here, over two hundred other songs of various kinds (three or four varieties of "cry" or mourning songs, bear-dance songs, round-dance songs, ghost-dance songs, medicine songs, gambling songs, scalp songs, and others less easy to classify) were obtained from him.

The resulting corpus of song texts is of superior linguistic accuracy. It is also, when taken together with Sapir's published works, well representative of the full range of genres found in the Southern Paiute tradition.

For this reason alone Sapir's unpublished song texts are invaluable to anthropological linguistic and folkloric research. Yet this work derives a great deal of additional value from the fact that in it and in his notes of his ethnological interviews of Tillohash (Sapir X), Sapir took great care to provide specific ethnographic detail that situated the texts in terms of specific performance events, individual singers and other participants, and specific communities. Because of this, today's scholars can readily locate these texts within an evolving tradition created by individual singers in the context of ongoing intra- and inter-community interactions. This is all the more valuable since the time period covered, from the mid-1890s to approximately 1905, was one of great cultural ferment for Southern Paiutes and for Native North America as a whole. During this period, major rituals and verbal genres were innovated, transformed, and transferred from group to group and region to region at a bewildering pace, greatly influencing the shape of Southern Paiute religious and artistic life in the years that followed.

## Southern Paiute Song Types

*Cry or Mourning Songs*

The majority of the songs that Tony Tillohash performed for Sapir, altogether 136 songs counting alternate versions for three songs (No. 5a, No. 11a, and the second version of No. 21), were songs sung as part of the Southern Paiute Cry, or mourning ceremony, called yaxapt 'cry' in Southern Paiute (Sapir X: 848; 1931k: 723). In Sapir's unpublished notes of his interviews with Tony Tillohash, Tillohash identified ten Cries that took place in different years at various Southern Paiute communities starting from before 1894 to 1909 (X: 842). Between 1898 and 1904 in particular, in the seven years immediately before Tillohash left to spend five years at Carlisle School (Sapir 1930e: 299), Tillohash's statements suggest that Southern Paiutes as a group held Cries on an annual basis, generally in June or July (X: 834, 842). Tillohash gave a particularly detailed account of the planning and conduct of one Cry ceremony that was held in 1901 at East Forks, Utah (X: 834–842). According to Tillohash, Cry ceremonies were sponsored by relatives of a deceased person to honor that individual, but also to "keep alive the memory of dead relatives" in general (X: 834, 842).

As Sapir noted in an early article on the Cry ceremony (1912c: 168): "The essential elements of the ceremony are the singing of numerous mourning songs and the offering of valuables ... in the memory of the dead." During this period, mourning songs of four separate types, or cycles, were sung during the night = singing that characterizes the Cry-ceremony: as[ia]-uv<sup>u</sup>iavi 'ash gray-song', translated by Sapir as roan songs but commonly called salt songs by today's Southern Paiutes (cf. Laird 1976: 11); wici<sup>u</sup>-uv<sup>u</sup>iavi, 'bird-song', bird songs; šma-uv<sup>u</sup>iavi, 'coyote-song', coyote songs; and navá-uv<sup>u</sup>iavi, 'mountain sheep-song', mountain sheep songs (Sapir X: 834, 835, 840; 1912c: 169; 1931k: 708). Typically, two or more of these song cycles would be performed simultaneously on a given night of a Cry. Each song cycle had its own group of singers, led by an appointed song leader and his assistants who accompanied themselves with rattles. On the first several nights of a Cry the singing lasted from early evening until midnight and on the last night until dawn, as is also done today when a Cry lasts more than one night. In all four song cycles, the group of singers would be arranged in two facing rows during the singing. Each of the four types of Cry song, however, was characterized by a distinctive pattern of postures.



gestures and/or dance movements which Tillohash described in some detail (X: 835, 839–840; annotations to Songs No. 43 and No. 74). Mountain sheep singers always stood while singing. Coyote and roan/salt singers periodically knelt on the ground or stood, as salt singers today periodically sit in chairs or stand (cf. Sapir's photograph of Tillohash demonstrating roan/salt song stance with rattle, in Kelly 1964: Plate 7f). As they also do today, bird singers stood and danced a slow, shuffling step with bodies bending gently forward and back and both lines moving forward towards each other or away (cf. Sapir's photograph of Tillohash demonstrating the bird song dancing style with rattle, in Kelly 1964: Plate 7e).

In Sapir's interview notes, Tillohash stated that there was no set order for singing any of the four song cycles, although some songs were sung in pairs called "brothers" (X: 836). However, Sapir's notes to one bird song (No. 42) and to two alternative roan/salt songs (Nos. 46 and 74) indicate that each was a song customarily sung at the end of its respective song cycle performance. Today, the salt song cycle as a whole appears to be codified in a recognized order, judging by Cry participants' comments on occasional ordering errors. According to Tillohash, roan/salt songs were sung in sets of five with a break between (X: 836). Each "period" of a roan/salt song, i. e., from each repetition of *wa'imı* until the next, was supposed to be sung in a single breath (X: 835).

A particular mythic tale is said to recount the origin of the Cry and at least one of the four song cycles, coyote songs (Sapir X: 834; 1930e: 345–347). In this myth, the various myth-time animals met in council "in the far western country" to lament the fact that many of them were dying and then held the first Cry (1930e: 347). Coyote asked to sing his songs first, but apparently his first song was a foolish one since the others asked him to stop. Coyote's first song was intended as a joke, but he followed it with a better one. According to Sapir's notes to song No. 54, Tillohash indicated that that coyote song was the one originally sung by coyote at that first Cry "in which he 'fooled' people" (see annotation to Song No. 54 below). Sapir also wrote on the box of the cylinder containing this song that it was indeed "Coyote's 1st song in myth" (Archives of Traditional Music 1984: 602, item 20a).

Among Sapir's song texts, there are 56 roan or salt songs, 70 bird songs, and 8 coyote songs. Several of the bird songs are identified with specific species of birds: the rooster (No. 42), the quail (Nos. 43 and 44), and the hummingbird (No. 81). Laird noted that the Chemehuevis had quail songs as a distinct genre, apparently borrowed from the

Cahuilla of southern California (1976: 11, 19). Song No. 75, a text in Southern Paiute which Tillohash identified as a "mountain sheep" song, is not a Cry song but instead one used to charm sheep in hunting them (see the annotations to this text). The preponderance of bird and roan/salt songs in Tillohash's repertoire is intriguing in light of the fact that today these two types are the sole genres performed in Kaibab Paiute Cry ceremonies. In his account of the 1901 East Forks Cry, Tillohash indicated that mountain sheep songs were sung only on the last night whereas the other three types were also performed on the previous nights of singing (Sapir X: 840).

The great majority of these songs are not in Southern Paiute, the exceptions being two bird songs (Nos. 63 and 65) and possibly two coyote songs (Nos. 53 and 54). As was noted earlier, Sapir considered that at some point in the past the majority had been borrowed from Mohave or another Yuman language along with the annual mourning ceremony itself (ms. 1910b, in Harrington 1985: R1, 171, Fr. 0618; X: 834; 1912c: 169; see also Kelly and Fowler 1986: 383). However, Sapir's interview notes (X: 836) and his annotations to several Cry song texts (Song Nos. 5, 11, and 166) make it clear that Southern Paiute singers, specifically song leaders from Moapa and St. George, were actively involved in composing new roan/salt and bird songs and in transforming the language and music of older ones, effectively reducing the original Yuman texts to vocables. Thus it is not surprising that overall the non-Paiute Cry song texts are no longer recognizable as Yuman, although the sounds may be (Munro, p.c., 1991). Today Mohave and Walapai singers serve as bird song leaders at Kaibab Paiute Cry ceremonies, as do Moapa and St. George Paiute singers, while Kaibab singers frequently lead the salt song singing at their own Cry ceremonies and those of other groups, including ceremonies hosted by the Mohave and Walapai communities. The Hayasupai, Yuman speakers like the Mohave and Walapai, adopted the mourning ceremony not long after the Kaibab Paiutes in the early years of this century and claim to have received the bird songs from the Mohave and the salt songs from the Southern Paiute, probably the Chemehuevi (Hinton, p.c., 1991; cf. Schwartz 1983: 22).

A fifth type of song, the "greeting song," or "song of friendship," was sung by an appointed song leader as part of a formal ritual welcoming each new group of people who arrived at the Cry and performed during pauses in the night-singing as part of a shorter ritual (X: 835, 839). The arriving party faced the party of people already

present while the singing took place. Afterward the singer would speak of the deceased in emotional terms inciting those present to weep. Tillohash performed two examples of this genre, both in Southern Paiute. Song No. 17 and Song No. 147. Song No. 17 is apparently one of the two songs which Moapa singer wacícı sang at greetings during the 1901 East Forks Cry (Sapir X: 839; see also Sapir's annotations to Song No. 17 below). Song 147 was performed by a Moapa singer at the 1898 Cry held near Cedar City (see Sapir's annotations to No. 147 below).

### *Round Dance Songs*

Certainly the best known song genre in the Great Basin tradition is the Round Dance song. Sven Liljeblad has referred to the genre as "the core of Great Basin poetry" (1986: 646). The Round Dance itself, as performed at Kaibab, is described in Sapir's interview notes (X: 851 – 852) and by Kelly (1964: 103 – 106; cf. also Kelly and Fowler 1986: 384). Dancers danced clockwise in a circle often around a central pole or wand erected in the dance floor, with hands clasped or arms linked, to songs performed by the singers without any percussion accompaniment.

Exclusive of Ghost Dance songs, which can be considered a sub-genre of the Round Dance, Tony Tillohash performed ten Round Dance songs for Sapir. One of these songs, No. 114, consists of vocables only while the remainder include at least some poetry text. Interestingly, Tillohash attributed all but two of the ten Round Dance songs to other groups besides the Kaibab Paiutes: one, No. 114, was from Koosharem, or "Escalante country"; five songs, No. 115 through No. 119, came from the "Arizona Paiutes," or San Juan Band<sup>3</sup>; one, No. 205, was composed by a Pahrnagat Valley man; and one, No. 200, was attributed to unidentified Shoshones.

As is typical of this poetic genre in the Great Basin (Liljeblad 1986: 647; cf. also Vander 1990: 2), eight songs with Southern Paiute language texts capture a single image from the natural world without reference to humans, most commonly images of moving water, mountains, and clouds. The exception is No. 205, which apparently commemorates, possibly satirically, an action that the composer himself performed.

As Herzog first noted, Great Basin Round Dance songs, including Ghost Dance songs, are also typically structured to follow a pattern of "paired progression" (Herzog 1935; cf. also Liljeblad 1986). As Herzog described the musical component of this pattern (1935: 404), "the melody



often progresses through phrases of changing melodic content, each rendered twice." Liljeblad has similarly noted that the texts of Round Dances "are strophic, with paired verses of various lengths," often with structural parallelisms linking the two verses in some manner (1986: 648). Thus, verse and melody together, Round Dance songs typically follow an AABB pattern or some variant of it, with one verse sung twice to one melodic phrase and the second verse sung twice to a second melodic phrase. If there is only a single verse, it may be sung four times in succession to an AABB melodic structure. In two of Sapir's Round Dance songs, Nos. 185 and 200, where the sound recordings are available, this AABB pattern can clearly be heard. Sapir's transcription of No. 185 also shows the AABB pattern in its repetition of textual material. In three others where the sound recordings are inaudible or lost (Nos. 76, 116, and 119), Sapir transcribed the texts as paired verses but did not indicate any pattern of repetition, thus giving partial evidence of the classic pattern. However, for the other five Round Dance texts, we cannot tell from Sapir's transcription what the actual verse structure was, since repetitions and versification are not indicated, and the original recordings are not available to clarify the structure.

### *Ghost Dance Songs*

Tillohash performed 22 Ghost Dance songs for Sapir. According to Sapir's interview notes (X: 843; cf. Kelly 1964: 106–107) and Sapir's notes on Song No. 196 (ms. 1910a: typescript catalog of cylinders, p. 10), these songs date from a brief Ghost Dance episode that began in approximately 1889 or 1890 and ended with the "last great Ghost Dance" held at Cedar City, Utah, in 1892. Sapir indicated that Tillohash was five years old at some point during this episode (X: 843).

The Ghost Dances of this period, according to Tillohash's statements, brought together members of the Kaibab Paiute community, other Southern Paiutes, as well as Walapais and Shoshones. Tillohash indicated that several Kaibabs were among the *parusucij*<sup>1</sup> or "prophets" who dreamt songs, led the singing and dancing, and prophesied during the dances (X: 843). The dance itself followed the Round Dance pattern closely but with several variations. For example, at some Ghost Dances, a prophet whose songs were being sung would stand a cane of serviceberry wood with two eagle feathers hanging from it, one white and one painted red, in the center of the dance ground in place of the central pole (Sapir X: 843). In the Round Dance, the men

commenced the dancing and then were joined by the women; any women could "butt in" to dance with a man another woman was dancing beside. In the Ghost Dance, this gender order was sometimes reversed, so that women would begin and men would join them, and men could butt in (X: 843).

As with the Round Dance songs performed by Tony Tillohash, the poetic content of those Ghost Dance songs which comprise Southern Paiute verse appears typical of the genre (cf. Liljeblad 1986: 647; Vander 1990). Several appear to make reference to the Ghost Dance teachings, to God (No. 110), to the return of dead relatives (No. 112), to heaven (No. 157), and to eagles (No. 192). Many of the others deal with scenes from nature, but do so in a distinctly more visionary fashion than do Round Dance songs (cf. Nos. 144, 154, 156, and 183). Of the seven Ghost Dance songs for which the sound recordings are partially audible (Nos. 156, 157, 188, 192, 196, 198, and 199), five follow an AABB pattern, one (No. 192) an AA' pattern, while one (No. 196) is insufficiently audible to determine its pattern. Several of the remaining Ghost Dance texts comprise paired verses, although the transcriptions show no repetition of verses.

### *Bear Dance Songs*

One fall in the mid-1890s, "when Tony was about 8 or 9," after the Kaibab Paiutes had returned to their camp at Kanab, Utah, from fall deer hunting on the Kaibab Plateau, the Kaibab Paiutes were instructed in the Ute Bear Dance and taught Bear Dance songs by two men, "Tom," a man from Koosharem or possibly Kaiparowits who was then living at Cedar City but later came to live with the Kaibab community, and mampúcc, "a medicine man ... of [the] Arizona [or San Juan] Paiutes who had traveled much among [the] Southern Utes" (Sapir X: 849; cf. Kelly 1964: 107–109). By the time Sapir worked with Tillohash, the celebration of the March Bear Dance, timed to the awakening of hibernating bears and the return of thunderstorms after winter, had apparently become a regular ritual and social event in the Kaibab community and a naturalized feature of Kaibab culture (Sapir X: 848–850; 1930e: 472–473; Kelly 1964: 107–112).

The Kaibab Bear Dance as Tillohash described it was essentially the same as it has been described for the Utes (Jorgensen 1986: 662–665) and as it may be observed today in Ute communities or, more rarely, in Southern Paiute communities. The Bear Dance took place within a

circular fence of sticks or poles, with the women on one side and the men on the other. A group of several male singers began by playing a few strokes on their rasps, notched sticks held end downward against a basket, tub, or dishpan to create resonance, and then singing a first song accompanied by the rasping (X: 848–850; see Sapir's photograph of Tillohash playing the rasp, in Kelly 1964: Plate 7d). In a note to Song No. 178, Sapir remarked that the rasps were thrown away after the dance each year and that "Tom" rasped four strokes to the measure while mampúcc rasped two strokes to the measure. As the first song began, women, representing the bear-woman of the origin-legend, chose their partners by touching them with a willow wand or by throwing pebbles at them. Three "officers" with pointed sticks stood by to encourage unwilling male partners (X: 849, 850). This dancing consisted of lines of dancers, and later couples, advancing and retreating, with men always on one side of the dance ground facing the women's side and vice versa (X: 848–849). In today's Bear Dances, and perhaps also in Tillohash's time although Sapir did not state this, women start out on the south before partners are chosen and when the dancing begins dance with their backs to the east side, where there is an opening in the enclosure. Men start out on the north and dance with their backs to the west, where the singers are located. Since one partner, the man or the woman, is always dancing backwards and both are often dancing at a quick-step pace, the other partner guides; when the direction reverses, so do the roles. Sapir's long note to Song No. 178 described the ritual that took place when a dancer fell. As the dancing became increasingly vigorous, especially on the last song of the last night, dancers would spell each other (X: 849). While Sapir did not note this, nowadays a fall during this last song on the last night brings the dance to a close.

Tillohash performed 15 Bear Dance songs, or *mamáʔqəʔmi-uvʔiay* 'Bear Dance-song' (Sapir 1931k: 708), for Sapir (Song Nos. 158–161, 170–175, and 177–181). He also recounted a version of the Bear Dance origin legend, in which a young man spends the winter with a female bear in the mountains (Sapir 1930e: 348–351, cf. Tom's version of the story in Kelly 1964: 108). Three of the song texts (Nos. 171, 177, and 180) consist solely of vocables. The remaining 12 songs comprise Southern Paiute texts, although one of these, No. 173, includes a dialectal form, *ninat* 'me mine', characteristic of Southern Ute or San Juan Paiute (see our note to that text). One of these songs makes reference to the bear (No. 158) and another to the spring season as the time for the Bear Dance (No. 170). Others refer to nature, in a manner



similar to Round Dance songs (Nos. 160 and 174). Several of the rest appear to satirize events in the composer's community (Nos. 159, 172, 173, and 175) or satirize non-Indians (Nos. 161 and 179).

Several of these texts exhibit a clear pattern of paired verses with well-developed parallelisms, resembling the strophic pattern which Liljeblad has noted for Round Dance songs (1986: 648). Song Nos. 158, 159, 174, and 175 develop parallelism between their paired verses by holding the final predicate elements constant and varying the subject or other initial term of the verse's clause structure. Song No. 173 does so by shifting the suffixes, and subtly the meaning, of the final verb in its paired third and fourth verses, which are otherwise identical. Semantic linkages between paired verses are created by pairing question-verse with answer-verse in several songs (Nos. 158, 159, and 161) or by conjoining or subordinating verse-clauses (Nos. 175 and 179). Perhaps the subtlest example of the paired verse pattern is in Song No. 170, where the first verse evokes the image of the fly, a sign of returning spring, and pivots from that image to a sound-image of the fly's buzzing, comparing it to the sound of an "old stick," that is, the sound of the Bear Dance rasp, which signals that the dance is about to begin. For five of the Bear Dance song texts (Nos. 161, 170, 171, 173, and 180), the sound recording is audible and in all five cases there is a clear AABB pattern or some variant of it.

#### *Medicine Songs, Gambling Songs, Scalp Dance Songs, and Other Song Types*

Tony Tillohash performed six medicine, or curing songs, called in Paiute *puá-uv* "iavī 'sacred power-song' (Sapir 1931k: 708). According to Sapir's unpublished interview notes, the Kaibab Paiutes believed that either a man or a woman could become a curer, or *puá-xa-ntī* 'sacred power-have-USP' (Sapir X: 830). Through a dream of a guardian spirit, such as an eagle spirit, a curer was given songs which were sung in curing rituals (X: 830–831; Kelly and Fowler 1986: 383). Two of the medicine songs, Nos. 139 and 191, belonged to a Shivwits Paiute shaman named *maá-ššax* "a-rī 'plant-green/blue-USP' who lived near Mt. Trumbull in Arizona. This apparently was the same shaman from Mt. Trumbull who spent three nights curing Tony Tillohash when Tony fell sick after falling asleep during the last night of a Cry ceremony, thus breaking a taboo (Sapir X: 831). The remaining songs are all attributed to specific, named, individuals, one a woman. Three, Nos.

139, 140, and 182, have Southern Paiute texts, while the rest consist of vocables.

In hand game or “bone” gambling, *na-yaŋ<sup>h</sup>i-pi* ‘self-carry-nominal’ (Sapir X: 852; 1931k: 723), two teams of gamblers faced each other in two lines. Two players from each team took turns concealing in their hands a set of four “bones,” two marked with a stripe and two blank, and a player on the other team would then guess the order in which the bones were being held (Sapir X: 853; Kelly 1964: 113–114). The team hiding the bones would sing its team members’ gambling songs first, then the guessing team would sing its members’ songs (Kelly 1964: 113). In his note to Song No. 127, Sapir wrote: “All good players have their own gambling songs composed by themselves. [They] keep changing songs during playing. All on [one] side join in [the] singing.” Players may tap a log with a stick in rapid time to the song (X: 852–853). Tillohash sang 12 gambling songs, Nos. 124 through 135 (there is no No. 125) and No. 184, all consisting entirely of vocables. No. 124 was composed by Tillohash himself (see annotation to this song below). Tillohash was known in later years among community members for his skill at singing gambling songs.

Two of the songs that Tillohash performed, Nos. 203 and 204, were identified as Scalp Dance songs, called in Paiute *tu’ün<sup>h</sup>nīqa-uv<sup>h</sup>(av)* ‘scalp war dance-song’ (Sapir X: 852; 1931k: 708). Sapir’s ethnographic notes described the Scalp Dance as follows:

The scalp dance is more of a Ute than Paiute ceremony. It was sung both before and after going to war. In singing it the participants circled clockwise, an accompaniment being struck on the drum. If a party came home with a scalp, it was put up on a fairly high pole that was stood up in the house, those dancing around it would strike it from time to time with sticks held in the hand. [Sapir X: 852]

Song No. 203 is composed of vocables only. According to Sapir’s annotations to No. 204, a Kaibab woman composed the text of No. 204 and combined them with the melody and vocable text of No. 203. Both songs are audible in the original sound recordings. A strikingly similar account of the Scalp Dance and a war song with a poetry text similar to that of No. 204 are found in a San Juan Paiute traditional narrative of 19th century warfare with the Hopis and Navajos (Bunte and Franklin 1987: 68–69).

Among the 209 songs texts in Sapir’s unpublished song text materials is a fragment of a myth recitative from a mythic narrative. Tillohash apparently knew no more of the myth than this song. The song, Song

No. 176, also appeared in published form in Sapir's grammar of Southern Paiute (1930e: 482). Finally, there are three remaining song texts that do not fall into any clearly defined verbal genre. These are: No. 149, an "Occasion Song" which a woman composed to commemorate her elopement to Salt Lake City; No. 150, a "Drunken Song" which celebrates, or perhaps laments, the qualities of Durango, Colorado, whisky; and No. 202, a Ute "Song of Greeting to White Horse," which appears to have been composed for a greeting between specific historic individuals, one a Ute leader named *tʃšá-kava-čč* 'white-horse-person', although Tillohash provided no further contextual information. The sound recording for Song No. 202 is among the better preserved of those made by Sapir. From it, one can clearly follow the strophic and melodic AABCC pattern of the song, thus another example of Herzog's "paired progression."

### Transcription Styles

Sapir's song text transcriptions and the other linguistic notations that accompany them are written in a transcription style that was probably idiosyncratic even when he used it in 1910. By 1917, the year he completed the manuscript of his grammar of Southern Paiute, Sapir had already opted for a different style that was more in line with American linguistic convention of the period (Sapir 1930d: 3 ff). In an attempt to make these song texts accessible to the largest number of readers, we have retranscribed Sapir's original transcription into a version of the IPA system which should be more familiar to modern readers. The table which follows this section details the correspondences between our transcription and Sapir's and gives the phonetic values of each symbol.

At the same time, we have put Sapir's Paiute language texts, including the "prose version" for those texts where he supplies one, into a modern interlinear format with morpheme breaks and morpheme-by-morpheme translation and analysis, filling in whatever linguistic information was not supplied in Sapir's original transcriptions and notes. The morpheme-by-morpheme translations utilize the following abbreviations for common grammatical inflections: anim = animate; art = article; cont = continuative; dim = diminutive; dist = distributive; fut = future; ger = gerund; hab = habitual; incept = inceptive; indir = indirective; inter = interrogative; intrans = intransitive; iter = iterative; mom = mo-



mentaneous; nom = nominative case, obl = oblique case, OSP = oblique subject participle (see Bunte 1986); perf = perfective, pl = plural; pres = present (including in: pres past), pret = pretérito, quot = quotative; relpro = relative pronoun, trans = transitive, and USP = unexpressed subject participle (see Bunte 1986). Enclitic pronouns are abbreviated by person (1, 2, or 3), number (s = singular, dual, pl = plural), visibility (vis = visible; invis = invisible), and case (obl = oblique, nom = nominative) where applicable. Thus the third-person animate dual enclitic pronoun *-ʔmi-* would be “3dual.” Inanimate enclitics are distinguished by the absence of number marking while all enclitics marked for number are also animate. Free pronouns are translated by their English equivalents: I, me mine, he she, etc. All other morphemes, including inflections, are translated by their English equivalents or by an unabbreviated grammatical term.

In his song text transcriptions, Sapir generally wrote each verse only once even when it was repeated two or more times. Sapir sometimes signaled repetition in his notes by writing “etc.” or four dots “....” following material that was repeated in Tillohash’s performance of the song text. Where Sapir wrote “etc.” or “....” and it was unclear how much of the preceding text was repeated or how many times, we have rendered both “etc.” and “....” as a series of four dots, thus following one of Sapir’s two conventions and preserving the ambiguities as they exist in the original. Where we were able from other information in Sapir’s notes to determine more precisely what was repeated, we have simply done so and eliminated the repetition notation. Moreover, where there were no such notations and the sound recordings indicate repetitions, we have followed the sound recordings in our transcription but have also described in our notes to the texts whatever changes were made to the original transcription in this regard.

In addition, although he generally wrote each verse only once, Sapir noted phonetic variants and optional segments which occurred in the repeated verses. He usually placed variant segments above or below the segments or the sequence of segments they co-varied with, linking them vertically with curly brackets. He put optional segments and words, those which appeared in some repetitions but not in others, in parentheses or square brackets within the word. While Sapir’s vertical placement of variants was not practical for typescript transcription and thus had to be changed, we adopted a style that preserves all of the phonetic information found in Sapir’s vertical notations and also, we believe, much of the easy readability and textual continuity that this vertical

style has. We have listed his variants in brackets following the word in which they occurred, introducing the variant with the symbol “~”. In our transcription, segments or words simply surrounded by brackets within the word or phrase correspond to his optional segments or words. The material in brackets, like Sapir’s original notations above and below the line of text, can be easily ignored if one is reading to get a sense of the flow of a particular text and is unconcerned with the secondary detail of phonetic variation.

In some cases in the Paiute language texts, Sapir transcribed two or more words as single words without spaces. This generally occurs in the same contexts where today one observes liaisons in Paiute songs and narratives. To make the syntax clear in such cases, we have interpolated spaces. However, to preserve the phonetic information in the original, i.e., that words were phonetically joined, we have indicated this by placing a ligature “ $\frown$ ” on the last segment of each word that Sapir’s transcription showed as joined with the following one.

Wherever it was possible to do so, we have transcribed Sapir’s song texts in a conventional verse format, with each new verse flush left and with runover portions of longer verses indented. In the cases where Sapir appeared to be using a verse format in his texts, we have preserved it with little if any change. In most cases, however, Sapir did not transcribe the song texts in any conventional verse format, but used a prose style. In a few cases, Sapir’s sound recordings enabled us to reformat his prose style as verse (any changes of this sort are signalled in our notes to the texts). In other cases, Sapir used single or double bars (|, ||) or commas and periods in his text transcriptions. We have transcribed both the bars and the punctuation marks as Sapir wrote them. At the same time, since both his bars and his punctuation marks apparently were intended to indicate phrasing, we usually took these notations to mark the end of one verse and the start of another and showed this in our alignment of the text in verse format (except for single bars after an initial *wai:mi* in roan songs, where the notation appears to mean something else). In the absence of information on the versification or phrasing of any portion of a text, we began the first line of that portion of text flush left and indented all succeeding lines within that passage as if they were runover lines.

In his two versions of the mourning song texts (ms. 1910a and ms. 1910b), Sapir often transcribed these non-Paiute language texts with different spacing between groups of syllables. As he himself noted in his letter to Harrington, the problem of determining boundaries and

groupings of syllables in these texts was anything but a straightforward matter (Sapir ms. 1910b; in Harrington 1985: RL 171, Fr. 0618): "Needless to say the words and lines are not to be taken seriously as such, as my complete ignorance of the meaning of the songs prevented my being able to group the syllables with any degree of certainty." On the assumption that since the Harrington version was written more carefully than the original and was also written after the original, the "word" breaks in the Harrington version probably represent a more carefully thought out and more accurate rendering of these songs, at least from the standpoint of syllable groupings and their concomitant metric structure. Moreover, in the original version of these texts, Sapir's handwriting often makes it difficult to determine whether or not Sapir left breaks or spaces between groups of syllables. As a result, we have opted in all cases to follow the grouping and spacing between "words" that appeared in the Harrington version wherever there was a difference between the two versions or the original version proved unclear in this regard.

### Notes to the Introductory Essay

1. This edition of Sapir's unpublished song texts, including the introductory essay, was co-authored with equal contributions by both authors.

2. Charles Adams may also have received the original copy of Sapir's song text transcriptions. This could not be verified as we have been unable to contact Adams at his last known location of residence.

3. Sapir made frequent reference to the "Arizona Paiutes" in his interview notes (Vol. X) as well as in the ethnographic notes to his song texts. Although Sapir did not specify the identity or geographic location of this group, Kelly, who was in contact with him at the time of her 1930's field work and was given access to his unpublished materials on the Southern Paiutes, concluded that the "Arizona Paiutes" were the San Juan band of Paiutes (Kelly 1964: 109). Tillohash's statements place his own community at the town of Kanab, Utah, where indeed they were living when he left for Carlisle Indian School in approximately 1905. A few years later, in 1907, the Kaibab began to settle on their new reservation near Moccasin, Arizona. Elsewhere in his writings, Sapir noted the presence of two other groups of Paiutes in Arizona, both of which were sub-communities of the San Juan band, one near Tuba City and the other to the north of Tuba City in *toyoyipi*, as Upper Paiute Canyon is known in Paiute (X: 785; 1931k: 685).



Table 1. Correspondences between Sapir's transcription system and the one used in this edition

IPA	Sapir	Phonetic Value
p, b	p, b	bilabial voiceless and voiced stops
t, d	t, d	alveolar voiceless and voiced stops
c, d'	ts, dz	alveolar voiceless and voiced affricates
č, j	tc, dj	palatal voiceless and voiced affricates
k, g	k, g	velar voiceless and voiced stops
q, G	q, G	back velar or uvular voiceless and voiced stops
k <sup>w</sup> , ɣ <sup>w</sup> , etc.	kw, ɣw, etc.	labialized consonants
x <sup>y</sup> , k <sup>y</sup> , etc.	x <sup>y</sup> , k <sup>y</sup> , etc.	palatalized consonants
ʔ	ε	glottal stop
tʰ, qʰ	t <sup>h</sup> , q <sup>h</sup>	oral stops with coarticulated glottals, non-ejective
β	β	bilabial voiced fricative
f, v	f, v	labiodental voiceless and voiced fricatives
ɸ	ɸ	devoiced consonant
s, z	s, z	alveolar voiceless and voiced fricatives
š, ž	c, ž	palatal voiceless and voiced fricatives
x, ɣ	x, ɣ	velar voiceless and voiced fricatives
ɣ	ɣ̤	"intermediate between 'x' and corresponding voiced 'ɣ'," apparently voiceless and lenis
m, n, ŋ	m, n, ŋ	bilabial, alveolar, and velar nasal consonants
ṁ, ṇ, etc.	ṁ, ṇ, etc.	syllabic nasals or other consonants
tt, xx, mm, etc.	t̄, x̄, m̄, etc.	geminate or long consonants
l	l	alveolar lateral approximate
r	r	short alveolar trill
w	w	labiovelar glide
y	y	palatal glide
h	h	voiceless glide corresponding to adjacent vowel in quality
h	ʰ	aspiration (what distinction Sapir made between this and the preceding sound is unclear)
a, w	a, w	devoiced vowel, or glide
á	á	stressed or accented vowel
i	í	high front unrounded vowel, "close i"
e	ẹ	high-mid front unrounded vowel
ε	e	low-mid front unrounded vowel
œ	ö	mid front rounded vowel
æ	ä	low front unrounded vowel
a	a	low back or central unrounded vowel
ɨ	ĩ	"unrounded high back narrow vowel ..."
ɨɾ	u	slightly lower than the above vowel
u	u	high back rounded vowel
ɔ:	û	long high-mid back rounded vowel, "long open 'u'"

Table 1. Correspondences between Sapir's transcription system and the one used in this edition

IPA	Sapir	Phonetic Value
o	o	high-mid back rounded vowel, "close 'o'"
ɔ	o	low-mid back rounded vowel
ʊ	a	mid back unrounded vowel
u, ʊ:, ʊ:, ʊ:	i, ü, ö, e	Sapir's "open" vowels use a circumflex to show length
a:, e:, u:, etc.	ā, ē, ū, etc.	Sapir uses a macron to show length for other vowels
+	+	extra length





## SONG TEXTS

### No. 1 Roan Song

wai:im[ɬ] čá:pō:náuma?a qoóqq?oo: q<sup>w</sup>ísá:wissyy<sup>w</sup>an niyut<sup>h</sup>uhugam

čá:pō:náuma?a qoóqq?oo: q<sup>w</sup>ísá:wissyy<sup>w</sup>an niyut<sup>h</sup>uhugam |

miɬanni: qoo: miɬanni: qoho:gom qani:yaŋam |

miɬanni: qoo: miɬanni: qoho:gom qani:yaŋam

### No. 2 Roan Song

wai:im | wá:isa:ʔ [- wa...] anɬ[h]ɬ walam?a [- ...mʔaʔ] untu [untɬ ugquvin<sup>h</sup>] [- qqa: | |

wa?yamma:ttá:qqa:ʔ [- ...má:...] vá:ʔychɬɬ wa?yamma:ttá:qqa:ʔ vá:ʔychɬɬ | wa?yamma:ttá:qqa:ʔ

vá:ʔychɬɬ | wá:isa:ʔ anɬ[h]ɬ walam?a untu ugquvin<sup>h</sup>ɬ

#### Annotations:

- "Song has reference to ducks swimming in pond."
- "Song proper ends with repetition of 'wai:im'. Song can be repeated as often as desired."

### No. 3 Coyote Song

go: [- qo:] wiyá:əqqa:əməqqa: [- wɬ...] wiyaqqa: wiyá:əqqa:mmaqqa: wiyaqqa:

wiyá:əqqa:əməqqa: . . . .

imamattʔa[ʔ]y<sup>w</sup>ɬ dá:əvinʔɬ šú:luluʔu [- sú...] piyayu?maivan<sup>h</sup>ɬ |

yattikkam?a yu:wəŋo:ʔnaivanʔɬ [- yo:] . . . . ||

#### Annotation:

- "Begin over at 'go:'"

### No. 4 Bird Song

tšmi: sá: yo: |

awimi sa[ | yomɬ?ittomihɬ yad<sup>w</sup>in[a]o ləvumukka tšmi sayomɬ?i: tomihɬ .

q<sup>w</sup>i:n[a]o ləvumukka tšmi sayomɬ?i: tomihɬ .

awimi . . . .

Annotation:

- "Begin over at awí:mi:."

## No. 5 Bird Song

oq<sup>w</sup>accittoppá: hawí:lí?yoppá: [- hawé:...] hawé:lé:yo: hawé: lé:yo [- ...yo] we:lé:yo

we:lé:yo we:lé:yopá: ,

oq<sup>w</sup>aci?yoppá: [háwulí?yoppá:] hawé:í lí:yo: . . . .

Annotation:

- "Way introduced by man from Muddy R[iver] [i.e., Moapa]; new way."

## No. 5a Bird Song

awe:lí: kí:mayawé:í ,

oq<sup>w</sup>accittoppá: ,

kí:mayawe:lí: ,

hayo: wáyo: .

awe:lí: kí:mayawé:í ,

oq<sup>w</sup>accittoppá: ,

kí:mayawe:lí: ,

hayo: wáyo: .

Annotation:

- "Old way [cf. No. 5]."

## No. 6 Bird Song

í:ve:mm ,

yaŋe: yaŋe: yá:ǵamma? í:vi:mm [- é:vi:mm] . . . .

## No. 7 Bird Song

wittáma?wízá:ǵ ayo:o: . . . . |

wittá:mi ya:qqappɔ:n?alɔa? wittáma?wízá:ǵ ayo:o: . . . .

Annotation:

- "Last word: wittáma?wíža.ayiy."

## No. 8 Bird Song

qaqqóo: líiyaqqaqqóo líiya? himatinaqq[<sup>h</sup>]aqqóo líi . . . .

Annotation:

- "Last word: himatinaqq<sup>h</sup>."

## No. 9 Bird Song

awikkunóit?nóli: [- awé...] hinóli: hinóli: nó pít ya?awikkunóit: náli:

## No. 10 Roan Song

waí:mi | máttukka yasoog[<sup>h</sup>]o[m<sup>h</sup>] yaq<sup>w</sup>útyawúoog<sup>h</sup> yasooqomáya q<sup>h</sup>yaq<sup>h</sup> wúoog<sup>h</sup>

wayoóngo:na:á wayá:qo?olángo tina:ji yo?ongom<sup>h</sup> .

qá:ŋa: wayóli:ma: qani:ʔyaŋam wayóli:ma: qani:ʔya:ŋa[m]

Annotation:

- "Last word yau<sup>h</sup>."

## No. 11 Bird Song

ini káp[p]uc[c]iʔú máuk<sup>k</sup>ʔa h̥apa:yo uwúli: lí: ,

hayo:óppayúppi: pá:yo: umáuk<sup>k</sup>ʔa: wíliʔi: lí: hayo:óppayúppi: pá:yo: umáuk<sup>k</sup>ʔa

Annotation:

- "Second way [no. 11a] was started by certain song leader from Muddy R[iver] [Fir]st way [i.e., no. 11] considered old, out of date."

## No. 11a Bird Song

Annotation with Partial Song Text:

"Second version is slower. Instead of [fir]st word [sic] we have:

ini kátto:ccu: náuk<sup>k</sup>ʔa: [remainder presumably follows No. 11 above.]"



## No. 12 Roan Song

watí:mi | pa:ḡḡayo:q<sup>Wa</sup> so:ḡḡolom wana: yoḡla:miqá:ḡḡa yauqq<sup>Wasso</sup>:[o]ḡḡolo [- yo:...]  
 q<sup>Waniḡ</sup>h yá:ḡḡo: tḡḡḡat[ya]m wa?na: yo:la:mi qá:ḡḡa yoqq<sup>Wasso</sup>:ó:[lɔ]ḡḡo:lo:q<sup>Waniḡ</sup>[h]

## No. 13 Bird Song

hattúppaya nḡ<sup>XG<sup>Wt</sup></sup>:ci [- ...ci] há:vi:dan?nug<sup>Wt</sup>:ci pá:yan?nug<sup>Wt</sup>:ci ta:vi:n?nug<sup>Wt</sup>:ci

Annotation:

- "Later: nug<sup>Wt</sup>:wl." 1

## No. 14 Roan Song

watí:mi pá:qq<sup>Watti</sup>yalo:qq<sup>h</sup>ḡḡ má:ḡḡam i:yá:ḡḡa wi:yalo:qq<sup>h</sup>ḡḡ má:ḡḡa[m] .  
 walo:qq<sup>h</sup>ḡḡ má:ḡḡam i:yá:ḡḡwi: loḡḡo tḡḡḡaum i:yá:ḡḡa wi:yalo:qq<sup>h</sup>ḡḡ má:ḡḡa[m] .  
 walo:qq<sup>h</sup>ḡḡ má:ḡḡam i:yá:ḡḡwi: loḡḡo tḡḡḡaum .  
 i?ilo wa:yattá:yáqó:mo: yaqqó:mi: naḡ[q]<sup>Wa</sup> suḡi:wá:nam ,  
 i:yá:waiyo:qq<sup>Wa</sup> sí:ti:ḡḡ[um] ,  
 i:walo:qq<sup>h</sup>ḡḡ má:ḡḡam i:yá:w: loḡḡo tḡḡḡaum . . . .

## No. 15 Roan Song

watí:mi pá:ḡḡa?na:wa: [- ...wa:na:] luma: tilo: ttí:lo:? uma:ḡ[am] [- y...] .  
 iqá:ḡḡa yo:qqó:si: [- ya:...] wattí:naum iya:wi: loḡḡo tḡḡḡaum . . . .

Annotation:

- "Last: tḡḡḡaiyam, yau<sup>h</sup>."

## No. 16 Roan Song

wa:yí:m o:wa:yí:m o:li:wa?yí:mo: li:wa? . . . .  
 á:yalo:q<sup>Wasá</sup>haḡaum.  
 alí: la: ya:ḡ uttá:yáqqo:?o: [- ...qqo:?o:mmo:, ...qqo:?o:ḡḡo:] yaqqó:?ma:na:ḡ asuḡi: wá:ḡḡam  
 yu:wi[ḡ]n?na?ni:ḡḡumm,  
 iq<sup>Wai</sup> yatto:ḡḡo:m, . . . .

## No. 17 "Greeting Song in Cry Dance (1901)"

angka turussa [- to:ro:ʒa] yowa -ru-<sup>W</sup>ai-na-ni [- yu wa -na -ni<sup>W</sup>ai -na-ni]

oh<sup>h</sup> ih<sup>h</sup> cha<sup>h</sup> chu<sup>h</sup> [- uhu<sup>h</sup>] [ch<sup>h</sup>, cha<sup>h</sup>] uhu<sup>h</sup>  
(vocables)

*qima*-va-čč [- qimā-] ma:yə:n-o: [h]pi-mpa<sup>9</sup>-lə mɿ ampa wa: n-o: wə-ma-ččai-gə-n  
strange/other-at-USP plant-canyon-inside-toward make noise gather.pl 207/mam  
In another people's country in a brush filled canyon [we] assemble to make a noise.

tɯw<sup>a</sup>-r?i-nt<sup>h</sup>      tɨrago:wagɪ-na-nnɛ    ampawarɛ    nu wɛ-jat-wa-gɔ-mɔ  
night-become-USP middle-OSP-like    make noise gather-pl-prol mom  
In the middle of the night [we] assemble to make a noise.

tatãcia-nti ...  
morning-USP ...  
At dawn ... [transcription of song text ends here]

## Prose:

qima-vačch<sub>i</sub>      maa:-?oippi-mpa:ŋ<sup>wi</sup>-ttuxx<sup>hw</sup>      amparo-nə<sup>j</sup><sub>i</sub><sup>wi</sup>-tə<sup>wi</sup> [tə<sup>wi</sup>] + tət<sup>wi</sup><sub>i</sub>

"stranger land    into canyon full of brush    people assemble together and make noise"

tuy <sup>W</sup> á-rʔi-nti <sup>h</sup>	tiráxxuaxxi	amp[aro:-no.y <sup>W</sup> l-ččai-y <sup>W</sup> ai-ŋ <sup>h</sup> y]
"(mid) night"	"in middle"	

Annotations:

- "Song leader wa<sup>h</sup>ci<sup>l</sup> of Muddy R[iver] dreamt this song "
- "[illegible] to Muddy R[iver] composer of song. 'People have come here to mourn' "

## No. 18 Bird Song

wa:ane: [- ...ni:] ya:ane: [- ...ni:] . . .

á:li:lo:wa:    ya:ta:yo:qó:n    qo:mí:na:n    asi:ní:wami:

## No. 19 Roan Song

wai:im wá:umaʔni:yo: tuhɨaɨm ʔuwa:umaʔni | - ʔawa: | yu:ɨɨɨm wá: ma:ɨɨɨm  
tuhɨaɨm

## No. 20 Roan Song

wa:í:mú qá:ya:wa: [- ...wa:ya:] lí:mí:sí? yò:ŋo:m iqá:yó:lú? pá:ŋa xayá:ŋa t̪hɪŋa:m  
 wa:í:mú qá:ya:wa: lí:mí:so:ʔ wá:ŋam iqá:yó:lú? pá:ŋa xayá:wa t̪hɪŋa:m

## No. 21 Roan Song

wa:í:mú wá:si:yó:lú [- ...h̥] wayo: lí:hí: yó:lí:hí: yó:lí:hɪŋum wá:si:yó:lú . . . .  
 wayo:lukk<sup>h̥</sup> pa:ya:ŋo: t̪h̥ɪŋa:ɪyám[ʔ].

## No. 21 "Roan (Bird) [sic] Song (second version)"

wa:í:mú wá:si:yó:lú wayo: lí:hí: yó:lí:hí: yó:lí:hɪŋum wá:si:yó:lú . . . .

## No. 22 Bird Song

čiqq<sup>h̥</sup>WaiqWá:tú mmani:q<sup>h̥</sup>Wó:ho:m,  
 čiqq<sup>h̥</sup>WaiqWá:tú mmani:q<sup>h̥</sup>Wó:ho:m

## No. 23 Roan Song

wa:í:m[i] aví:naq[q]h̥o yivá:naqh̥oŋɔ:m qá:ŋa: so:owí: ya:mma: q<sup>h̥</sup>Wayó:lí: wa:yí:mo:  
 laŋo:tun nahag yawattú? h̥lɔm | . . . .  
 laŋo:ttu há:ŋa:m<sup>h̥</sup>.  
 yau<sup>h̥</sup>

## No. 24 Bird Song

ya:wí:lá:ʔ co:maiyawé:wi: hiyá: . . . .

## No. 25 Roan Song

wa:í:m[ɪ yal] asi: wani: mó:ɔl yasi: wani: mó:ɔl . . . .  
 ɪyaukka: so:owa:ʔa: yo:wá:ma ni:x<sup>h̥</sup>a sahaŋa:m.  
 si: wani: mó:ɔl yasi: wani: mó:ɔl

Annotation:

- "End: yau<sup>h̥</sup>."



hi:pá:naɪ    yɪpa:naɪ    yá:[ho][yo] . . . .

wai:im | amo:qq?o:ʔ lo.no.wi. yohogɔ[m] amo:qq?o:ʔ lo.no.wi. yohogɔ[m] amo:qq?o:ʔ lo.no.wi. yohogɔ[m]

- "Supposed to have been sung by someone who was 'mad' but regular song in 'rev.'"

wai:m    čaqʷa [- ca:]    le:ča    qo:ʔyulʔnam    aŋola-    ɣ<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>yam<sup>h</sup>    ɬa:va:ɬe    ɱa:va:ɬe  
hawetla:ʔ    awe:tla:ŋam,

ča:q<sup>W</sup>ä: aq<sup>W</sup>[q|aq[q]<sup>W</sup>ä:ŋi[m] waloŋo tihi waloŋo tihiŋa m

wai:mi qá:ŋa yo:ló:ŋ mi:qá:ŋa yo:ló:ŋ mi:qá:ŋa yo:su:ʔáha:ŋam.

[ɿ]yá:wi: yó:ho:ŋo:m wanno:yo: qá:wani: hi:ya:ŋo: tihɯaɪm

- "End: yau<sup>h</sup>."

ma:ni: yu:ma:ni: ya:[pp]v [u]wayo:timma: . . .

- "End: yau<sup>h</sup>."

wali:mi sa:qo:ya: wali:mi.q<sup>w</sup>i wanag?a,asana ,atopim

lyāŋ?wa:ŋam lyə:wa: ya:wa:na watihub wama niŋʔa yiməŋ tihʔa(ya)ni

• "End: yau<sup>h</sup> or not."

wau:im̩ čá:[na]malaqato:ŋo:m̩<sup>h</sup> aq<sup>wi</sup>:ya:laqato:ŋo:m̩<sup>h</sup> ičá:mani: yo:wa:tu<sup>h</sup> a:ŋa:im̩

wa:iml wa:nis:ani:iml wa:nis:ani:[m] wayo:q<sup>hw</sup><sub>l</sub> nayo:likk<sup>h</sup><sub>l</sub> sa:naum

wayo:q<sup>h</sup>w<sub>l</sub>    nayo:li:kk<sup>h</sup><sub>l</sub>    sa:ŋaum.

- "End: yau<sup>h</sup>."

wai:miŋl wá:lammi:ya? tó:qɿ<sup>wl</sup> qanɿ?yó:ttá:li:wai si:mo:qɿ<sup>hwl</sup> qaní:yaŋa[m] wai:si:mo:qɿ<sup>hwl</sup>

qanī:yaṇam . . .

- "End: *yau<sup>h</sup>*."

waí:m | awé:yaqaʔani: yawe: yaqaʔani: |

watí:ʔnal    ɯmí:lo:qɔ<sup>hw</sup><sub>l</sub>    na:ŋawe:    watí:ʔnal    ɯmí:lo:qɔ<sup>hw</sup><sub>l</sub> |

na:ŋawe:    yo:    tihŋai[ya]m.

- "End: yau<sup>h</sup>."

- "At end of only some." 3

## No. 36 Roan Song

wai:mi yalo.wi[ʔ]mi ka:ʔyo naŋam yalo.wi[ʔ]mi ka:ʔyo naŋam yalo.wi[ʔ]mi ka:ʔyo  
 naŋam yalo.wi.mi ka:yo na:ʔmi ka:yo naŋam yalo.wi[ʔ]mi ka:ʔyo naŋam  
 ni:yaŋam

aiso:tthiyau qouŋya:aiŋai cilo:ʔmi yahanawe

Annotation:

- "As above." 4

## No. 37 Roan Song

wai:mi yau? wani:ʔŋŋi[m] yaqotoŋo yaqoto qoto[ŋo] miyo miyo meŋ[ya] hiniŋam  
 ai:ʔmi q<sup>W</sup>ila y[o:]auqumitt<sup>h</sup>a:ŋam[o:]ida: yaquumitt<sup>h</sup>a:ŋam  
 mi:ya:lô: wa:manig? hai sopá:itto: mi:ya[y] widonj . . . .

## No. 38 Roan Song

wai:mi yatir<sup>W</sup>ai yo:owim yatir<sup>W</sup>ai yo:ma.wel[ɔ:ɔ] yo:owim yatir<sup>W</sup>ai yo:ma:ya  
 [yatir<sup>W</sup>a:] yatir<sup>W</sup>ai hiniŋam

## No. 39 Roan Song

wai:mi yamɪlannik<sup>W</sup>ai yo:nag? yamɪlannik<sup>W</sup>ai [- ...qai] yo:nag. la:ni q<sup>W</sup>ay<sup>W</sup>o:we yamɪn<sup>W</sup>ai  
 [ya]anŋiya:ŋi [- ...ya:ŋo:] tuŋai[ya]m[ʔ].

Annotation:

- "End: yau<sup>h</sup>."

## No. 40 Roan Song

wai:mi | q<sup>W</sup>a:ya to:na? q<sup>W</sup>aya to:nani: wayo:ʔoŋo:mi |  
 wayi:mo: qooqq<sup>W</sup>oo láu[m] naqohozŋo: qani:yaŋa[m].  
 wayo:ti:maniq<sup>h</sup>h[ɣ]oŋo: qani:yaŋam



## No. 41 Roan Song

wauim[ɬ y]awɛnam[ʔ]ba yolaʔanɯŋgi: yomɪŋgi: [yomɪŋgi:]yo:mi: hi:yo:mɪhɯm,  
yawɛ:namba yolaʔhani:yo: tɪhɯai[ya]m

Annotation:

- "End: yau<sup>h</sup>."

## No. 42 Bird (Rooster) Song

yawɪʔnamu [- ...nɯŋ] šaʔaɪ yawɛ: q<sup>W</sup>al lɪ yavɛ:q<sup>W</sup>al a:mawɛ: q<sup>W</sup>al lɪ yavɪq<sup>W</sup>al . . . .

Annotations:

- "This song is sung early in morning to correspond to a rooster's crowing."
- "ŋa: (for breath)."

## No. 43 Bird (Quail) Song

yaʔaɪ wanna: yumi: wanna [- war<sup>h</sup>].

umi:lqacɪ: umi:lqacɪ: . . . .

Annotation:

- "Singers strut back and forth like quails, holding their hands clenched to bodies below breasts."

## No. 44 Bird (Quail) Song

mi:ya:ki: i:ya[:]mi:ya:ki: [- ...k<sup>h</sup>] tamanaʔ mi:ya:ki: i:yami:[mi:]ya:ki: [- ...k<sup>h</sup>]

## No. 45 Roan Song "with rattle"

wauim | áuqq<sup>W</sup>asʔim áuqq<sup>W</sup>asʔim i:yaʔwaŋodi:[y] a:[ŋ]watti: qani:yaŋam [qaʔi:ya:wati:  
qani:yaŋam].

lólɔŋasɔŋatti: yaúqq<sup>W</sup>asʔ<sup>h</sup> umi:yaʔwaŋodi: wá:yattikk<sup>h</sup> ni:ya:ŋam.

Annotation:

- "End: yau<sup>h</sup>."

## No. 46 Roan Song "with rattle"

wai:im wa:na: cpa[qdʰ] [- cba:] kiyəns kiyəns kiyənsuudʰq [-] qaməpə  
 wáttiŋi: ló:ŋmi: wə:tohwekkʰəni:yaŋam . . . . || .

Annotation:

- "Song always sung at end of night and rattles thrown away, also sung at end of cry."

## No. 47 Roan Song "with rattle"

wai:im | wa:ma:ya: maŋam? iyam?ayóqətoŋum [- iyəʰa:] awi?yaqəniŋum  
 yam?ha:ya [- yam?ma:ya] maŋam? iyam?asu: wanigum [- niyən] waməya: maŋam?  
 awi?ya:qəniŋum

Annotation:

- "iyam?asu: wanigum comes in last of set as substitute for awiyəyaqəniŋum." 8

## No. 48 Roan Song "with rattle"

wai:im ayò: wayo: wayo: o:wayo: wayo o:wisanta muəʰatliyan: ayə: wayə:

## No. 49 Roan Song "with rattle"

wai:im a:na:qə: yə:wí:ŋi:hi: yə:mí:hi: yə:múŋum a:na:qə yə:wí:ŋi:hi: yə:mí:hi:  
 yə:hə:ŋə:[m],

a:na:qʷi: [- ...qʰwí] yumpə:ŋá: qəni:yaŋam [- qʰə...].

Annotation:

- "End: yauʰ."

## No. 50 Bird Song "with rattle"

wa?ámmalʷ wa?ámmal [ɬ]hinna qaálʷauxʷe:ʷ  
 é:ɬwa:ma? é:ɬwa:ma?

## No. 51 Coyote Song "with rattle"

mó:yo:qə: wí:ɬə:ŋav [- ...ʷ] aməyo:qə wí:ɬə:ŋav atʷatʰɬ: wí:ɬə:ŋav [-] ʰəqʰə:-

## No. 52 Coyote Song "with rattle"

qo:ma: rivi:ya?ma qo:ma: rivi:ya?ma má:tta: po:qqa?ma yotavamo:sí:[?]t . . . .

Annotation:

- "Walapai song."

## No. 53 Coyote Song "with rattle"

pa:ɔʂa:yamá:faŋ pa:ɔʂa:yamá:faŋ wtu:xʷ nárixʷi: namá:xʷe: nárixʷi: namá:xʷe:ŋ

[- ...xʷaŋ] wtu:xʷ. . . . 6

## No. 54 Coyote Song "with rattle"

sinamo: [- ʂinamo:; "in latter part" of song - ʂinamo:] qʷa:yo:mpí qá:vi yaqá:vi[ya] . . . . 7

Annotation:

- "This song Coy[ote] sang in meeting of first animals and in which he 'fooled' people."

## No. 55 Coyote Song "with rattle"

ó:βa:ŋa? [- ó:v...] ó:βa:ŋa[ŋ]r? [- ó:v...] ʔó:βa:ŋaram [- ó:v...] é:ya?yá:ŋ qʷas ʔó:βa:ŋaram

[- ó:w..., ó:v...] ó:βa:ŋa? [- ó:v...] . . . .

Annotation:

- "Walapai song."

## No. 56 Roan Song "with rattle"

wa:í:m | ča?maló:l . . . .

pa:ŋam . . . .

pa:ŋʔa:ho: wayá:ŋo: tu:ŋa:m [- tʰɿ...].

## No. 57 Roan Song "with rattle"

wa:í:m | [y]avínʔho: lín:ŋo: [- línʔo:ho:ŋo:] yu:wá:no: [- yo:...] wayo:ho:ŋo: yu:wa:ʔno:

línʔhó:ŋo:m [y]avikʷando:m waya? waya:ŋo: tu:ŋa:m



Annotation:

- "End: *yau<sup>h</sup>*."

## No. 58 Roan Song "with rattle"

wai:m | ayo:ʔwaina miyawa? qohogotoŋi wa:sa miyuŋi [- miyu] *Mejaan*  
 [asi:ʔ] waina. miyuwa? qohotoŋi wa:sa miyu *Mejaan*  
 ali:ʔla: ya:ŋ hitta:yaqohotoŋ aqo:ʔma:na aŋa siŋi wahaŋ

## No. 59 Roan Song "with rattle"

wai:m | iya:wá? asi:ʔumiya: wá:aqo:ʔo[m] minái? yaloŋo:m |  
 watuŋi: lo:q<sup>wa</sup>:ŋ i:ya:ŋo: q<sup>wa</sup>:[ŋ]wani:ʔya:ŋam |.

## No. 60 Coyote Song "with rattle"

[u]mo:q<sup>wi</sup>:ya pálya sáma alvi paŋiŋiŋ<sup>hw</sup> . . . .

## No. 61 Bird Song "with rattle"

ito:nó:ʔo:we:kk<sup>h</sup> hawe:kk ito:no:no:ʔ hawe:kk<sup>h</sup> . . . .  
 inacc[ɪ]nai há:layo: we:ka,  
 hai po:mka? hawe:kk<sup>h</sup> . . . .

## No. 62 Bird Song "with rattle"

umáttinaŋki pá:wa?acumi: tápo:o:cumi: qaiyo: |  
 ʔo:má . . . .

Annotation:

- "change order?"

## No. 63 Bird Song "with rattle"

yíβ<sup>wi</sup>-ndi:ra:na:-vai-ppi ma-naŋq<sup>wa</sup>-pá-ma wri:ŋi ɣ-má<sup>h</sup>ŋi | -ɣol  
 ponderosa-stump-be-OSP=pret on-from at like stand-USP itomy-from  
 On the other side of an old ponderosa stump (is one that is) standing.

a:ppa-nónoq<sup>W</sup>i:-[ŋ]qat-ŋo:-mpan<sup>h</sup><sub>i</sub>  
 water [poetic]-run-come?-mom-fut  
 Tears will start falling.

Prose "(according to Tony)":

yiv<sup>W</sup>i-ntir<sup>i</sup>navu-vaɪ-ppœ [- -ntiranavu-] ma:-náŋq<sup>h</sup>ŋ<sup>W</sup>ā-pa-aqq wi-ni-r<sup>i</sup>h a-mā<sup>i</sup>h<sup>y</sup>u  
 ponderosa-stump-be-OSP=pret on-from-at-like-3vis stand-USP it=vis-from

[yavá-ppuʔiv<sub>i</sub>] nonúqq<sup>W</sup>i-h  
 [cry-eye, "tears"] run-pres

Annotations:

- "Tony not certain of interpretation."
- "Made by (munčúnavaɪava:cc = mustache; mončópp<sup>h</sup><sub>i</sub> = whiskers, naváɪava:cc = whiskers, navá<sup>i</sup>h = divide); leader of bird singing at various times."
- "Meaning: On the other side of an old pine-tree stump (away from people) stands another tree with tears rolling down (i.e., dirty red pitch exuding). I.e.: You people have come to have a good time, but the relation (2nd tree) of the dead man (stump) stands mourning."

Linguistic Note:

- "tináyoœ = stump. q<sup>W</sup>i<sup>i</sup>yarinayoœ = oak stump."

No. 64 Bird Song "with rattle"

qanúmo: ɬaɪyo:we: . . . .

iq<sup>W</sup>acɪ[wo]βóβu [- ...wówu] čayo:we: . . . .

No. 65 Bird Song

i:-naŋ<sup>W</sup>i:naŋ<sup>W</sup>i: no:á-ʔmi:-ká: [- ...qá:] no:a-mi:-k<sup>h</sup> [- -qqa:] . . . .  
 here-visible from? thunder-cont-pres/past thunder-cont-pres/past  
 Visible from here, it has been thundering, it has been thundering.

Linguistic Note:

- "ūno:amikk<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>h</sup> = it thunders, it's been thundering. i:naŋ<sup>W</sup>i:naŋ<sup>W</sup>i: = no meaning [cf. our suggested gloss above]."

## No. 66 Bird Song

wá:ma: we:le: q<sup>w</sup>acciq<sup>w</sup>aciq<sup>w</sup>acóa wayau we:le yaq<sup>w</sup>e:roma:

q<sup>w</sup>e:na máliya . . . .

Annotation:

- "Change order."

## No. 67 Roan Song

watim pá:gam? [m]iyá: [t]m?o ho go m pa ná: [m] . . . .

[ - iyá: . . ] sí:wadi:yo?odi: pá:gam?,

[?]wanat?yodi: [t] yodigi: watthgo: tuhga:m.

Annotation:

- "End: yau<sup>h</sup>."

## No. 68 Roan Song

watim mi:yá:wasi:m? yáyaxa wani:gi:m? iyawasi:m? iyayaxa wani:gi:m? |

[t]yáwali: yali: yáuqq<sup>w</sup>a: [t] ya:wulo:go: tuhga:[ya]m . . . .

## No. 69 Roan Song

watim [u]á:q<sup>w</sup>asi:? wali: yau? |

uwali: ya:ga:[ga:]gátasi: taha:gam . . . .

Annotation:

- "End: yau<sup>h</sup>."

## No. 70 Bird Song

we:wé:?ma:yo: we:wé:?ma:yo: cíncini: hawe:we:?ma<sup>h</sup>y . . . .

Annotation:

- "With bird songs always rattle stronger than with roan songs."



## No. 71 Roan Song

wai:im | yawe:namba yawe:qala:pa:pa: ayawe:namba yawe: qala: yuwo: [- ...wo:]

qani:yaŋam[a].

wai:im | yawe:namba yawe:qala:pa:pa: ayawe:namba yawe: qala: yuwo: [- ...wo:]

qani:yaŋam[a].

wai:im | yawe:namba yawe:qala:pa:pa: ayawe:namba yawe: mo:we: qWayo:li:ma:

qani:yaŋam [- q<sup>h</sup>a...] . . . .

## No. 72 Roan Song

wai:im | ɣá:wasi:mʔɩ yá:ʔyaxa [- ...qa] wanɣi:mʔ |

ɣawayo:nai qWayo: nai q<sup>w</sup>ɩ saháŋaɩm . . . .

## No. 73 Bird Song

so:wá:ma so:wáláɩ yi[ʔɩ]x<sup>w</sup>ɩ<sup>h</sup> [- ...x<sup>w</sup>ɩ:] . . . .

## No. 74 Roan Song

wai:im alí:ʔlo:wa:ya táyaqo: yaqo:mʔi:na: qWasi: huli[ŋ]<sup>h</sup>

i:wá:ʔyo: wayo:ŋo: mi:ka:ŋo: mi:kaŋʔhayo: qWasi: huliŋ<sup>h</sup>

Annotation:

- "This song is last one sung, as well as another previous song being sung instead if desired. At end rattles are thrown back over heads. This is a sort of 'puzzle' song, as no one can tell when the leader is going to go back to wai:im." <sup>8</sup>

## No. 75 Mountain Sheep Hunting Song (Fragment)

wiwi-qorʔuwi-gu-ŋu [- xʔɩ-ŋ<sup>h</sup>ɩ] "(prose)" ||

stand-limbless object(s) is/are erect-cont/iter-mom

Keep "stand[ing] up straight (something without branches),"

[pa]-tós-sa-móppaqó:rɩmpu-cc-ŋ ɕga:-ŋWáʔha:-me:ɕkku [- ...kk<sup>h</sup>ɩr, - ...kk<sup>h</sup>ɩ]

[entirely?]-white-faced-anim-pl? stand in a row-pl-incep

White faced ones "stand up in a row"

qáɩva[ɩya]-m<sup>w</sup>ɩ+m<sup>w</sup>ɩa:-va [- ...m<sup>w</sup>ɩa:-ruxx<sup>w</sup>á]

mountain-divide-at

"on the mountain divide,"

ciga:-wá:há-mikkú [- ...kk<sup>h</sup>ɥ]  
stand in a row-pl-incep  
[They] "stand up in a row."

wiwi-quruwé:-gu-gu-nú?  
stand-limbless erect object-cont/iter-mom-like?  
Keep standing up straight,

wiwi-quruwé:-gu-gu-nú?  
stand limbless erect object-cont/iter-mom  
keep standing up straight

#### Annotations:

- "Probably not sung in 'cry'; sung night before going out hunting. Many others may also be sung."
- "Makes mt. sheep come together to one place, so as to be easily rounded up."

#### Linguistic Notes:

- "h<sub>w</sub>iːqúruv<sup>w</sup>iŋūniyuni<sup>h</sup> = it stands up straight without limbs."
- "t<sup>h</sup>ɔsappaːqɔːrampucc = bald-faced (not ordinarily used)."
- "cigaŋ<sup>h</sup>wá-qa<sup>h</sup> [- cívá...] = they stand in a row."
- "qáiva-miá:-ya-n<sup>h</sup>i = mt. divide (prose)."

### No. 76 Round Dance Song

pavina-tó:-ppaya-monci-monci?-monci-nú [- -tó:-, -ttó:]  
cloud-black-slope-mountain-mountain-mountain-like  
"Mountains whose flanks are black with clouds" (from Sapir 1931k (906))

qáiva-cíŋkoŋqu-ŋ?q<sup>w</sup>i-n?á-va [- ...áya, ...áyi-a, ...áya ]  
mountain-destroy/lay bare-perf-like-at [~ -?, -OSP=pret-obl, -at]  
"Mountain without trees, when mt. has been deprived of trees."

#### Annotations:

- "Not Ghost Dance."

#### Linguistic Notes:

- "monc = mountain."
- "pá:cɛŋqoŋqo?ɔ = entirely destroyed (as of wheat field trampled down by people)."

### No. 77 Bird Song

máukka | máukka we:yalim ʔaɔpəni ʔyakelo-wa-ŋ ʔya[ɛɛɛ]oɔpa-ŋ ʔya[ɛɛɛ]wa-ŋ

## No. 78 Bird Song

mati:ʔnáɪ mati:ʔnáɪ mati:ʔnáɪm

ɪqʷa:yáɪmʔ [- ɪkʷ...] ɪqʷa:yáɪmʔ ɪqʷa:ʔyáɪm

aso:wéɪʔ aso:wéɪʔ aso:wéɪʔ

ayo:yóɪmʔ ayo:yóɪmʔ ayo:yóɪm . . . .

## No. 79 Roan Song

waɪfɪm wayo:qɔʰwɛ [- wo:yo...] mayoɪé:wa tɪhɪlo: mani:ŋʔ ɪláŋo: láŋo: tʰɪnanɪyo:ʔo:ŋo:

ɪo:ma: xayano: tɪhɪɪaɪ[ya]mʔ.

Annotations:

- "Notice: qa:ŋo: [sic]."
- "End: yauʰ."

## No. 80 Bird Song

wé:ya hémčɪ qʷáɪkɪno: |

pačɪɪliwá: pačɪ:wačɪwɪ: pačɪ:wačɪwi: . . . .

## No. 81 Bird Song (Hummingbird Song)

hɔɪnáci:ya hɔɪnáci:ya hɔɪnáci:ya maci: |

ʔɪʔna mɪɪʔmaqa: maci:ya maci: |

ɔɪʔna mé:kacaʔ ó:mani:ʔ čɪ:ya maci: [- ó:mani:ʔ ɪʔɪma:qa: maci:] . . . .

## No. 82 Bird Song

alɪqʷáɪ qʷaɪ háɪɪ: qʷaɪ qʷaɪ ɪɪqʷaɪ qʷaɪ háɪɪ: qʷaɪ qʷaɪ . . . .

uqʷaɪ:ɪ qʷáyo: yo:ɪmo: qʷaɪ:ɪ qʷáyo: yo:ɪmo: . . . .

Annotations:

- "End: qʷaɪʔɪ<sup>9</sup>"
- "Alternate periods have different words starting high."



## No. 83. Roan Song

wa:iml̥ sa:q<sup>W</sup>ali:yo sa:q<sup>W</sup>ali:yao wanchim? wayatilaʔam wayatilaʔam l̥am ya:wa  
tuhgam

Annotation:

- "End: yau<sup>h</sup>."

## No. 84. Bird Song

[t]yá:βuni:á βáβuni:á [- waβuni:á] hwi yaʔalyaβuni

## No. 85. Bird Song

hatólpá:to: ásuma:ʔni: fa:ʔniki:no:, . . . .

## No. 86. Bird Song

unag<sup>W</sup>lná: yo:qá: pá:wul: yahim qaʔapul̥ [- ...bile] moq<sup>h</sup>ut̥ waw[ɬ<sup>h</sup>]

## No. 87. Bird Song

hato: to: to: hato: to: to: [- ...t<sup>h</sup>q̌, ...tq̌?] [h]iyámani:,

## No. 88. Bird Song

hayo:páyo: lpáʔyo:[ʔ] we:li:,

hayo:páyo: lpáʔyo: we:li:,

ʔisa:yó:ʔo: wa:náʔ isa:yó:ʔo: we:ni: [- we:ni:].

## No. 89. Roan Song

wa:iml̥ | yaipʔá: qayo:liwa:ʔni:[w] yaipʔá, qayo:liwa:ʔni: yaipʔá, qayo:liwa:ʔni:  
áp<sup>h</sup>yno:l̥ ap<sup>h</sup>yno:l̥ ya:ŋa: cilo:m̥ ya:ŋaw̥ . . . .

## No. 90. Bird Song

haq<sup>W</sup>é:ʔnumi: sáyo: hawé:ʔmi: sa<sup>h</sup> [- sayo:] . . . .

## No. 91 Bird Song

ini q<sup>W</sup>áyo:ʔo: li:mi:iki:pa [- ...ba] čomʔmi: . . . .

## No. 92 Bird Song

inaŋ<sup>W</sup>tyo:li: [- inaŋ<sup>W</sup>a...] i:qapá: [- ika...] halo: cummayau [- ...yaw] . . . .

## No. 93 Bird Song

palí:wi: payu:yu: tina:cuʔwíli: tina: qalyʔɔ<sup>h</sup> . . . .

## No. 94 Bird Song

q<sup>W</sup>e:huamm čayo:wá: q<sup>W</sup>e:huámi: čayo:ʔwa: čayo:ʔwa: minax<sup>W</sup>ɪp<sup>h</sup> . . . .

## No. 95 Roan Song

waí:mi pa:ni:yalo:qqu ma:ni: yalo:qqu maya:qqa:vʔaha:ŋam

hi:ʔyo: mani: sa: sa:ʔ yo:q<sup>W</sup>aŋa ya:ŋo: tuŋaɪm

haʔli:mi: to:q<sup>h</sup> haʔli:mi: to:qq[<sup>h</sup>y] o:was yato:ŋho: waiyaɪm i:mani: sa: sa: yo:q<sup>W</sup>aŋa  
ya:ŋo: tuŋaɪm

## No. 96 Bird Song

umɪg<sup>W</sup>ala lo:čá: lo:wo:ŋ . . . .

## No. 97 Roan Song

waí:mi aq<sup>W</sup>e:naqo: [o:]ŋ[ŋ]o: o:ŋo: o:ŋo:m ɪyaŋa [- ɪyamma] tu:wa:xa ya:ŋo: tuŋaɪm

## No. 98 Roan Song

waí:mi pa:ŋa si:mi: yaxo:to:wi: [- yaqo:...] yaxo:to:wi: [- yaqo:...] yaxo:llɔ wiŋi:yumi:

náyo:x<sup>W</sup>o:ŋo: tuŋaɪm

ali:ʔlá: ya:ŋa ta<sup>h</sup>yə qó:ŋo: yaqo:mi: naŋaɪmʔ asuŋʔi: wá:ŋaumi: náyo:x<sup>W</sup>aŋo:

[- ...q<sup>W</sup>aŋo:] tuŋaɪm

No. 99 Bird Song

tyo:lpacumi?i: [- ...paca...] luwa ha luwa ha luwa ha luwa . . . .

No. 100 Bird Song

o:mátinaiki pá:waacumi: taipo o cumi qa yo | <sup>h</sup>fi|

No. 101 Bird Song

ami?i: kipa?a: kiyoywayo?o:we ma yo o qo:we e ha me ma yo

No. 102 Bird Song

lvænt gánt vačt [- βačt] lvænt gánt vačt [- βačt] ayo waym

No. 103 Bird Song

tyo:qo:wè: polummoli |

lwa:mi:yô: αwa:mi: . . . .

No. 104 Bird Song

qanani:ya hé:ya qanani:ya hé:ya qanani:ya hé:ya qanani:yo: émqa<sup>h</sup>

á:yuma:ya ?émqatí: wi: lóm qat<sup>h</sup>

No. 105 Bird Song

wammayo: wammayo: wammayo: wiikkYá. huwa | ha | lae yaó huwa ha

wiikkYá: . . . .

No. 106 Bird Song

iyat yáppimo: yo: só: tu wá: ci . . . .

No. 107 Bird Song

we:yawé: lum msa:wa: hayum msa wa hayum msa wa ym msa msa wa ym



## No. 108 Bird Song

attittt pa:ʔawulmo:ʔa ti:[h]ʔɪnaɪm[o] . . . .

## No. 109 Ghost Round Dance

qalva-ya:ɔt  
mountain(s)-edge  
Edge of the mountain(s).

Linguistic Note:

- "qálvayarácc = 'mountain edge.'"

## No. 110 Ghost Round Dance

sínəŋʷavɪ naŋʷá-yat-ppit:	páɪna:-vó:ʔvi-yʷa-mi-mɸ <sup>h</sup> [- wó:vi..., -vó:wi...]
coyote track-be-OSP=pret	cloud-spotted-be-hab-OSP=nom
"Coy., God's (old) track"	[is] wont to be cloud-spotted.

Linguistic Note:

- "nawó:wiɪyʷat<sup>h</sup> [- navó:..., - ...ó:vi-] = it is spotted."

## No. 111 Ghost Round Dance

[ʔ]o:ri-mbo:	pa:vu-mpasɪ	kiya-qql-n <sup>h</sup> [- kiɪʷa-]
? -water/spring	clear-water/spring	make a sound of pierced paper-mom-like?
The clear water makes a sound like pierced paper.		

pa:vinavɪ paɪnav[ɪ] . . . .  
cloud cloud  
Cloud, cloud.

Linguistic Notes:

- "kixʷkʷáqqinnɪ<sup>h</sup> [- kʰɪ<sup>h</sup>ʷ... ] = it makes sound of paper when something is thrust through it."
- "pa:vúmpass = clear water (in poetry)"; "pa:vúmpa<sup>h</sup> = clear water."

## No. 112 Ghost Round Dance

mó:go:wa:	wárat-yʷi-[na]	paxi-yʷi	iŋʷa-ramɪ	payi-yʷi
soul	walk-come-?	walk-come	relation-1dual	return-come
[A] soul is walking along, walking along, "our relation is coming back."				

Linguistic Notes:

- "waraŋ<sup>ŋ</sup> (na) = is walking (not ordinary word)."
- "ŋ<sup>ŋ</sup>waŋ<sup>h</sup> = my relation."

## No. 113 Ghost Round Dance

tiŋ<sup>ŋ</sup>ppɪr-nariya-va [- ti[ɪ]ppɪ-, -va] |

land-middle-at

"In the middle of the land."

maniŋi-vuru-cl-[k<sup>h</sup>]

touch-move from place to place-dim-[pres/past]

"[About to] touch around from place to place."

## No. 114 Round (Squaw) Dance

yi:ŋ [- ye:ŋ] ya:ʔa ye:ʔe: ya:ʔa ye:ŋ ya:ʔa ye:e:, . . . .

(vocables)

ra: o: . . . .

(vocables)

Annotations:

- "Not Ghost Dance."
- "From Escalante country."

## No. 115 Round Dance

tʰɔʰsa-qqari-ŋi-niŋ<sup>ŋ</sup>ɪncl-cl-gat<sup>h</sup> [- tɔsa-, -cl-ŋ<sup>ŋ</sup>a<sup>h</sup>, -ŋ<sup>ŋ</sup>a<sup>h</sup>] |

white-sit-USP-person-dim-be-pres

[It is] "a white peaked person." (Cf. gloss in Sapir 1931k: 689)

e: yahe: ʔyahe: h[h][ʔ]e:ʔe: ya ....

(vocables)

Annotations:

- "From Arizona Paiutes."
- "Not Ghost [Dance]."

## No. 116 Round Dance

qan[ʔ]ná-no:q<sup>ŋ</sup>cl-cl a ha | hɪ | o: ha | ŋi | e: hɪ | hɪ |

willow-flow-USP (vocables)

Willow[-bordered] stream,

qanā-no:q<sup>W</sup>l-cl                      á: . . . .  
 willow-flow-USP            (vocable)  
 Willow[-bordered] stream,

Annotations:

- "From Arizona Paiutes."
- "Not Ghost [Dance]."

Linguistic Note:

- "qanány<sup>x</sup>q<sup>W</sup>lcc = willow run, brook bordered by willows."

No. 117 Round Dance

a:,            sa<sup>y</sup>wa-viapp<sup>h</sup>tr    a: + o: ....  
 (vocable) blue/green-mare            (vocables)  
 Blue mare.

Annotations:

- "Arizona Paiute."
- "Not Ghost [Dance]."

Linguistic Note:

- "mare = piápp<sup>h</sup>tr."

No. 118 Round Dance

paró-n?ta:mpí-ncl-n [- n?ta:mpí-, - ...mbí-, - ndʒl-n]    tí:ššl-vaia:ro:xx<sup>W</sup>[a]  
 water gravel-stone-dim-like?                      floating dust -horizontal  
 Like small gravel, "dust in the air."

Annotations:

- "Arizona Paiute."
- "Not Ghost [Dance]."

Linguistic Notes:

- "paróntimp<sup>W</sup>l = gravel, water-gravel stone."
- "h<sup>y</sup>xqúmph<sup>a</sup> = dust."
- "tíššl<sup>y</sup>a = dust floating about in the air."
- "paá:ruxx<sup>W</sup>a = horizontal, on side of[,] in air."



- No. 119 Round Dance

ayompri qm<sup>wa</sup>:[y]a-ntr-ŋqa [- -va-ntr-] yue<sup>h</sup> | yam<sup>h</sup>  
fir tree edge-at-USP-3vis thus=invis

Annotations:

- Linguistic Note:

- No. 120 Bird Song

No. 121 Bird Song

ó:qɔmbaya? wɛ:li:ya ó:qɔmbaya? wɛ:li: . . . .

No. 122 Bird Song

aqqo: [- aqqu:] pá:ní? Itwa: yó:sámo? q<sup>w</sup>iya o metá [- k<sup>w</sup>i:] mɛsámmɛtá [- k<sup>w</sup>i:] nɛwɛnɛwɛ

No. 123 Coyote Song

livanjo: liyav livanjo: liyav |

a?attamō:žživā: [- ...šš...] liyango liyav tu možživā [- ...šš.] liyango liyav

## No. 124 Gambling Song [for handgame]

atya, e ya?, hatya, . . . .  
(vocables)

Annotations:

- "Made by Tony, his own song."
- "Pressstimme [pharyngealization]."
- "End: yi:."

## No. 125 Gambling Song

Annotation:

- "See preceding." [No text given; apparently No. 124 was recorded twice.]

## No. 126 Gambling Song

hánawe: [- b́ánawe:] yuna; h́b́ánawe: yuna . . . .  
(vocables)

## No. 127 Gambling Song

βana?a: [- ...?i:] hβana . . . .  
(vocables)

Annotations:

- "Pressstimme."<sup>10</sup>
- "All good players have their own gambling songs composed by themselves. [They] keep changing songs during playing. All on [one] side join in singing."

## No. 128 Gambling Song

ha ya na hʸema, hṁ hṁ? [- ha há?] . . . .  
(vocables)

Annotation:

- "Very strong glottal catches."

## No. 129 Gambling Song

hʸaná? [- hʸe..., hʸi...] héná: [- ...na:ŋ] . . . .  
(vocables)

## No. 130 Gambling Song

[h]vaɪ yá: hvaɪ ya<sup>h</sup> . . . .  
(vocables)

## No 131 Gambling Song

hɔ hɔ<sup>h</sup> henn nɔnn, hʔɛnɔ, nɛ<sup>h</sup>. . . .  
(vocables)

## No 132 Gambling Song

haɪ ya? hɛʔnnɛ<sup>h</sup> [- haɪʔ..., ...nnɛ.] hʔɛnaʔ, . . . .  
(vocables)

## No. 133 Gambling Song

aʔ haɪ ya: yaʔ haɪ ya: [- ya<sup>h</sup>] yaʔ haɪ ya<sup>h</sup> . . . .  
(vocables)

## No. 134 Gambling Song

[h]yáʔ e: ya ya:+ ya<sup>h</sup> ʔe:ya, m̩m̩, . . . .  
(vocables)

## No 135 Gambling Song

yaʔ hɪná:, yaʔ hɪna<sup>h</sup>, . . . .  
(vocables)

## No. 136 Bird Song

hato:lomí: lomí: lomí:yaʔi:saqq<sup>wa</sup> [- ...yaʔe:..., - ...saqq<sup>hwa</sup>].

## No. 137 Bird Song

mé:sayo: mé:sayo: he:yo:wá: qo:wɪní: yaʔɛmqə [- yaʔɛmq<sup>h</sup>].

## No. 138 Bird Song

á:hama tu:paɛnuq<sup>wa</sup>ina [- tu:pu...]. . . .



## No. 139 Medicine Song

pariya-valva-m      pariyaʔa-valva-m    [- -valʔ]  
 elk-mountain-on      elk-mountain-on  
 On elk mountain, on elk mountain,

aŋqá:-yibimp-avaroʔuʔWΛ-n  
 red-ponderosa-through-like?  
 Moving through the red pines,

wit-ttōvina-vi      wit-ttōvina-xxi [- ...na-[ʔ]i]  
 wind-pass quickly-come      wind-pass quickly-come  
 The wind passes quickly, the wind passes quickly,

nivWá:-ʔorona [- ...roni]      nivWá:-ʔoʔurunā [- ...runi]  
 snow-carry on one's head      snow-carry on one's head  
 "Carrying snow on its head,"      "carrying snow on its head."

Annotations:

- "Sung by a medicine-man alone, mostly while sitting, sometimes dancing."
- "To cure Tony; man's name was maáššax<sup>Warʔ</sup> = [plant-]green (saʔWávarʔ = green)."

Linguistic Notes:

- "Prose: aŋqá:-yivWimp-avaruxxWá = thru a red pine."
- "h<sub>W</sub>i<sup>h</sup>ttōvina-vi = (approximately) wind going quickly (thru tree)."
- "qurūnhā = crown of head; qurūna-yi-ʔq<sup>h</sup>W = he carries it on top of his head."

## No. 140 Medicine Song

árovyiral<sup>h</sup>      timpí-ŋWá:-maɣo<sup>h</sup>      čá:-ŋuŋuŋumpa-m<sup>h</sup>  
 Orderville=obl rock(s)/cliff(s)-on-from on      bead[s]-rolling-cont  
 From off of the cliffs of Orderville beads keep rolling.

Annotation:

- "[A] woman's medicine song; (name of medicine-woman = t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>ciáʔeɪnh<sub>i</sub> = head-having?)."

Linguistic Notes:

- "čá<sup>h</sup> = beads; čá-mʔ<sub>i</sub> = my [literally: 'your'] beads."
- "múmp<sup>h</sup>ā = roll; mumpámi<sup>h</sup> = keep rolling; čá<sup>h</sup><sub>i</sub> mumpá<sup>h</sup> = beads roll."

## No. 141 Bird Song

aqʷlʔno:li:m m:saiʔyuwa. aqʷlʔno:li:m m:saiʔyuwa.

## No. 142 Roan Song

wai:im ai:mo: yaʔai:mo: yaʔai:mo:ŋo [y]aʷqʷi ʷaʷʔʔʷi ʷaʷʔʔʷi ya:mo:ʷa:mo:  
tu:ŋa:[ya]m

## No. 143 Roan Song

wai:mi yot:yo:ŋo: mi:ya:ŋo: lu:ma:ki qa:ŋa: yoʔho:lu:ma:ki qa:ŋa:ŋa:mi  
ya:ŋi: ya:ŋo: ho:ɕpa:ŋo: ho:lu:ma:ki qa:ŋa:ŋa:[ya]m

## No. 144 Ghost Round Dance

ontɔ:-qáɾɪ-ɕɪ- [t] qɔɔʔh̥n̥á: [- qoɔo...]  
brown-sit-dim-USP two parts come together=iter  
"[The] brownish knoll keeps coming together in two chunks."

Linguistic Notes:

- "ɔntɔqqar = reddish brown (as of dead cedar)."
- "qariccittɔʰ = knoll (small); qarɪ = knoll (hill)."
- "qɔɪʔnaʰ = have two parts separated yet hanging together (bread cut into two chunks).  
qɔɪʔnɪyaqqʰ = it hangs together[,] of 2 parts: qɔɪʔna tɪʔa:ŋɪʔʰ = cut it off into 2 parts."

## No. 145 Ghost Round Dance

piyavaɪ-ʰoŋʷa-ró:-vʷa: [- -ro:(-vɪ)-rʷa] oŋʷa-r ʰoŋʷa-ró:-vʷaʰ  
drowsy-canyon-USP-to [~ -towards?] canyon-USP canyon-USP-to  
Through the drowsy canyon, at the canyon, through the canyon.

Linguistic Notes:

- "piyáʷaʰqaiyaŋʰ = he is drowsy, has a lazy feeling."
- "ó[wɪ]-ŋʷa-ruxxʷa = through the canyon"

## No. 146 Bird Song

hayo:li:[ʔ] paɕó:mi: hayo:li: qa:yo:, . . . .

## No. 147 Greeting Song in Cry

ya:yá?yau [yo?yau] |  
(vocables)

hó hɔ́ hu huʰ hi hiʰ ha haʰ  
(vocables)

má:ya-aq̃ uru?a-yi-vi-ni: n̄iniy-aq̃ o:ru-vi-ni-na-[v]  
that=quot=obl-3vis be-pres-perhaps-like me/mine-3vis be-perhaps-like?-OSP-own  
This [song] perhaps belongs to me

mał-n?l-gɔ:-nɪr-mpɪr-q̃q̃<sup>wa</sup>-n̄ qačɔ:-n̄ o:ru tó:qɔ:-yau?-no:-appa:-n̄ ɔ:ɔ:ru:  
say-cont-mom-hab-OSP=pret-3inv-1s not-1s be shame-suffer-hab-not-1s be  
What I used to say is I am not ashamed [of it]

mał-gɔ:-cɪ+-q̃ o:q̃<sup>wa</sup>:ỹ a:ru tantiv<sup>wa</sup>l-pa:yo: má:y-aq̃ uru?a:-yi  
say-mom-ger-3inv that=quot=obl be down west-at that=quot-3vis be-pres  
Having said that, it is down west that it happened,

nó:nó:ssɪ-ni:-nɪr-mpɪr-q̃<sup>wa</sup>-n̄ o:ri  
dream-cont-hab-OSP=pret-3inv-1s that=obl  
that I dreamt this.

Prose:

má:y-aqq uru?u [- ...?a] n̄ini  
"In this way it is my"

mał-n?l-gɔ:-nɪr-mpɪr-q̃q̃<sup>wa</sup>-n̄ qačɔ:-n̄ úr̃ t̃h̃ỹh̃qú-yau?-nu-appa-n̄h̃ỹ  
"my always saying it not I that feel ashamed of it" "i.e., I am not ashamed  
to sing before the crowd"

mał-ŋ<sup>h̃ỹ</sup>-cɪ+-q̃q̃<sup>hw</sup> h̃ỹh̃qq<sup>wa</sup>l<sup>h̃</sup> tantiv<sup>wa</sup>l-pa<sup>h̃ỹ</sup>  
"Having said it it down there in the west"

nó:nó:si-ni:-nɪr-mpɪr-q̃<sup>wa</sup>:-nn̄ ur̃  
"I have always been dreaming it it (=this song)"

Annotation:

- "This greeter was from Muddy R[iver] (si?m̄ɪr-ncc) [Paiute name refers to Muddy River, or Moapa, cf. Sapir 1931k:659]. This greeting song was sung in summer of 1898 at spring called pannáwɪpph̃ỹ (see 'spring list') [Iron Springs according to Sapir 1931k:597], where cry was held. Kanab, Cedar C[ity], (St. [St. George?]) some Shoshone were there; they were greeted by Muddy R[iver] and St. George Shoshones [sic] as they came. Cedar City and (St. George) Shoshones were greeted by coming Kanab Indians in [fir]st greeting already given."



## No. 148 Medicine Song

hiʔ hara:ra [- ...rara ] rara hʔr: ....  
(vocables)

Annotation:

- "Sung by mampucc, Arizona Parute medicine-man. he lost power because he divided his medicine among several people."

## No. 149 Occasion Song

mái-ppi+va:-ntu-ŋ[h]a      p[h]ikʔá-nampa:-cc-oŋa [- -numpa -]  
say that-pret-USP-3sinv      sore-footed-person-art=inv  
The sore-footed one said:

sɔriŋkɛ:-ŋʷ(ttuʷa-ram[ɪ])      oqɔʔa ʔa ʔa  
Salt Lake City-in direction of-1dual      that=quot=obl  
'Let us two go to Salt Lake City.'

tɔrɔ-qɔhʷɿ-qʷaɪ:-va:-mi      [- -qɔhʷɿ-, - -kʷaɪ-]  
run-mom-go away-fut-3dual  
So the two of them will run off.

Prose:

mái-ppi+va-nt      uŋhʷa      p[h]ikʔa-nampa-ttu      uŋhʷa  
"he said that      sore-footed one he"

sɔrihʔkɛ:-ŋʷ(ttuʷa-ram[h]ɪ)      hʷxqʷaɪhʷa  
"to Salt Lake City let us      that"

tɔrɔ-qɔhʷɿ-qʷaɪ:-vaʔa-mʔɿ  
"(you & I) will go & run away" 11

Annotation:

- "[illegible] girl to whom man had proposed to run off to Salt Lake City." 12

Linguistic Note:

- "Salt Lake City = sɔriŋkkɛ."

## No. 150 Drunken Song

ɪvʷɪɪɪ-ppa:      we.sɪkkɛhʷɿ  
bad-water      whiskey  
[This] alcohol, whiskey,

tarəŋqʔó:-va:-nt-ar wé:ssikkú:  
 Durango-from-USP=nom-art=vis whiskey  
 [It's] from Durango (Colorado), this whiskey.

## No. 151 Roan Song

wai:um qá:ŋa yó:ʔna: um qá:ŋa yó:ʔna: um qá:ŋo: ó:ʔo:ŋo: wali:yo: tʰuŋa:um  
 á:l[ŋ]m qʷi:yanʔ á:um qʷi:yanʔ iyo:na: qo:e:qʷo humu ča:mani: qʷi: yáŋʔ [h]i qá:ŋa  
 yo:ʔna: um qá:ŋo: o:ʔo:ŋo: wali:yo: tʰuŋa:um qá:ŋo: wali:yo: tʰuŋa:um . . . .

## No. 152 Bird Song

hamu:só: hámiso: ltwá:ʔa há: wasá:wá[:]tú mo:[waye:]yawé:qam [- ...we:qʰ] há: . . . .

## No. 153 Bird Song

hoqó:paaliwé: hoqó:paaliwá:ʔaa haxe:wicúl má:yo:ʔo: . . . .

## No. 154 Ghost Dance Song

tuya-nuŋ<sup>wi</sup> aví:-qʷ:-v<sup>Wa</sup> [- ave:q..., - -y<sup>Wa</sup>á] . . . .  
 mountain-person lie down-incep-fut  
 The mountain person will lie down,

pó:ŋqaza-ŋ qʷiŋqʷinnuŋqʷa:-ri-ŋ  
 ʔ-3svis turning around=iter-USP-3sinv  
 ? is revolving, revolving continually.

qʷiŋqʷinnuŋqʷa:-ŋ  
 turning around=iter-USP=nom

Prose:

toyá-nuŋ<sup>hw</sup> aví-qqu-v<sup>Wa</sup>h  
 mountain-person lie-incep-fut

qʷiŋqʷinnuŋqʷa:ŋ  
 "turning around, revolving continually"

Linguistic Notes:

- "tɔyáŋ = mt. (used only in songs)."
- "qʷinúnʔnutʰ = (it) turns around."

## No. 155 Bird Song

ho:ó:yo:navi yávi qʷale:yave: mó:ca:yo:ó: ho:ó:yo: mó:ca:yo:ó: . . . .

## No. 156 Ghost Dance Song

to:vumbe: yo:[v]wu-na<sup>h</sup>      nto:vumbe: yə-wu-ri<sup>h</sup>q  
 sky=obl    sit=pl-OSP      sky=obl    sit=pl-OSP  
 The sky [it is] that is sitting,    the sky [it is] that is sitting.

to:vumbe: yo:[v]wu-na<sup>h</sup>      nto:vumbe: yə-wu-ri<sup>h</sup>q  
 sky=obl    sit=pl-OSP      sky=obl    sit=pl-OSP  
 The sky [it is] that is sitting,    the sky [it is] that is sitting.

he:p̌ a[:]ra<sup>h</sup> [a]-raraina:      he:p̌ a[:]ra<sup>h</sup> [a]-raraina  
 what be [silently]-strut like a pigeon    what be [silently]-strut like a pigeon  
 What silently struts like a pigeon?    what silently struts like a pigeon?

he:p̌ a[:]ra<sup>h</sup> [a]-raraina:      he:p̌ a[:]ra<sup>h</sup> [a]-raraina U  
 what be [silently]-strut like a pigeon    what be [silently]-strut like a pigeon  
 What silently struts like a pigeon?    what silently struts like a pigeon?

Annotation:

- "At end: -raraina<sup>h</sup> with decided rise in pitch on last syllable. Followed by word *warrepre* = I stop, lit. I stand."

Linguistic Notes:

- "tu:vump<sup>h</sup>q = sky; yu:w<sup>h</sup>i = many sit."
- "tarai?na<sup>h</sup> = strut out breast and head back (like pigeon) [cf. Sapir 1930k:672]. Probably has nothing to do [illegible]."

## No. 157 Ghost Dance Song

to:vumpa-yiruv<sup>wi</sup>:-xari-ri<sup>h</sup> [-yiruwí:-]  
 sky-pine-sit-USP  
 Pine covered knoll in the sky,

to:vumpa-yiruv<sup>wi</sup>:-xari-ri<sup>h</sup> [-yiruwí:-]  
 sky-pine-sit-USP  
 Pine covered knoll in the sky,

to:vú-ššá:-yo:-wai-nna      to:vumbe: á:-yo-wai-nna<sup>h</sup>  
 sky-white?-level-be-OSP    sky=obl    silent?-level-be-OSP  
 The sky that is flat and white, the sky that is silent and flat

to:vú-ššá:-yo:-wai-nna      to:vumbe: á:-yo-wai-nna<sup>h</sup> 14  
 sky-white?-level-be-OSP    sky=obl    silent?-level-be-OSP  
 The sky that is flat and white, the sky that is silent and flat.



Linguistic Notes:

- "Prose: yiv<sup>W</sup>ŋ-qarir<sup>i</sup> = pine-knoll."
- "yoa.v<sub>1</sub> = plain; yoauy<sup>Y</sup>wa?au<sup>n</sup>n<sup>i</sup>ʔ<sup>h</sup> = be level; torumpayoā:γant<sup>h</sup><sub>i</sub> = level sky."

## No. 158 Bear Dance Song

ini                      ara? po-ppauwi-ʔyówa-ni-qqa<sup>i</sup>-nna<sup>h</sup> [- qat-ŋa "at times"]  
 what=anim=obl be relpro-through-move/roll-cont-perf-OSP=nom  
 What is it that has been rolling along through?

tošá-q<sup>W</sup>lavanti-mma:mac<sup>i</sup> ara? po-ppauwi-ʔyówa-ni-qqa<sup>i</sup>-nna<sup>h</sup> [- qat-ŋa "at times"]  
 white-grizzly bear-woman=obl be relpro-in through-move/roll-cont-perf-OSP=nom  
 A white grizzly bear woman has been rolling along through.

Linguistic Notes:

- "yúʔy<sup>W</sup>anikk<sup>Y</sup>a<sup>h</sup> = (roll) move around (used of bear only)."
- "póppaʔaʔa = through. iyúppaʔaʔa =through here."

## No. 159 Bear Dance Song

ini                      ara? pē:ya<sup>h</sup>                      ʔē:ʔ<sup>h</sup>  
 what=anim=obl be feather=nom (vocable)  
 Whose feather(s) is this (are these)?

mo<sup>r</sup>Wá-tta[:viŋ<sup>W</sup>a:-mmammá?cc<sup>i</sup> ara? pi:ya . . . .  
 cedar bark-sunny slope-woman=obl be feather=nom  
 The feather(s) is/are an Ouray Ute woman's.

Linguistic Note:

- "h<sup>W</sup><sub>1</sub>ci<sup>a</sup>a<sup>h</sup> = feather."

## No. 160 Bear Dance Song

yoná:-ra:vumpucc<sup>i</sup>      yoná:-xa:ní-ncl-a-vi<sup>r</sup>      u-v<sup>W</sup>accar<sup>W</sup>ittuy<sup>W</sup>a      yavá:-vari-cc<sup>i</sup>-kk<sup>h</sup>  
 rock-rabbit              rock-house-dim-obl-own      it=inv-facing      cry-sit-dim-pres/past  
 The rock rabbit facing its little rock house sits and cries.

é:ya é:yaʔa é:  
 (vocables)

Linguistic Notes:

- "yonávi<sup>r</sup> = rocks lying around loose (not gravel). ta:vumpucc = ta:vúcc = cotton-tail rabbit. Song word [apparently in reference to yoná:-ra:vumpucc<sup>i</sup>]: rabbit living where are many rocks."

- "qanivaccan<sup>h</sup>W<sub>i</sub>tuxx<sup>W</sup><sub>a</sub> = facing the house."

## No. 161 Bear Dance Song

tó:-niy<sup>Y</sup><sub>i</sub>                      ʔannia-qqa-ʔagaʔa+[ŋa]                      annia-qqa-ʔagaʔa                      ʔ  
 black-black person    what=quot-pres/past-3svis    say what pres/past-3svis (vocable)  
 What did the black person say, what did he/she say?

tó:-niy<sup>Y</sup><sub>i</sub>                      ʔánnia-qqa-ʔagaʔa+[ŋa]                      annia-qqa-ʔagaʔa                      ʔ  
 black-black person    what=quot-pres/past-3svis    say what pres/past-3svis (vocable)  
 What did the black person say, what did he/she say?

tóša-qquóčú-punqun<sup>W</sup><sub>tr</sub>-ŋ<sup>W</sup><sub>tr</sub>-a-vir                      piri-ri-wiriri-ppa-ri-čú-ka                      ʔ  
 white-cattle-domesticated-pl-obl-own    look/see-stand-walk-dim pres/past    (vocable)  
 He/she walks, stands, and watches his/her white cattle.

tóša-qquóčú-punqun<sup>W</sup><sub>tr</sub>-ŋ<sup>W</sup><sub>tr</sub>-a-vir                      piri-ri-wiriri-ppa-ri-čú-ka                      ʔ  
 white-cattle-domesticated-pl-obl-own    look/see-stand-walk-dim pres/past    (vocable)  
 He/she walks, stands, and watches his/her white cattle.

Linguistic Notes:

- "anni<sup>h</sup>q<sup>x</sup>qa:ŋaʔa = what did he say? anni<sup>h</sup>q<sup>x</sup>qán<sup>h</sup> = what did I say?"
- "t<sup>h</sup>ŋ<sup>h</sup>šáq<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>čumpunqun<sup>h</sup>W = white cattle. t<sup>h</sup>ŋáq<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>čumpunqun<sup>h</sup>W = his white cattle."
- "p<sup>tr</sup>n<sup>tr</sup>ŋ<sup>W</sup><sub>tr</sub>n<sup>tr</sup>ppavet<sup>h</sup> = walk, stop, and watch (ordinary presc)."

## No. 162 Roan Song

waí:m | wáa: yo:mi: qasaŋayati: ||

wáa: yo:mi: q no:li: ya:ŋo: t<sup>h</sup>uŋa:m

## No. 163 Roan Song

waí:m | q<sup>W</sup>a:yo:lu:m i<sup>W</sup>i:hiyolu:m [- aq<sup>W</sup>i:...] |

wa:qo: yá:wa: li:mi: q<sup>W</sup>hiwu: [- q<sup>W</sup>i:lu:] sa:ŋa: t<sup>h</sup>uŋa:m

## No. 164 Roan Song

waí:m | á:mi:na:ŋ,

ya:na:qo: yo:wi:hi: hi:na qo:yo waŋaŋaŋo<sup>W</sup>a: saŋaŋa:m

## No. 165 Bird Song

čaʔyó: čayo: čəʔmi: čəmi: ʔčə:ʔm̩ tāyo:waʔ, . . . .

## No. 166 Roan Song

wa:im | ɥwǎŋʔayodi: yodihi: yodiŋum wǎŋʔayodi: yodihi: yodiŋ |  
 ɥwǎŋʔayodi: yodi: wani: waja [- yaŋa] lo:ɥwa sahaŋaum

Annotation:

- "First sung at East Fork in 1901; composed by a Muddy R[iver] man."

## No. 167 Bird Song

áum̩naʔaŋo: wé:li: [- ...h̥] áum̩naʔaŋo: wé:li:, . . . .

## No. 168 Bird Song

mo:wʔá: mo:ci:ʔwi: yumo:ciwayuciwayu pá:yomo:[ci]ʔá: . . . .

## No. 169 Bird Song

hawé:ʔmisayo: hawe:ʔmé:sayo: [- ...we:me:..., . . . .

## No. 170 Bear Dance Song

mó:ppʔc í-yanuai-ya  
 fly=nom this-at-while?  
 The fly when it is here,

mó:ppʔc í-yanuai-ya  
 fly=nom this-at-while?  
 The fly when it is here,

o[:]vi-yat-ppi t̥t̥[ŋ<sup>w</sup>]avavat-yi [- to...]  
 wood-be-OSP=pret make noise-pres  
 Makes a sound like a dead stick,

o[:]vi-yat-ppi t̥t̥[ŋ<sup>w</sup>]avavat-yi [- to...] <sup>16</sup>  
 wood-be-OSP=pret make noise-pres  
 Makes a sound like a dead stick.



mó:ppic	i-yænnu-t <sup>h</sup>	ovi-yʔal-pp <sup>h</sup> rr	teʔ <sup>h</sup> a:va:pu <sup>h</sup>
fly=nom	this-at-pres	wood-be-OSP=pret-obl	make noise-pres

- "Refers to [Bear Dance] rasp: dead wood is sounding = bear dance takes place"
- "Flies are here, i.e., spring is here."

ε:yaʔε:yaʔε:yaʔε:ʔε: . . . . yaʔa <sup>17</sup>  
(vocables)

ɛ:            saŋ<sup>W</sup>a-wla-va-nti-mmammaoɕi.      tɪmpɪy-u-a      ɔɔ-ɔɔ<sup>W</sup>avɪ-ɔa-ɔɪ  
 (vocalb) saŋ-song-have-USP-woman      gun-obl      with fire break trans-dist-pres  
 Sage singer woman    burns    her gun in two in the fire.

sar<sup>W</sup>a-wla-ra-nh<sub>i</sub>      ma:mma?ucc    tɪmp<sup>W</sup>ɪy-u-λ-yɪr    d<sup>h</sup>ɪ<sup>h</sup>-d<sup>h</sup>aw-ʔa<sup>h</sup>  
sage-song-have-USP=nom   woman=nom   gun-obl-own   fire-break trans-dist pres

- "gun = ti+mp<sup>w</sup>iyu<sup>h</sup> = rock arrow."
- "q<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>qávi<sup>h</sup>ca<sup>h</sup> = break in one's mouth by gnashing with teeth."

tiɾmp<sup>wi</sup>-ttaiy-aŋ ʔani:ya-ŋʔa  
stone-shirt?=obl (<-taiy-)-art=vis [personal name] kinsperson-3svis  
tiɾmp<sup>wittai</sup>'s kinswoman,

ti+mp<sup>w</sup>i-ttaly-aŋ                      ʔáni:ya-ŋʔa:  
stone-shirt?=obl-art=vis    kinsperson-3svis  
ti+mp<sup>w</sup>i:ttai's    kinswoman,



Prose:

pò:ssi[ya]h<sup>h</sup>apitta? ann<sup>i</sup>-xx<sup>y</sup>-k<sup>y</sup>at-n<sup>h</sup>  
do so-come-perf-OSP  
"(name) came doing so"

maŋá-šša?ə nariv<sup>w</sup><sub>i</sub>-q<sup>w</sup><sub>i</sub>h<sup>h</sup>pa|h<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>h</sup>ip[ə]a<sup>h</sup>ca-x<sup>y</sup>a-<sup>h</sup>  
that one-but always-whip-come-pres [or: -while]  
"but that one [is] customarily always whipping people"

Annotation:

- "Probably intended to shame some woman. Person referred to is said to be daughter of P."

No. 176 Fragment of Myth<sup>19</sup>

qá:-pp<sup>i</sup>at<sup>i</sup> [y]á<sup>i</sup>-kk<sup>y</sup>a-m<sup>i</sup>-pp<sup>h</sup><sub>i</sub>  
sing-passive preterit say-pl-hab-nominal=nom  
"it was sung, someone sang [what] they alway[s] say,"

u-v <sup>w</sup> á <sub>i</sub>	tiy <sup>w</sup> i:nna-x[a]	qá:-pp <sup>i</sup> at?
it=inv-at	tell story-while	sing-passive pretent
"there	when telling a story	[someone] sung [sic] it."

qavá:-v?<sup>i</sup>[a?]-qq<sup>w</sup>a-nn<sup>i</sup> <sup>i</sup>qq<sup>w</sup>at<sup>h</sup>  
sing-fut-3inv-1s that=quot=obl  
"Let me sing it then it":

i:mi:+ya?	i:mi:ya?	távacc <sup>i</sup> -va	naŋ <sup>w</sup> a-qq[?] <sup>w</sup> a:	ta:ʔvi:-nn <sup>i</sup>
your	your	leg bone-own?	rattle-3inv	sun shine-like
[I] rattle your leg bone while the sun is shining,				

i:+<sup>h</sup> yava-mma:-ččičo:-mma<sup>h</sup> 20  
(vocale) cry-by hand-grind-cont  
Keep grinding as [I] cry.

Prose:

im <sup>i</sup> h <sup>h</sup>	távacc <sup>i</sup> -v <sup>i</sup>	naŋw <sup>i</sup> qq <sup>i</sup> y <sup>w</sup> aa-ngq <sup>h</sup>	ta v <sup>i</sup> -nn <sup>i</sup> kk <sup>y</sup> a- <sup>h</sup> h <sup>h</sup>
your	leg bone-own	make a rattling noise-indir	sun shine-cont-perf-when
"Your	leg bone	I make a rattling noise with it	while sun is shining"

Annotation:

- "A certain character (not definitely known who) used to hide in the bushes from morning till night and sing this song, using the leg bones of his own parents as a rattle. He was caught at it."

Linguistic Note:

- "tiy<sup>w</sup>i:nna<sup>h</sup> = tell a story."

## No. 177 Bear Dance Song

è:[h]ya?é:ya?a: ra . . . .  
(vocables)

Annotation:

- "Rasp accomp[animent]."

## No. 178 Bear Dance Song

ɪv<sup>W</sup>ɪɾ-ram paɪɪ:-q<sup>W</sup>al-vaa-am<sup>h</sup>  
hortative-1dual return-go away-fut-1dual?  
"Let us two return home!"

tigi-ccɪ-n-am navaššu-ram anní:-vuru-yi:  
friend-dim-1s-1dual? for fun-1dual do so-travel around-pres  
"Friend of mine, just for fun we go from place to place."

Annotations:

- "Rasp accomp[animent]."
- "Accompaniment not quite correct in places."
- "Song composed by mampúcc himself."
- "mampúcc generally rasps one direction, towards himself, two beats to each bar. Tom generally rasps four times to [a] bar, alternately towards and away from himself, [the] main beat coming on [the] rasp beat towards himself, with which he begins.  
"Before beginning to sing, it is customary to have one bar of rasping (two 'towards' beats with M., four beats with Tom); sometimes only 1/2 bar is rasped. At the end of a song the rasp is played with four (or five) rapid (twice as quick as before) strokes, the last being outward and most accented. Rasps may follow one of two styles; do not [illegible] the same way."

ɪv <sup>W</sup> ɪɾ	tti:vɪɾ-n <sup>h</sup> [ <sub>&lt; tivivɪ-</sub> ]	qamɪɾ-sav <sup>W</sup> áya:-ccɪ-ɪ <sup>Y</sup> ʌ-n <sup>h</sup> ɪ
awful	friend-1s	jackrabbit-insides-dim-have-USP=nom
"Alas! (pity)	my friend	having a jack-rabbit stomach!"

"These words [above] are said when any one of the dancers falls down or stumbles. One of the rasps, seeing him or her do so, jumps up and quickly runs there, while rapidly rasping, and puts the rasp on his or her back, keeping on rasping quickly.

"[The] sound of [the] rasp can be heard as much as two or three miles away on a quiet evening, rasping carrying further than singing. Each tries to sing as loud as he can (this is not true of cry songs). At the end of a song the rasps are held in the hand with the sticks; at the end of the dance, the pan [used as the resonator] is put away where it belongs and the rasps and sticks are put in the hole. Rasps [are] thrown away after the ceremony."



## No. 179 Bear Dance Song

è:            aŋqâ-saracci-ci-gay-a?  
 (vocal) red-baby-dim-be-while [< -yu?]  
 "When he is a little red baby"

è:            ma:rikka:c[c]i            qonna-avi-ppuŋqia            pɛrɛ-ŋʷɛrɛ-pa-re-ee-a  
 (vocal) Anglo [< 'American'] fire-wood-horse=obl look/see stand-walk dim-pres-part  
 The Anglo walks around and stops and looks at the locomotive

Linguistic Notes:

- "Escalante (and Ute) Indians (not Kanabs) call 'infant' aŋqâ-saracci 'red baby' (saracci not used). Prose: aŋqâ-ssaracci-ŋʷa:[t]-hʷy ."
- "Prose: qonna-ovi-mpuŋqʰy = 'fire-log-horse' = 'locomotive'."
- "pɛrɛ-ŋʷɛrɛ-ppaɾeɪ-cɛi-kkʰ = 'small child \_\_\_\_' 21"

Annotation:

- "Song made by Dick (tuŋqâ:nnuqʰʷɛ), now Kanab Indian, originally of Pima band."

## No. 180 Bear Dance Song

eʔeyâ?è:ya? e:yâ?e:ya: [- ...ya?a] e:yâ?e:h̃ . . . . 22  
 (vocal)

## No. 181 Bear Dance Song

ts:-sari:-mma?mma?cɛi-ci-gay-a [- -gaɪ-h̃] è:ya è:ya?è:  
 black-dog-woman-dim-be-while? (vocal)  
 "When she is a little black dog-woman."

Annotation:

- "Song of Arizona Paiutes who learned bear dance [rest illegible]"

## No. 182 Medicine Song

niâ-rf            á:-ni            tɪvath̃-kʷatʔi:-go -ñh  
 wind-USP that-do happen-go-when-like?  
 "Wind, when it has started,"

tɪvʷɪppɪɾ-ša?            pa-mɛnʔnɛsiʔi-kʷat-ŋ [ ppa-]  
 earth-but water-turn upside down-go-fut  
 "Earth with water [will] be turned over."



## No. 185 Round Dance Song

qíma-pam?pampa-munci:

strange/other-waters-mountain

Strangers' water-mountain,

qíma-pám?pápa-munci

strange/other-waters-mountain

strangers' water-mountain,

níva-vá-u<sup>h</sup>y<sup>x</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>á-mi-mpan?

snow-water-canyon-go-hab-fut

The (melting) snow-rivulets will flow down, the snow-rivulets will flow down.

níva-vá-u<sup>h</sup>y<sup>x</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>á-mi-mpan?

snow-water-canyon-go-hab-fut

Prose:

qímá-va:-mmuncc [- -ppa:-]

"stranger-water-mt.

nívá-va-u<sup>h</sup>y<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>y</sup>a-mi-mpa<sup>h</sup> [- -h<sup>w</sup>y<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>y</sup>a-]

snow-streams flow from (melting) from it"

Annotation:

- "Composed by yíngq<sup>w</sup>ass "Poreupine Tail" of qana?ááaricu/<sup>h</sup>y baid (> ááaricu) of Paiutes."

Linguistic Notes:

- "q<sup>w</sup>iyamuncc [- -muncc] = 'oak mt.' (where East Fork is); yíw<sup>w</sup>mmuncc = 'pine mt.' (between Cottonwood and Indian Pasture); p<sup>h</sup>y<sup>h</sup>k<sup>y</sup>ammuncc = 'rock mt.' (below Indian Pasture); muncc = flat mt. with 3 steep sides and gradual approach on another."
- "paó<sup>h</sup>k<sup>y</sup>ammupa<sup>h</sup> = water is flowing down steep side of mt."

## No. 186 Ghost Dance

ó:wini ó:winni . . . . ó:winnó:

(vocables)

## No. 187 Ghost Dance

ó:wiyahain? ó:wíya hó:wiyahain? . . . .

(vocables)

## No. 188 Ghost Dance

ma-má:ndo:wa? [- yma-, - ...nto:wa]

that-onto

"On to that,"

ma-ma:nto:wa? [- ...wə]

that-onto

"On to that,"

wiyambi-garɪ-rɪ:

red berry bush-sit-USP=obl

"red-berry (sp.?) knoll"

wiyambi-garɪ-rɪ:

red berry bush-sit=USP=obl 24

"red-berry knoll."

Prose:

ma-mantuxxʷa

wiyampi-ɣʷari-rɪʰ

"on to that

red-berry (sp.?) knoll"

No. 189 Medicine Song

tá ti: tá ti:, ta ti: tauʔo:ɣʰ . . . .

(vocables)

Annotation:

- "Sung formerly by old medicine-man wičáʷɪɾ = 'Calf of the leg' = 'his own' (as name); wičáʷɪ = somebody's calf (now dead)."

No. 190 Medicine Song

amaʔ aci: ʔi: ʔi: . . . . i

(vocables)

Annotation:

- "Sung by soi-disant doctor Bush-head of Kanab band." 25

No. 191 Medicine Song

qayá: ʔyaya[ʔ] yáqɔyaya:ʔ [qa]yaya . . . .

(vocables)

Annotation:

- "Sung by má:qšaɣʷarɪʰ "Green-?" [ma:-šaɣʷaxa-ri, plant-green/blue-USP, 'green'] of St. George band, used to live around Trumbull Mt."



## No. 192 Ghost Dance

qʷananci-vʔaiva-ma.yo.<sup>h</sup> [- -yʔaiva=]  
 eagle-mountain-off of  
 "From on the eagle mountain,"

qʷananci-vʔaiva-ma.yo.<sup>h</sup> 26  
 eagle-mountain-off of  
 "From on the eagle mountain."

Prose:

qʷanānci-vʔaiva-matʰyʉ [- qʷʔan...]  
 "from on the eagle mountain"

## No. 193 Ghost Dance

qaiʋa-raǵá:-vɿ                      qaiʋa-raǵa:-xxɿ [- -vɿ]  
 mountain-plateau-through      mountain-plateau-through  
 Moving through the mountain plateau, moving through the mountain plateau.

yini-ga-nt              oŋʷa              tacciqʷa-re -ya [- -re ʰʔa]  
 crown-has-USP he=inv=nom      peeps out-come-while  
 "[The] crowned one, he peeps out now and then as he goes."

Linguistic Notes:

- "qaiʋaraǵa:-xxɿ = thru mt. plateau; qaiʋaraǵa.vɿ = mt. plateau; ʰqʰǵa.vɿ = table-land; ʰqʰǵa:yaŋtʰ = spread out flat."
- "yiniyaŋtʰ = having crown of head; yini-vɿ = crown."
- "ʰqʰǵa:ciqqʷa = he peeps out, is seen appearing like peeping. tacciqʷa(ʰvɿnʰ) [- -taci...] = he peeps out while walking along."

## No. 194 Ghost Dance

tori:-mba:-nci-n || 27  
 ?-spring-dim-like?  
 "? little spring"

tossqʰ-qari-gi-na:-ni                      tossa  
 white-sit-come-?-like                      white  
 "White - he is coming to sit down," white.

Annotations:

- "Shoshone."
- "Sung also in Kaibab country."

siya-y<sup>Wi</sup>-na [-y<sup>Wi</sup>-] siyʔo-y<sup>Wi</sup>-nna...  
slide come-? slide-come-?  
Coming sliding, coming sliding.

• *siyʔoɣʷuŋʰa* | *siyʔu...* = coming sliding (glass, stones, snow, ice); *siʔyʊgʷatʰ* = to slide; *siʔyʊqɣʰwɛ* = slide, slip."

ganjanganjanganjanganjangan to:ro.andʔi: tiv<sup>W</sup>aavazo:anna<sup>h</sup> [- ...vaso:...] á:yo:anna . . .  
(text not glossed by Sapir; appears to be comprised of vocables or possibly Shoshone)

- "Shoshone."
- "Sung also in Kaibab country."

siyóná:vi alyo:we:wa<sup>h</sup> || . . . .

• "Walapais then came to Cedar City about 1892 for ghost dance; last ghost ... [remainder illegible]" 28

```
innaando:a sigigun?na:
innaando:a sigigun?na:
mta vba sisainna[:]aa
mta vba sisainna[:]aa 29
```

- "Sung at Cedar City."

No. 199 Walapai Round Ghost Dance

:nnaɪdo:a siʔɛ:

:nnaɪdo:a siʔɛ:

yá:nʔnaɪdo:ŋ [- ...do:ŋ] qaramʔɪlɪŋɛ

yá:nʔnaɪdo:ŋ [- ...do:ŋ] qaramʔɪlɪŋɛ. 30

Annotation:

- "Cedar City."

No. 200 Round Dance

t[ɔ]ivʷa-ntʔoya:-nɔi:-royá:-nɔi:-ma:yò:h  
 pinyon-mountain-dim-mountain-dim-from off  
 From off of little pinyon mountain, little mountain,

t[ɔ]ivʷa-ntʔoya:-nɔi:-royá:-nɔi:-ma:yò:h  
 pinyon-mountain-dim-mountain-dim-from off  
 From off of little pinyon mountain, little mountain,

ɕəpáɣna-ro:ya || ji: i:  
 cloud mountain (vocables)  
 Cloud mountain

ɕəpáɣna-ro:ya || ji: i: 31  
 cloud mountain (vocables)  
 Cloud mountain

Annotation:

"Shoshone; no Ghost Dance."

Linguistic Note:

- "toyáɣi = mountain (Shosh[one]); tivʷaɬɕ = pine-nut (Shosh[one])"

No. 201 Bird Song

aɪta:yò:wá: yò:wé:li:

ʰaɪta:yò:we: yò:wé:li:

áiyo: wé:mi: sa:yo: we:li: [- ...li:]

áiyo: wé:mi: sa:yo: we:li: [- ...li:] 32

## No. 202 Song of Greeting to White Horse

ʔʰʰsa-qaava-a-ččʰ [- tšš...] a:ŋa:  
 white-horse-have-person art=vis  
 White Horse,

ʔʰʰsa-qaava-a-ččʰ [- tšš...] a:ŋa:  
 white-horse-have-person art=vis  
 White Horse,

navaššu-aŋa-raml tiviv<sup>W</sup>tr-ččaʔál-ŋ<sup>W</sup>trnitr-nci:-va<sup>h</sup> [- tiviv<sup>W</sup>...]  
 just for fun-3vis-1dual friend-grasp-stand-dim-fut  
 "Out of pure friendship" we two shall stand and clasp hands as friends,

naváššu-aŋa-raml tiviv<sup>W</sup>tr-ččaʔál-ŋ<sup>W</sup>trnitr-nci:-va<sup>h</sup> [- tiviv<sup>W</sup>tr...]  
 just for fun-3vis-1dual friend-grasp-stand-dim-fut  
 "Out of pure friendship" we two shall stand and clasp hands as friends.

yɔʔɔ:v<sup>W</sup>lnni. [- yuu...] yɔʔɔ:v<sup>W</sup>lnni: ha:ŋa: [- haa:]  
 hail [interjection] hail [interjection] he=vis=nom  
 Hail! Hail!

yɔʔɔ:v<sup>W</sup>lnni. [- yuu...] yɔʔɔ:v<sup>W</sup>lnni: ha:ŋa: [- haa:] <sup>33</sup>  
 hail [interjection] hail [interjection] he=vis=nom  
 Hail! Hail!

Annotation:

- "This was an old Indian custom in greeting: to grasp each other's hand but not necessarily shake. Called tiviv<sup>W</sup>tr-ččaʔál-<sup>h</sup> [friend-grasp-pres]."

Linguistic Notes:

- "raml = lit. 'we 2' but not really restricted to 2."
- "[yɔʔɔ:v<sup>W</sup>lnni: =] not regular word, about equivalent to 'hail!' or 'hurrah!'"
- "[naváššu = ] 'Just for fun' = 'without evil purpose, out of pure friendship.'"

## No. 203 Scalp Dance Song (Ute)

he: hYáʔaʔ [- hé:aʔa] hé:ra: he:ʔo:, hWe:, hYa:ʔo:,  
 (vocables)

Annotation:

- "End: hWe:raʔoi<sup>h</sup>."



## No. 204 Scalp Song

aċ [- áu...] kkʷa-a      h̥imi      aroʔ      piyaʔa-ŋqi-čč-kkʷa-a      h̥aoo ho oo h̥yaoo  
34

say that=quot=nom-inter 2s=obl bc easy-indir-dim pres past inter (vocables)  
"Was it easy for you (to overcome us)?"

Prose:

aċ kkʷaʔ imi aroʔa piya:-ŋqi-čč-kkʰʷ [- piyáva-...]

Annotations:

- "Meaning ironical, addressed to scalp. 'Was it easy for you to overcome us? we overcame you.'"
- "Version was sung by old Kaibab woman named th̥ʰəciayən̥h̥i [- yel-] or th̥ʰəciáo for short. She was [a] brave woman & introduced words into preceding scalp song which she, having only heard it once, transmogrified to suit herself."

Linguistic Note:

- "piyáva-ŋqi-yi-aqqʰ = it is easy."

## No. 205 Round Dance

pará:ŋWandá: [- ...tá:]      tatávi-kʷat-na-n̥h̥  
pumpkin      strike=iter-perf-OSP-1s  
The pumpkin which I struck repeatedly.

Prose

paráŋWan̥h̥      th̥ʰəh̥táyikʷaunn̥h̥i [- ...ni]  
"pumpkin      which I strike several times"

Annotation:

- "Composed by pi̯i̯y̯w̯i̯r̯ 'Fur' of Paiute band n[orth] of Cedar city; band: = parannayic̥h̥ people who stick feet in water [the rest is illegible]."35

## No. 206 Bird Song

e[:]mqole: covʷemaiyo [- cove...] e:mqole:

á:ayo wayo:oonqo we:li: yaʔáayo: [- yaʔáayo:] wayoonqo we:li: . . . .

## No. 207 Bird Song

[ʔ]umáqqale:me: [- i...] yomáttunaqqaqqa:we: [- ...to:w] . . . .

## SONG TEXT NOTES

1. (No. 13) Sapir also noted in the version sent to Harrington (Sapir ms. 1910b, in Harrington 1985: RI. 171, Fr. 0619): "nug<sup>W</sup>uwi substitutes for nug<sup>W</sup>uci. Sounds decidedly different from rest; may be distorted Shoshonean."

2. (No. 17) This verse was not translated by Sapir, although it is clearly Southern Paiute or perhaps other Numic. One possible analysis of this verse is as follows:

agga[-]turussa [- -to:ro:ʒa]      yo:wai-ru-y<sup>W</sup>ai-na-ni [- yu:waro:..., - ...y<sup>W</sup>aiŋam]  
 red[-]white=dist [with reduplication] level/flatland-make-go-OSP-like  
 That which was made into a plain colored red and scattered white.

3. (No. 35) This note refers to the last line of text above; cf. Sapir's note in the version included with his ms. 1910b letter to Harrington (in Harrington 1985: RI. 171, Fr. 0628): "Some repetitions end in: naŋawe: yo: tŋaŋam."

4. (No. 36) This note follows the last line in the text and may have been meant to indicate that this line should follow a pattern of repetition similar to that of the previous line.

5. (No. 47) Cf. Sapir's note in the Harrington letter version (Sapir ms. 1910b, in Harrington 1985: RI. 171, Fr. 0630): "At last repetition of song iyamʔasu: wani:ŋum is substituted for awi:ʔya:ga:ni:ŋum."

6. (No. 53) Although not noted so by Sapir, this song text is almost certainly in S. Paiute. Its text can be analyzed as follows:

paa-roʒai-ya      ma-va-ŋ<sup>W</sup>itux<sup>W</sup>a      narix<sup>W</sup>ina-mai-x<sup>W</sup>ai-ŋ<sup>W</sup>itux<sup>W</sup>a  
 water-white-obl there-to-in direction of      sacred power-find-go-in direction of  
 Go to the Virgin River to seek sacred power.

7. (No. 54) This song text appears to be in Numic, though not in modern S. Paiute.

8. (No. 74) Sapir notes (ms. 1910a, in the typescript catalog of cylinders, p. 4) that "This song could be sung last instead of XXVib [i.e. No. 46; the Roman numeral refers to the cylinder recording]; said to be 'puzzle' song, for melody is such that singers could never tell when the song leader would go back to beginning of melodic period."

9. (No. 82) This appears to mean that q<sup>W</sup>ai is pronounced q<sup>W</sup>aiʔ<sub>i</sub> on the final repetition of this verse (cf. a similar annotation in Sapir ms. 1910b, in Harrington 1985:RI. 171, Fr. 0621).

10. (No. 127) Sapir notes (ms. 1910a, in the typescript catalog of cylinders, p. 6) "sung with peculiar strain in voice."

11. (No. 149) The enclitic -ʔmi- is third person dual animate rather than first person dual as Sapir apparently assumed here (cf. Sapir 1930d:183).

12. (No. 149) The illegible passage in this annotation can be recovered in Sapir's notes elsewhere (ms. 1910a, in the typescript catalog of cylinders, p.7): "song composed by girl to whom Indian young man had proposed to run away with to Salt Lake City."

13. (No. 156) Sapir translated only *-raaana* in this line of the song text, the preceding words appear to be Southern Ute or San Juan Paiute dialectal forms. The strophic pattern in this song (AABB) follows the cylinder recording. Sapir wrote the first verse twice but the second verse only once.

14. (No. 157) This strophic pattern (AABB) follows the cylinder recording. Sapir wrote each verse only once. This last verse can plausibly be reanalyzed as:

to:ú-šš	á:-yo:wai-nna	to:umbe:	á:-yowai-nna <sup>h</sup>
sky-just	silently-sit-OSP	sky=obl	silently-sit-OSP
The sky [it is] that is silently sitting, the sky [it is] that is silently sitting			

15. (No. 161) This strophic pattern (AABB) follows the cylinder recording. Sapir wrote each verse only once.

16. (No. 170) This strophic pattern (AABB) follows the cylinder recording. Sapir wrote each verse only once.

17. (No. 171) On the cylinder recording, this verse is sung four times in an AABB pattern, i.e., the first two repetitions with one melody and the second two repetitions with a second melody.

18. (No. 173) This strophic pattern (AABB') follows the cylinder recording. Sapir wrote the first line only one time.

19. (No. 176) This text was published among a group of myth-recitative song texts in Sapir's grammar of Southern Paiute (1930e: 482)

20. (No. 176) Except for *yara-* this last line was not translated by Sapir.

21. (No. 179) This note apparently refers to use of the diminutive with verbs whose reference is to the action of a child (cf. Sapir 1930d:171-72).

22. (No. 180) On the cylinder recording, this verse is sung four times in an AABB strophic pattern: the first two repetitions with one melody and the second two repetitions with a second melody.

23. (No. 182) Sapir added elsewhere (ms. 1910a, in the typescript catalog of cylinders, p. 9), "but was not considered very powerful."

24. (No. 188) The term *wiyampi* in this text probably refers to *Mahonia fremontii* (Kelly 1964:43). The strophic pattern in this song (AABB) follows the cylinder recording. Sapir wrote the second verse only once in his notes, although he repeated the first verse.

25. (No. 190) Sapir noted elsewhere (ms. 1910a, in the typescript catalog of cylinders, p. 9): "Sung by Paiute Indian of Kanab named 'Bush-head' who claimed to be medicine man."

26. (No. 192) The second line is sung on the cylinder recording with a different melody than the first line.

27. (No. 194) Compare the first morpheme with that in Song No. 111, in both cases, the first morpheme appears to be a Shoshone form, and possibly the same form. Thus, the missing segment in No. 111 may well be [t-].

28. (No. 197) Sapir noted elsewhere (ms. 1910a, in the typescript catalog of cylinders, p. 10): "Walapai round-dance song sung by Walapais in 1892 who came to Cedar City for last great ghost dance."

29. (No. 198) This strophic pattern (AABB) follows the cylinder recording. Sapir wrote each verse only once.

30. (No. 199) This strophic pattern (AABB) follows the cylinder recording. Sapir wrote each verse only once.

31. (No. 200) This strophic pattern (AABB) follows the cylinder recording. Sapir wrote each verse only once.

32. (No. 201) This strophic pattern (AABB) follows the cylinder recording. Sapir wrote the first verse twice but the second verse only once.

33. (No. 202) While not easily translatable into English in this context, ha:ɽa: 'he/she=vis=nom' is here used as a term of address, rather like ese/esa are in colloquial southwest Spanish. This strophic pattern (AABBCC) follows the cylinder recording. Sapir wrote each verse only once.

34. (No. 204) This song is sung with the same melody as the previous song.

35. (No. 205) These are the people of Pahrnagat Valley, Nevada (cf. Sapir 1931k:597), actually west of Cedar City, Utah.



## The Tony Tillohash Wax Cylinder Recordings and Jacob Sapir's Musical Transcriptions

Thomas Vennum, Jr.

The large number of Southern Paiute songs, most of which in fact are not in the Southern Paiute language, which Edward Sapir recorded from Tony Tillohash in 1910 comprise the largest known historical collection of Great Basin music by a single performer. The more than 120 songs certainly rival in magnitude and depth a similar collection by A. L. Kroeber, who recorded 55 songs from the Northern Paiute singer Gilbert Natches in 1914 (Vennum 1986: 686). The early date and wide range of genres represented in Tillohash's sample, including songs typically borrowed from neighboring tribal groups, make the corpus an extremely valuable one. It is particularly so since little has been collected from the Southern Paiute, leaving a large gap in our knowledge of music from that area of the Great Basin.

Alas, the condition of the wax cylinder recordings makes it nearly impossible to glean much, if anything, of the music. It is fortunate for posterity that Jacob Sapir left behind his musical transcriptions based on the recordings; still, it is difficult to assess their accuracy, given the poor quality of the recordings. Wax cylinders by their nature are extremely fragile, and in fact will gradually self-destruct if not properly cared for. This collection languished for years in a basement, where the effects of mold, acidic containers, and other factors rendered it nearly impossible for us to hear the musical programs they once contained. That this is characteristic of old cylinder collections has been aptly stated by the Library of Congress (see Federal Cylinder Project 1984). Another cause of damage to cylinders was that many collectors played them back repeatedly in order to create a musical transcription. The pressure of the stylus in the grooves each time it was played removed a small amount of the program. Consequently, like images in faded photographs, some of the earliest cylinders in fact contain no sound at all — such as many collected by Frances Densmore among the Northern Ute (Densmore 1914–1916). Inaudibility is the unfortunate condition of the Tillohash recordings. When they were transferred to tape in 1984

at the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University, the engineer characterized their recording quality in almost every case as "very poor" or "unusable".

At least some things can be said, however, about the recordings and Sapir's transcriptions. Beyond the "roan," or mourning, songs, which seem to have been restricted to the Southern Paiute in 1910, the genres represented are fairly representative of Great Basin music generally, showing borrowings from the Ute (Bear Dance songs), Paiute, and Walapai (see Vennum 1986). Tillohash's use of the rasp to accompany Bear Dance songs is traditional; however, the large number of songs indicated to have been accompanied by rattle seems unusual. Stylistically, those recordings which are slightly audible seem to contain the typical paired phrase structure and limited vocal range of much Great Basin music.

Sapir's transcriptions are typical of the period when ethnomusicology was just beginning to emerge as a discipline. Most musicians of the time who turned their attention to musics of non-Western cultures had been thoroughly trained in Western classical traditions, and in certain respects, Sapir's transcriptions represent the ethnocentric bias one would expect. Songs are transposed into Western tonalities, with appropriate key signatures assigned to them. For example, "Roan Song No. 1 and No. 2" are both written as though they were in C minor, that is, a B-flat appears in the signature together with A-flat and E-flat. Since the tone B never occurs in the melody as transcribed by Sapir, we have no way of knowing whether it would have been flat or natural, even if it were part of the tonal structure of the melody. These minor criticisms simply reflect the fact that we have become more sophisticated and less ethnocentric as scholarship in non-Western music has progressed. (Some ethnomusicologists even question altogether the value of transcriptions using Western notation.)

Another point to be raised concerns Sapir's tempo indications and the range of the voice. It is virtually impossible to say whether or not the pitches represented in the transcriptions are as they were sung: i.e., in that particular range, higher, or lower. Because of the nature of the Edison Home Phonograph recorder, which was spring-driven, one needs to know the speed at which the recording was made and whether the same speed was used in transcription. Densmore took the "scientific" precaution of sounding a pitchpipe onto the recording before the singer began, so that she could later adjust the speed of the recording. Sapir does show his sensitivity to multiple meters in non-Western music, and

his notation of the melodic rhythm appears credible to me, particularly his frequent use of triplets — a rhythmic pattern dominant in Great Basin music, especially in songs of the Ghost and Round dances (see, for example, transcriptions in Vander 1988; also Vennun 1986: 699–704).

A question remains, however, concerning the range of Tillohash's voice. To this listener, the recordings sound as though they are played at slightly too fast a speed to jibe with the ranges shown in Sapir's transcriptions. (This may have happened when they were transferred in 1984.) Tillohash did in fact make recordings for other collectors later in his life. Willard Rhodes, some time after 1934, recorded a Paiute Coyote song, Mountain Sheep song, and a Round Dance song, in which Tillohash is the lead singer of a small group using drum accompaniment. Additionally, the group recorded several Paiute Hand Game songs, using the typical stick-on-log accompaniment (Library of Congress, AAFS L38, cuts A1, A2). The ranges of these melodies are considerably more restricted than those shown in Sapir's transcriptions and conform more to the Great Basin norm.

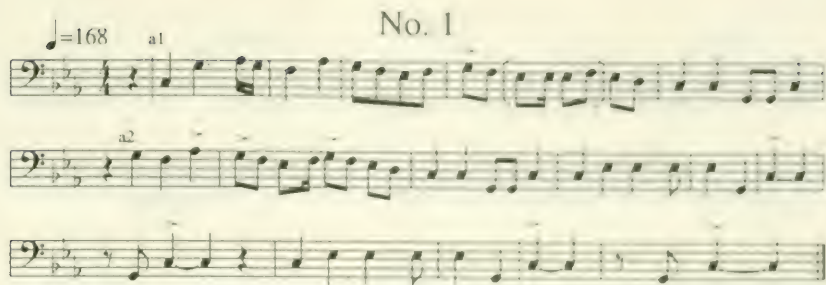
Despite these drawbacks and the sad condition of the original cylinders, this material remains important and useful. It is hoped that in time technology might enhance our ability to retrieve more program from deteriorated cylinders, through filtering out surface noise and perhaps, with laser techniques, "digging deeper" into the grooves to capture the actual musical sounds. In the meantime, the efforts of Jacob and Edward Sapir are to be applauded, containing as they do such rich ethnographic material about the contexts of the songs and some early attempts to represent them notationally.






No. 1

$\text{♩} = 168$  a1



a2



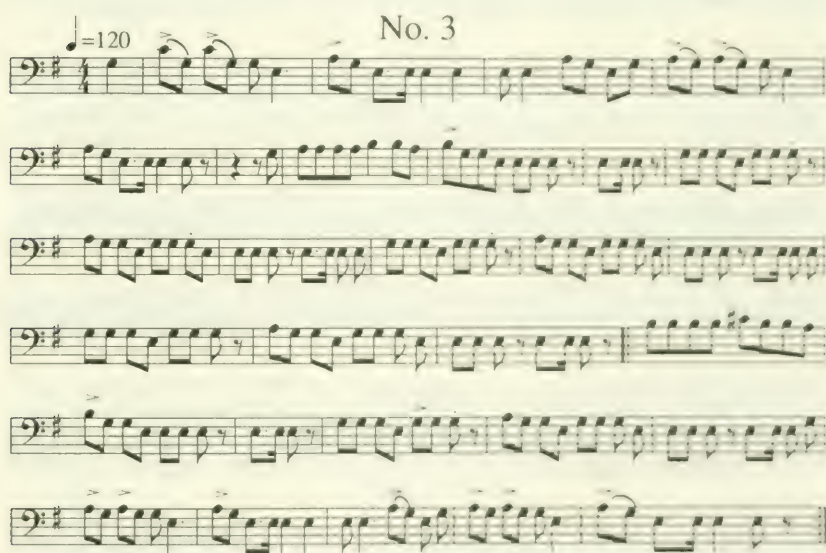
No. 2

$\text{♩} = 168$



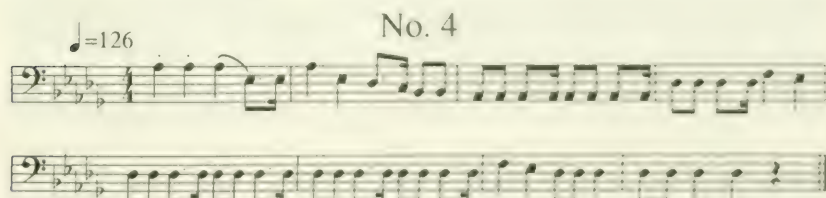
No. 3

$\text{♩} = 120$



No. 4

$\text{♩} = 126$



No. 5

$\text{♩} = 90$

$\text{♩} = 132$

No. 6

$\text{♩} = 132$

No. 7

$\text{♩} = 120$

No. 8

$\text{♩} = 140$

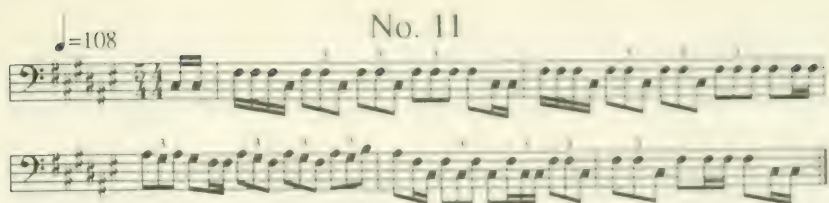
No. 9

$\text{♩} = 138$

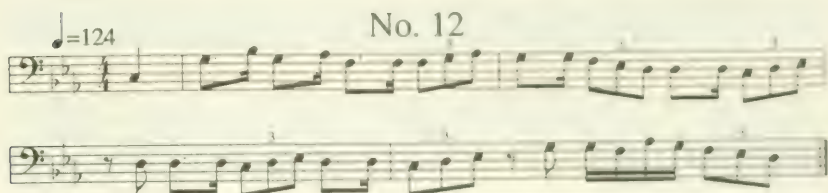
No. 10

$\text{♩} = 112$

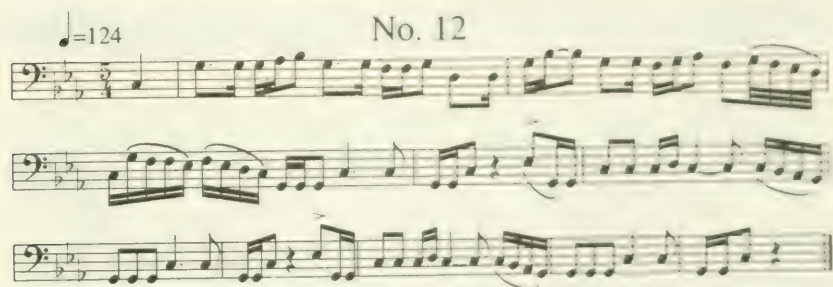
$\text{♩} = 108$  No. 11



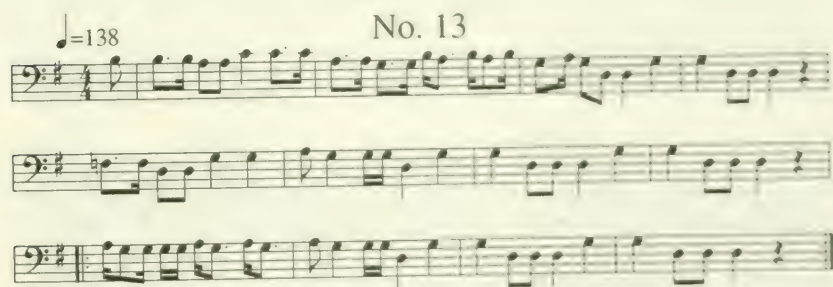
$\text{♩} = 124$  No. 12



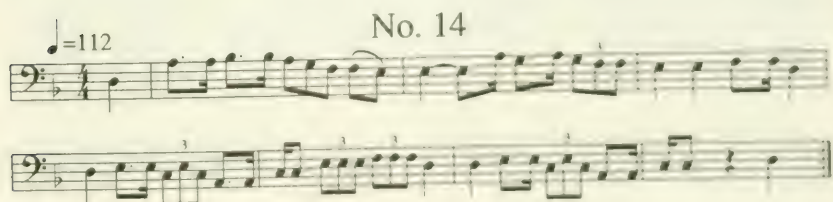
$\text{♩} = 124$  No. 12



$\text{♩} = 138$  No. 13



$\text{♩} = 112$  No. 14



## No. 16

$\text{♩} = 178$   
*rit*  
 $\text{♩} = 116$   
*rit*  
*a tempo*  
*rit*

## No. 17

$\text{♩} = 140$

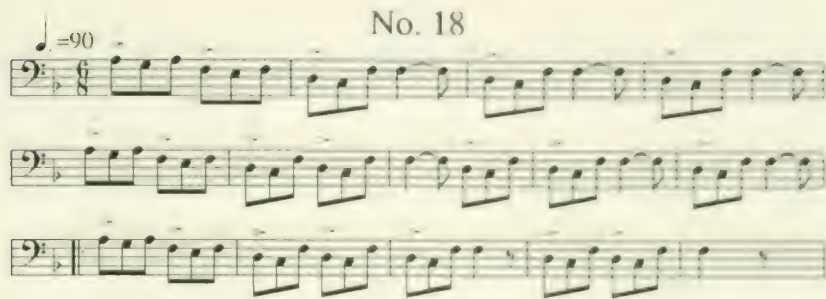
## No. 17

$\text{♩} = 140$



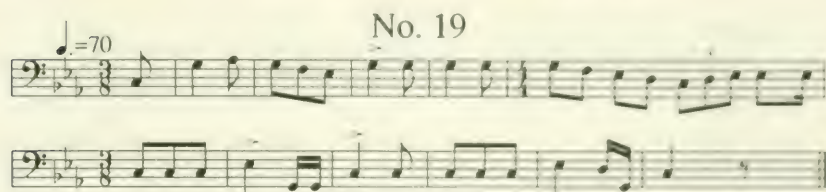
No. 18

$\text{♩} = 90$



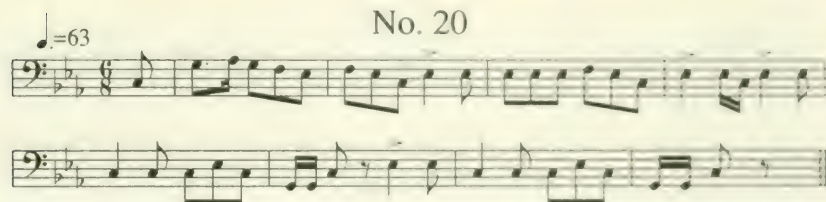
No. 19

$\text{♩} = 70$



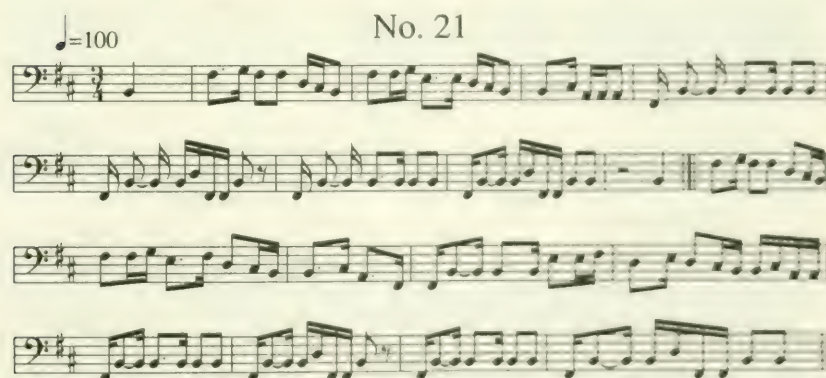
No. 20

$\text{♩} = 63$



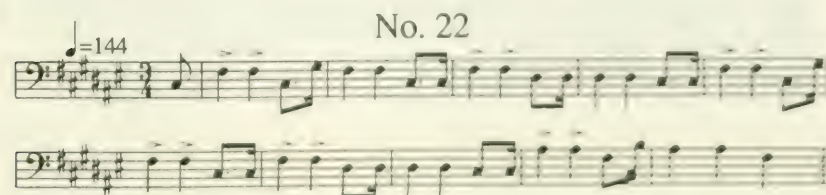
No. 21

$\text{♩} = 100$

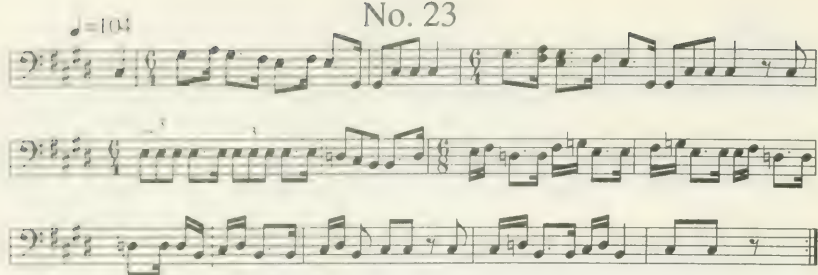


No. 22

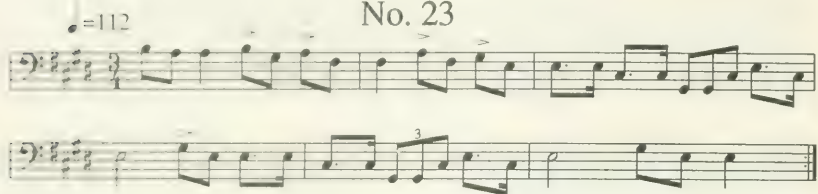
$\text{♩} = 144$



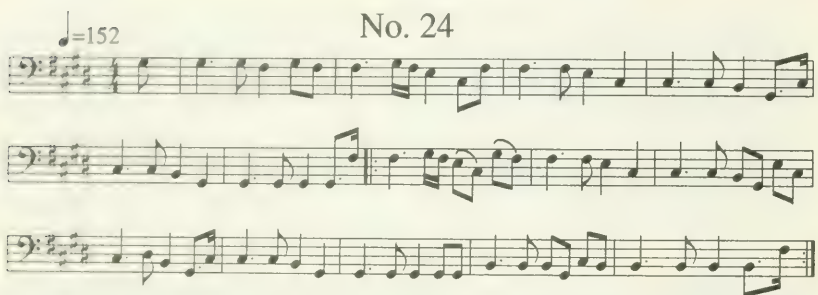
## No. 23



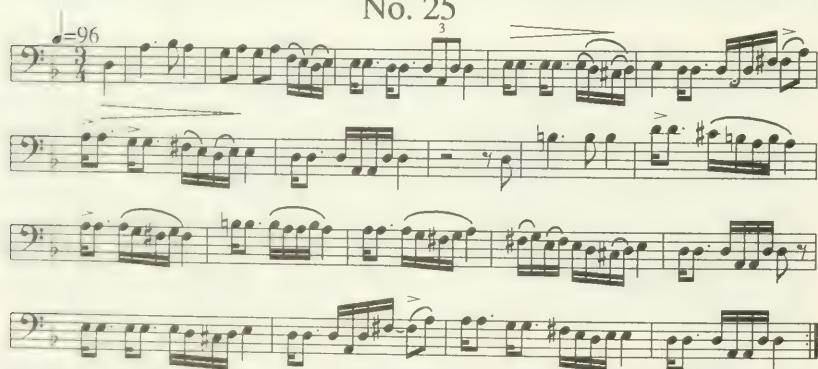
## No. 23



## No. 24



## No. 25



No. 26

$\text{♩} = 156$

No. 27

$\text{♩} = 160$

No. 28

$\text{♩} = 116$

No. 29

$\text{♩} = 76$        $\text{♩} = 120$

No. 30

$\text{♩} = 118$

No. 31

$\text{♩} = 112$

No. 32

$\text{♩} = 69$

No. 33

$\text{♩} = 60$

No. 34

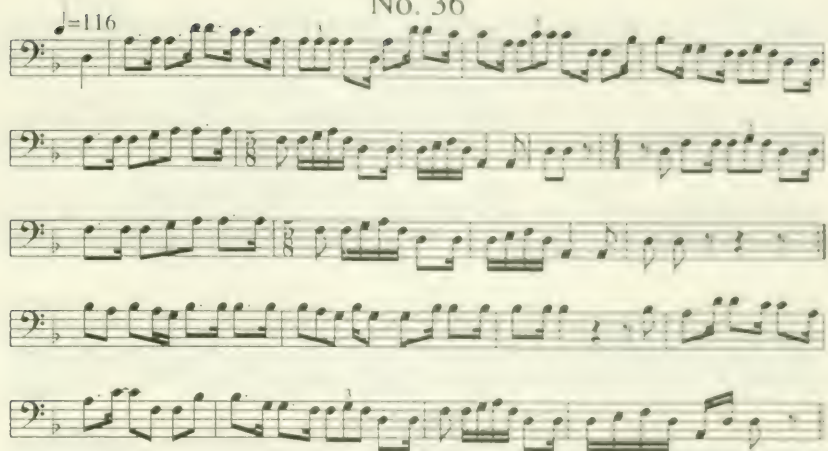
$\text{♩} = 58$

No. 35

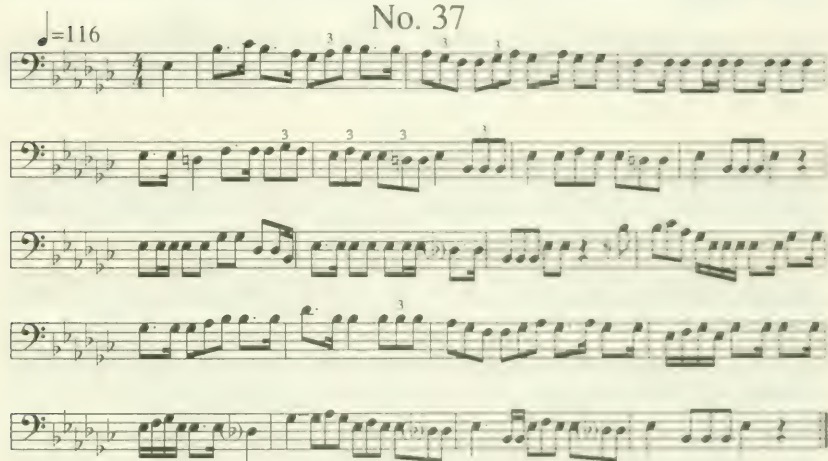
$\text{♩} = 160$



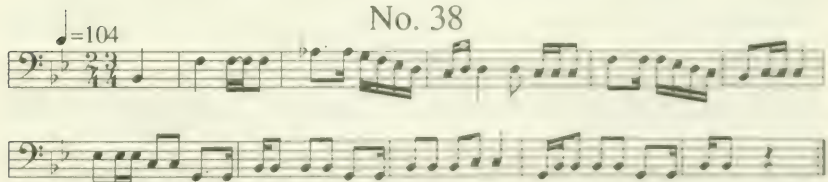
No. 36



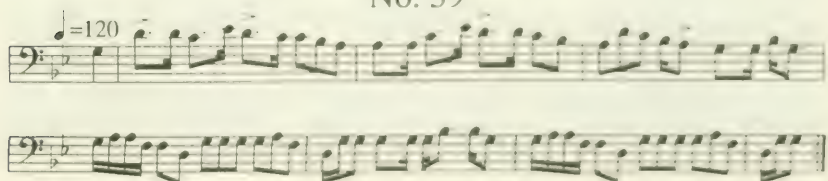
No. 37



No. 38



No. 39



No. 40

$\text{♩} = 126$

No. 41

$\text{♩} = 108$

No. 42

$\text{♩} = 63$

No. 43

$\text{♩} = 158$

No. 44

$\text{♩} = 160$

Two staves of music in 2/4 time. The upper staff contains a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, and the lower staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes.

No. 45

$\text{♩} = 69$

Two staves of music in 6/8 time. The upper staff features a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the lower staff has a more complex accompaniment with triplets and sixteenth notes.

No. 46

$\text{♩} = 69$

Two staves of music in 6/8 time. The upper staff has a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, and the lower staff provides a steady accompaniment with eighth notes.

No. 47

$\text{♩} = 162$

Two staves of music in 2/4 time. The upper staff contains a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, and the lower staff has a simple accompaniment with eighth notes.

No. 48

$\text{♩} = 96$

Two staves of music in 2/4 time. The upper staff features a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, and the lower staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes.

No. 49

$\text{♩} = 114$

No. 50

$\text{♩} = 104$

No. 53

$\text{♩} = 138$

No. 54

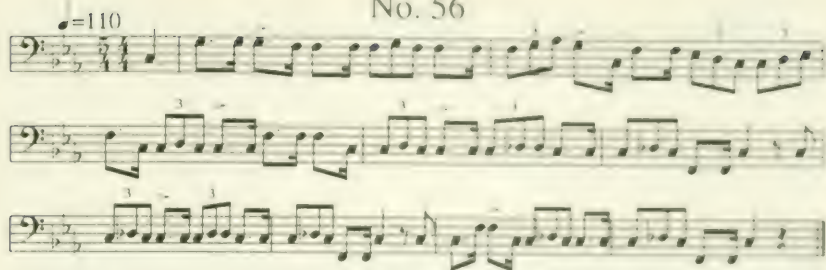
$\text{♩} = 63$

No. 55

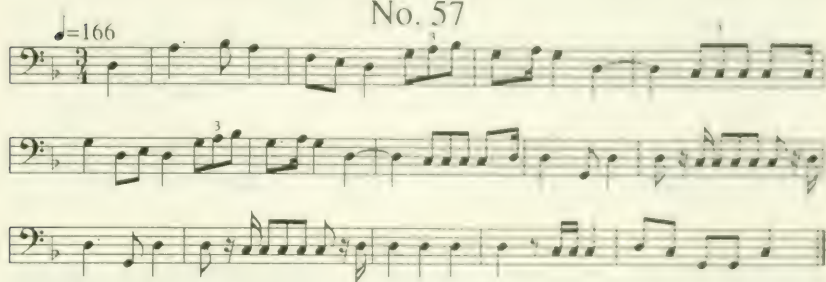
$\text{♩} = 80$



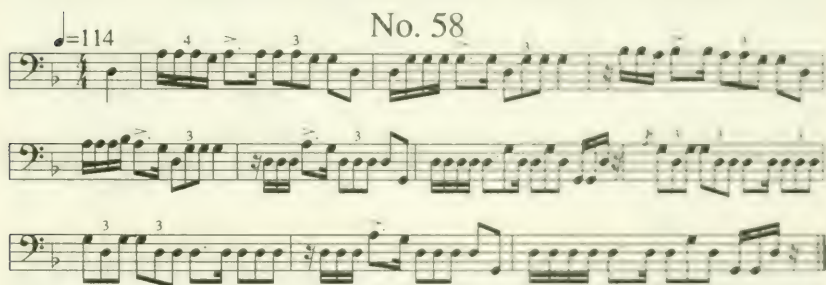
## No. 56



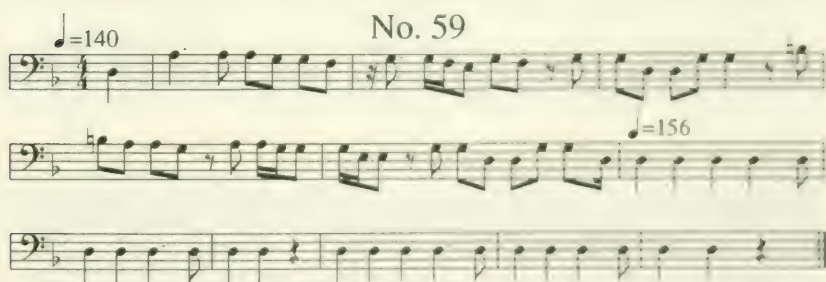
## No. 57



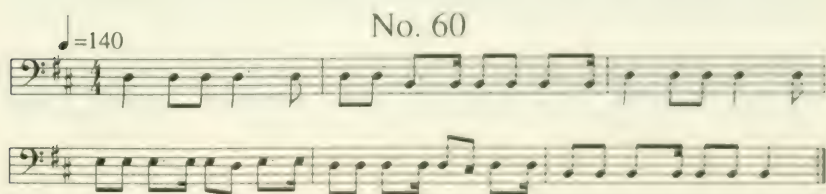
## No. 58



## No. 59

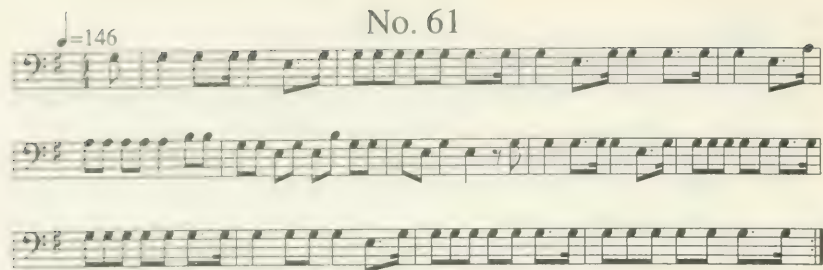


## No. 60



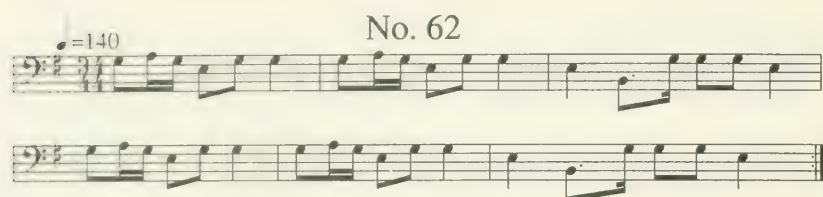
No. 61

$\text{♩} = 146$



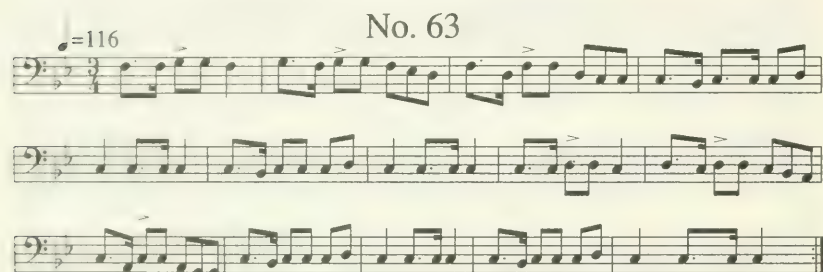
No. 62

$\text{♩} = 140$



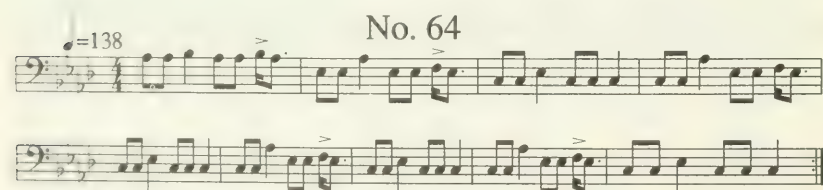
No. 63

$\text{♩} = 116$



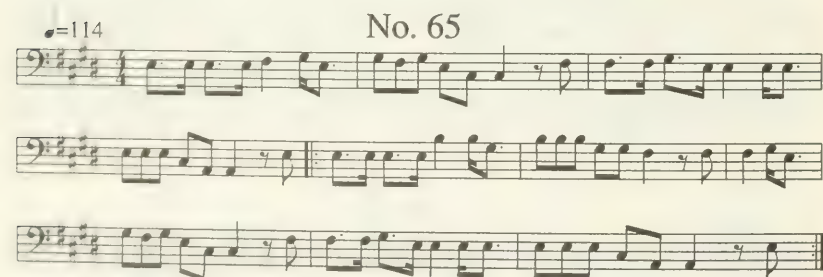
No. 64

$\text{♩} = 138$



No. 65

$\text{♩} = 114$



No. 66

$\text{♩} = 116$

No. 67

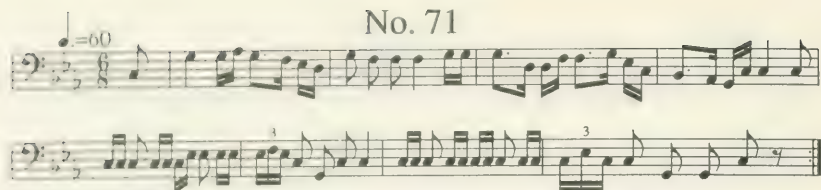
$\text{♩} = 124$

No. 69

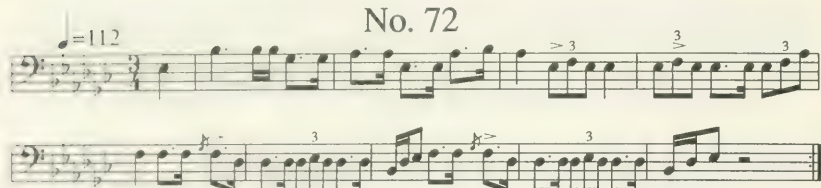
No. 70

$\text{♩} = 156$

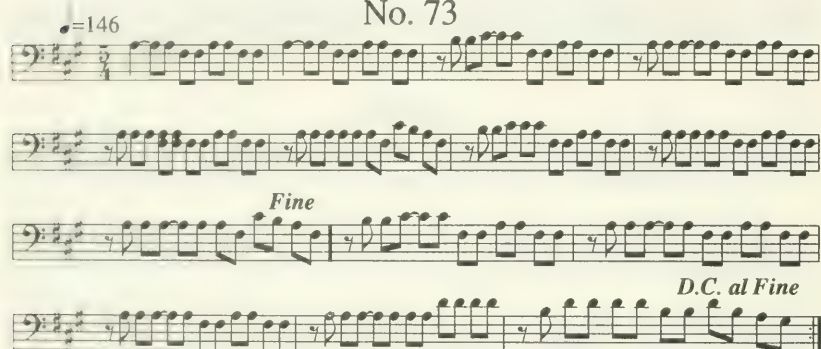
## No. 71



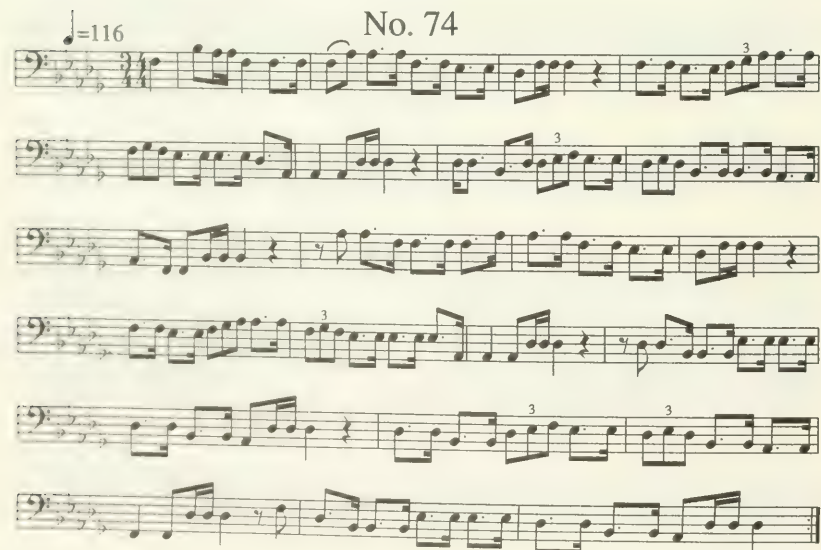
## No. 72



## No. 73

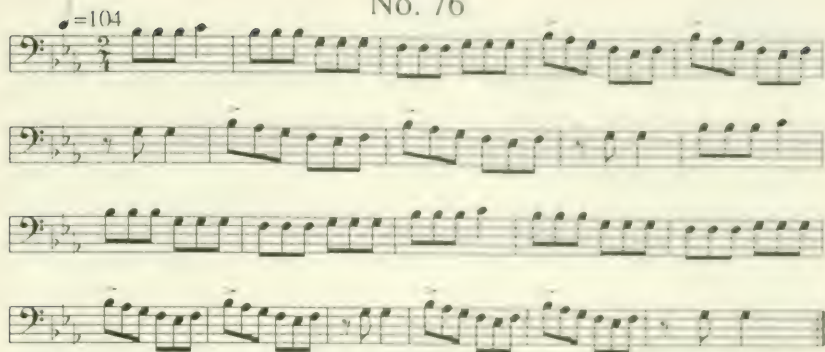


## No. 74

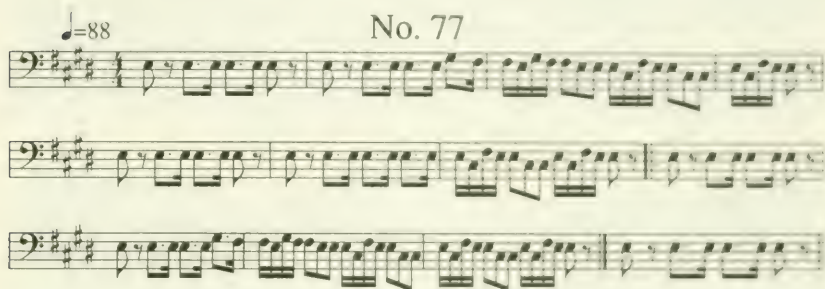




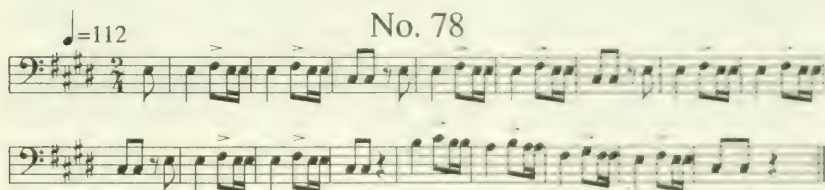
## No. 76



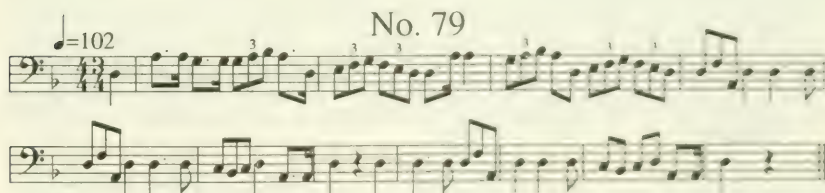
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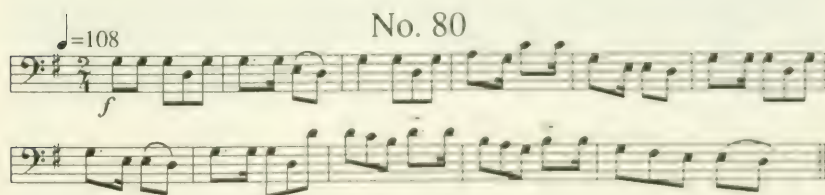
## No. 78



## No. 79

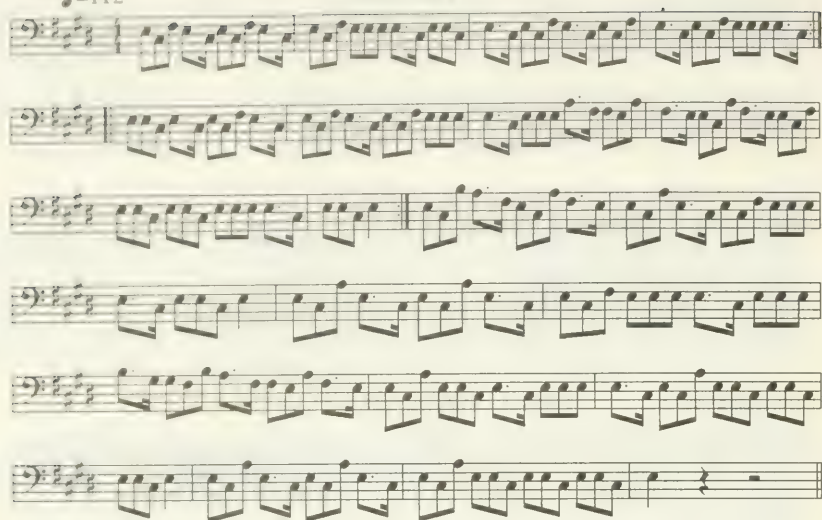


## No. 80



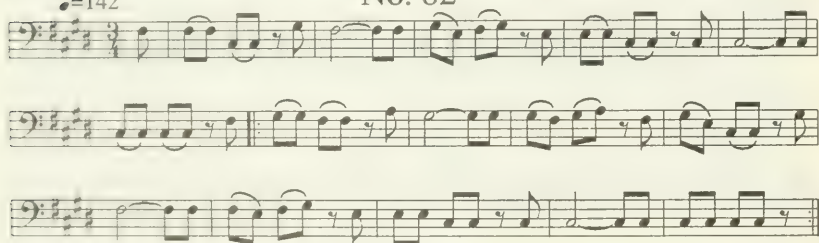
♩=112

## No. 81

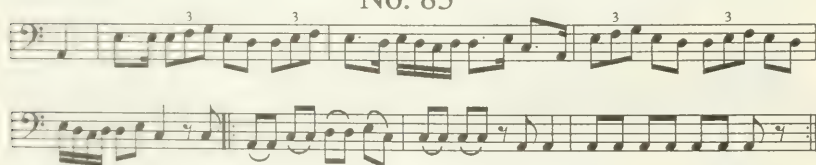


♩=142

## No. 82

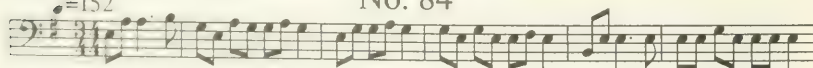


## No. 83

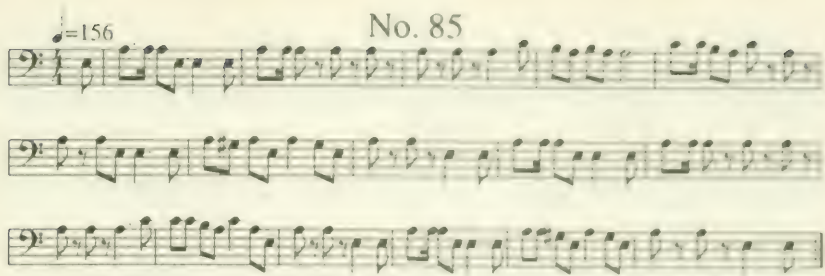


♩=152

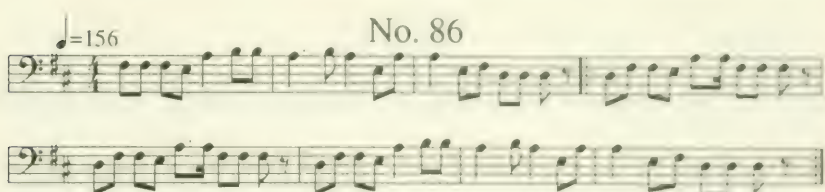
## No. 84



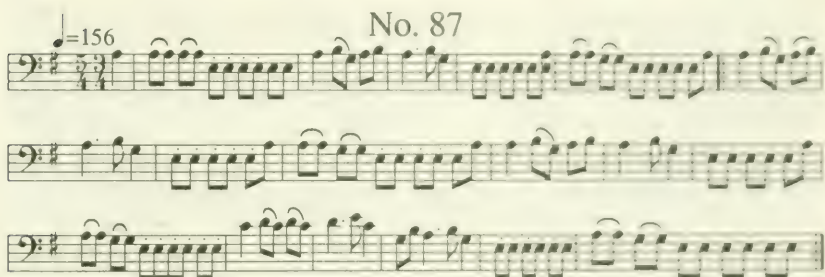
$\text{♩} = 156$  No. 85



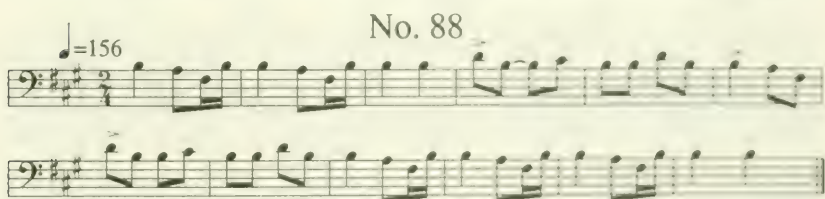
$\text{♩} = 156$  No. 86



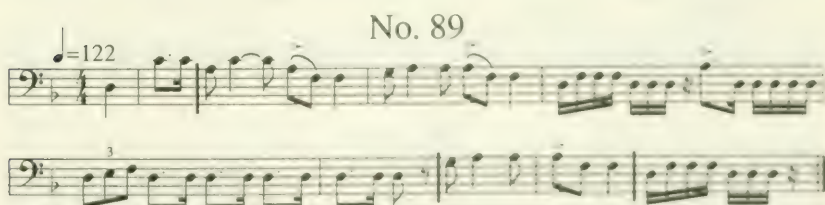
$\text{♩} = 156$  No. 87



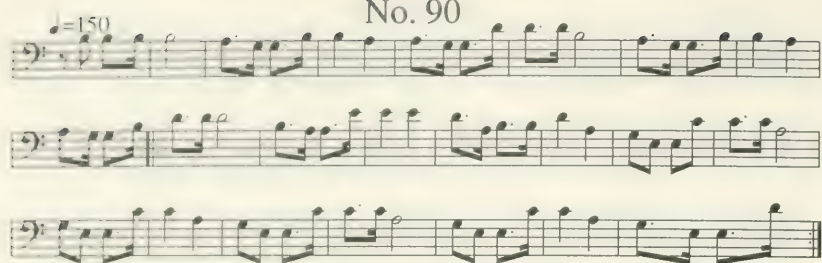
$\text{♩} = 156$  No. 88



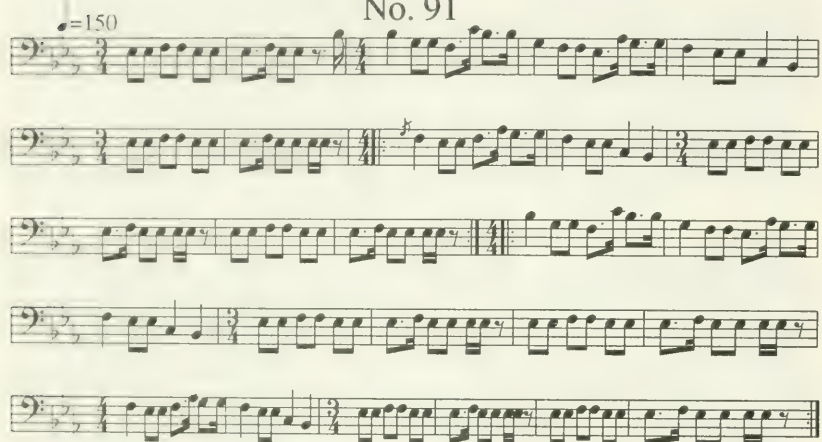
$\text{♩} = 122$  No. 89



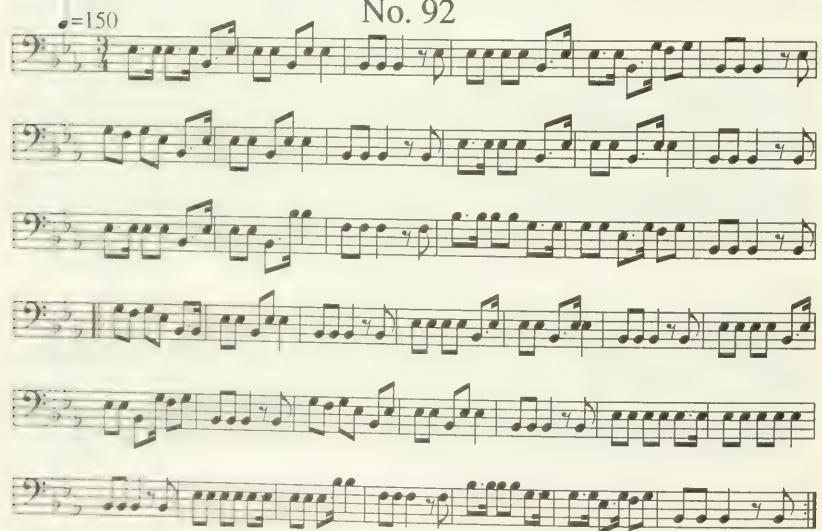
## No. 90



## No. 91



## No. 92





No. 93

$\text{♩} = 102$

This musical score for No. 93 consists of three staves. The first two staves are in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The third staff is in bass clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat major or D minor). The tempo is marked as 102 beats per minute, indicated by a quarter note symbol.

No. 94

$\text{♩} = 142$

This musical score for No. 94 consists of two staves. The first staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The second staff is in bass clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat major or D minor). The tempo is marked as 142 beats per minute, indicated by a quarter note symbol.

No. 95

$\text{♩} = 116$

This musical score for No. 95 consists of three staves. The first staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The second and third staves are in bass clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat major or D minor). The tempo is marked as 116 beats per minute, indicated by a quarter note symbol.

No. 97

$\text{♩} = 115$

This musical score for No. 97 consists of three staves. The first staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The second and third staves are in bass clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat major or D minor). The tempo is marked as 115 beats per minute, indicated by a quarter note symbol.

No. 98

$\text{♩} = 66$

This musical score for No. 98 consists of two staves. The first staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F# major or C# minor). The second staff is in bass clef with a key signature of two sharps (D major or B minor). The tempo is marked as 66 beats per minute, indicated by a quarter note symbol.

No. 99

$\text{♩} = 152$

This musical score for No. 99 consists of five staves of music. The time signature is 6/8, indicated by a quarter note followed by an equals sign and the number 152. The music is written in a single melodic line on a single staff, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and a repeat sign at the end of the fifth staff.

No. 100

$\text{♩} = 144$

This musical score for No. 100 consists of five staves of music. The time signature is 3/4, indicated by a quarter note followed by an equals sign and the number 144. The music is written in a single melodic line on a single staff, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and a repeat sign at the end of the fifth staff.

$\text{♩} = 160$  No. 101

Four measures of music in bass clef, 4/4 time, key of B-flat. The melody is written in a single staff.

$\text{♩} = 152$  No. 102

Four measures of music in bass clef, 4/4 time, key of B-flat. The melody is written in a single staff.

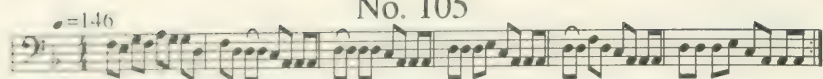
$\text{♩} = 108$  No. 103

Four measures of music in bass clef, 3/4 time, key of F-sharp. The melody is written in a single staff.

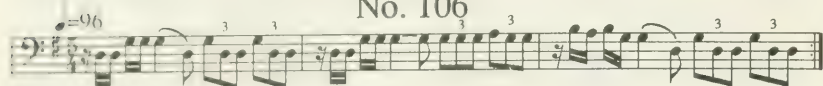
$\text{♩} = 146$  No. 104

Four measures of music in bass clef, 4/4 time, key of B-flat. The melody is written in a single staff.

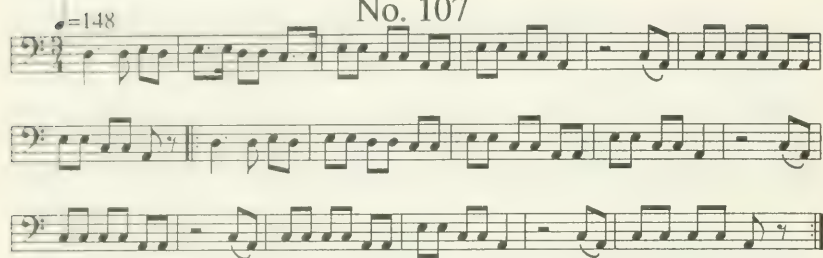
## No. 105



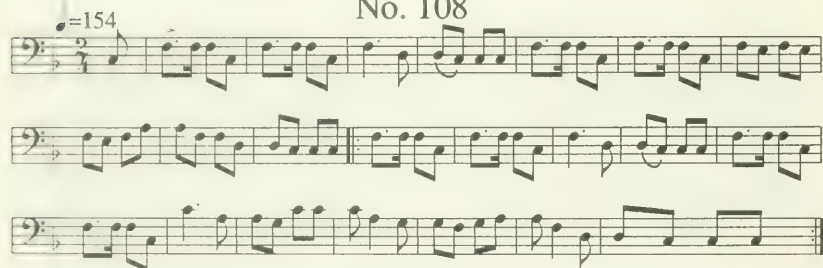
## No. 106



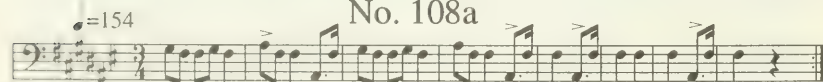
## No. 107



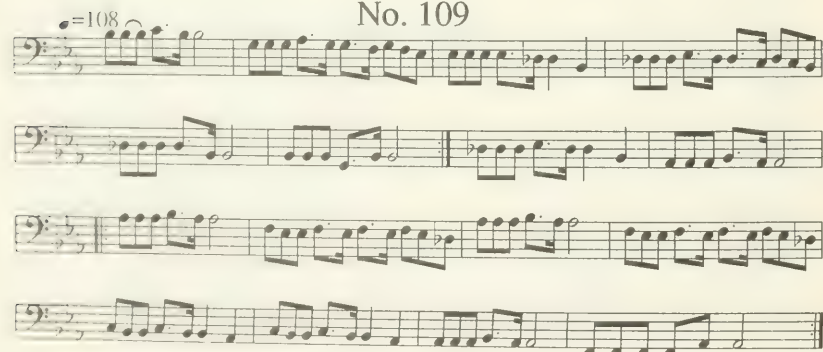
## No. 108



## No. 108a

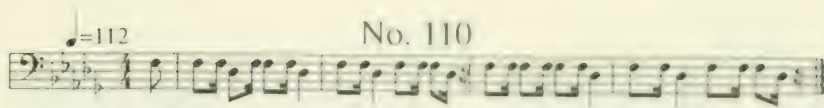


## No. 109

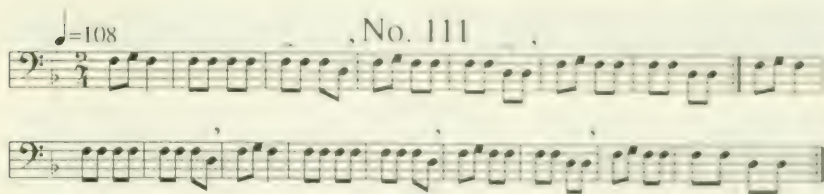




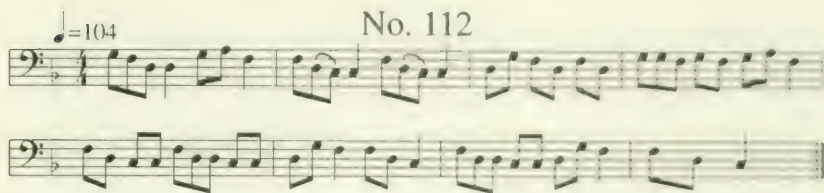
$\text{♩} = 112$  No. 110



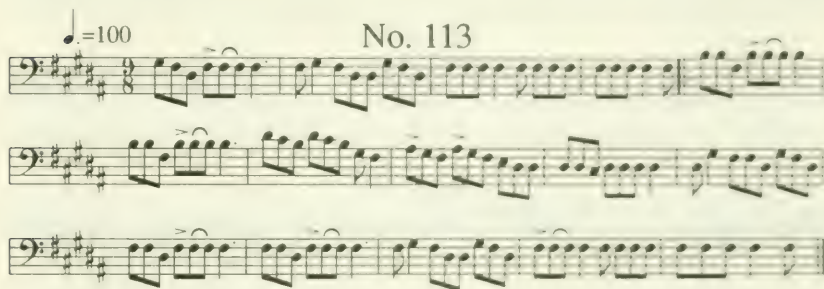
$\text{♩} = 108$  No. 111



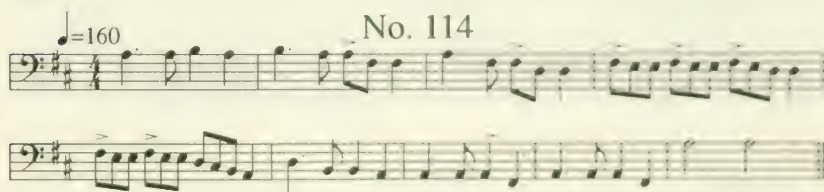
$\text{♩} = 104$  No. 112



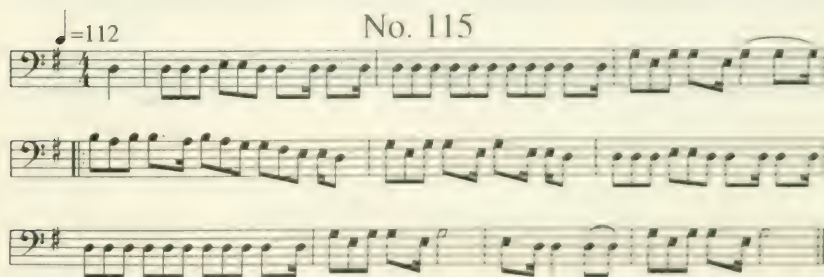
$\text{♩} = 100$  No. 113



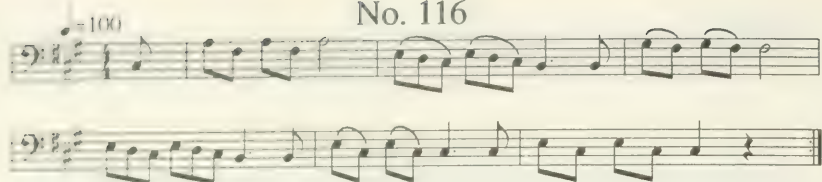
$\text{♩} = 160$  No. 114



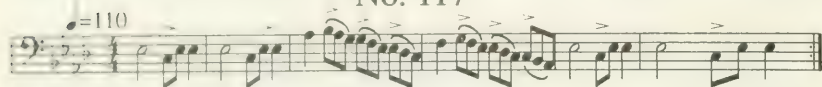
$\text{♩} = 112$  No. 115



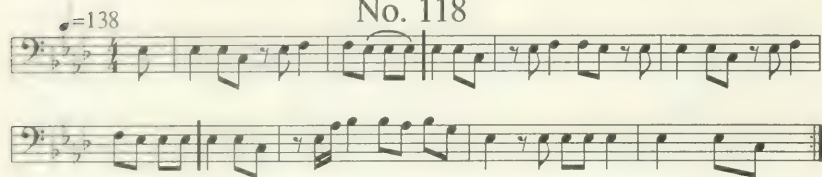
## No. 116



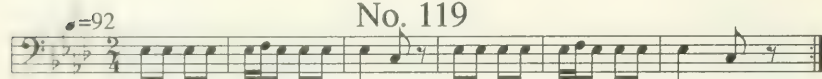
## No. 117



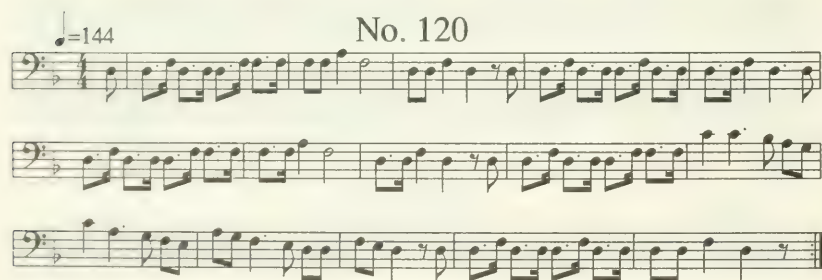
## No. 118



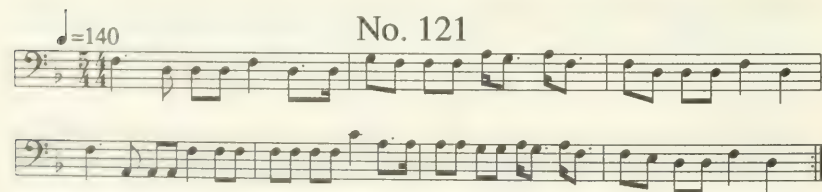
## No. 119



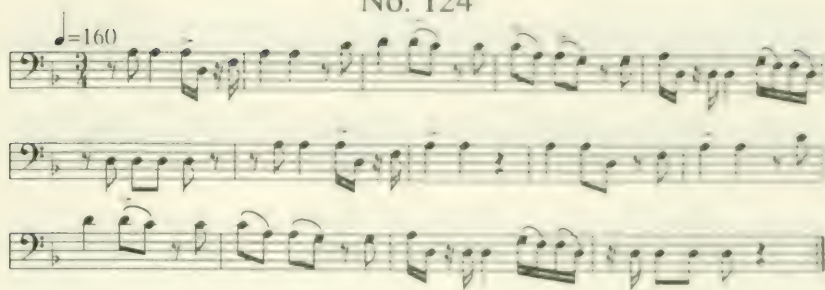
## No. 120



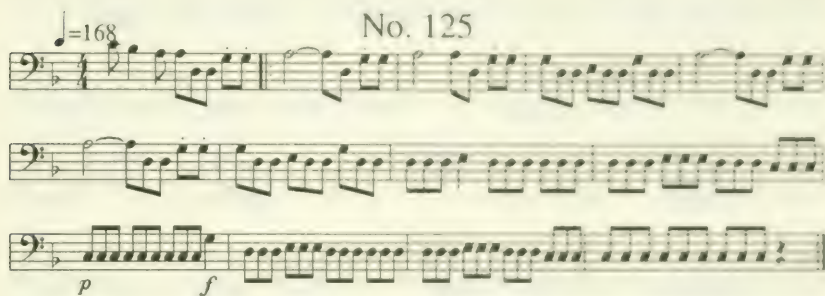
## No. 121



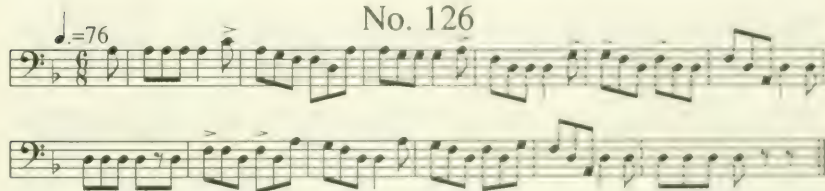
## No. 124



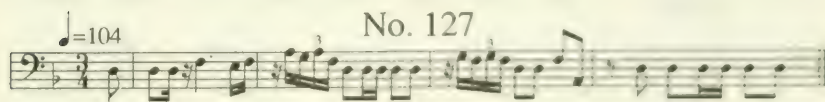
## No. 125



## No. 126



## No. 127



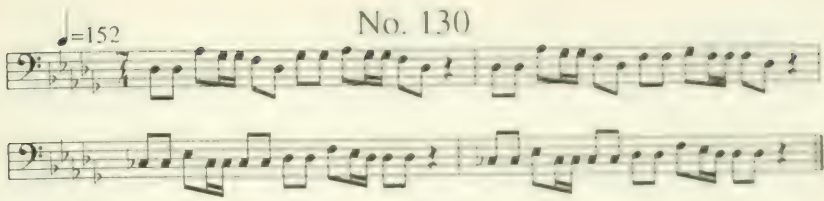
## No. 128

♩ = 92

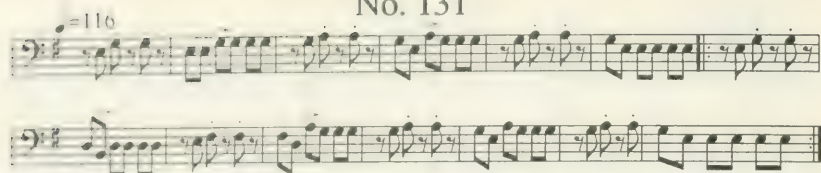
## No. 129

♩ = 120

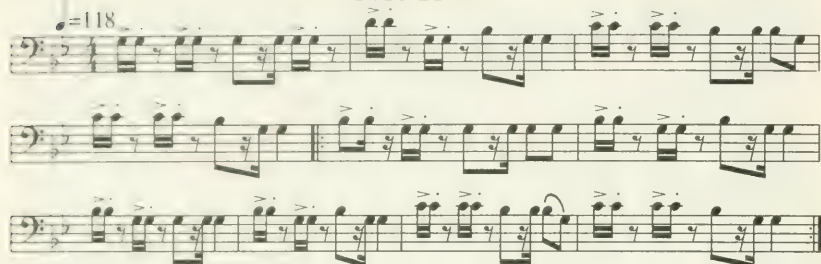




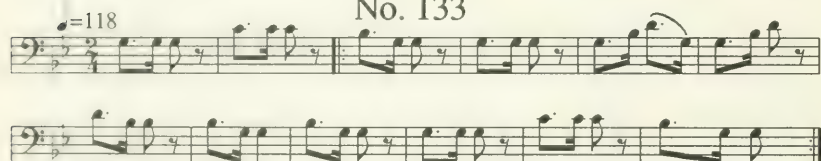
## No. 131



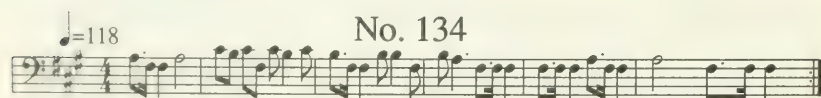
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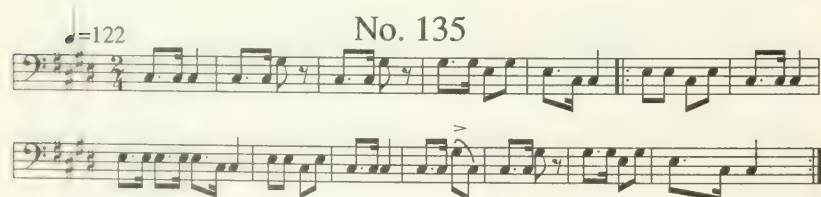
## No. 133



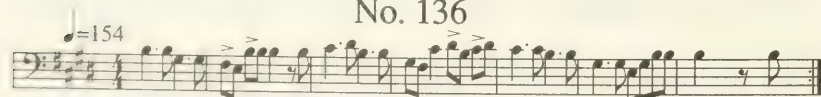
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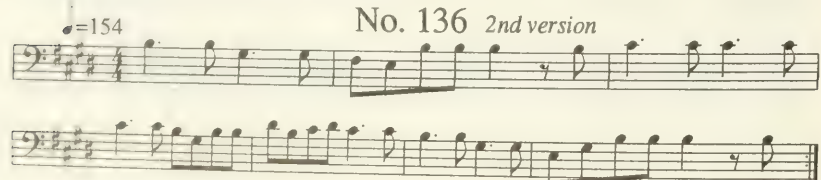
## No. 135



## No. 136



## No. 136 2nd version



$\text{♩} = 152$  No. 137

Two staves of music in bass clef, 2/4 time, key of B-flat major. The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes.

$\text{♩} = 154$  No. 138

Two staves of music in bass clef, 2/4 time, key of B-flat major. The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes.

$\text{♩} = 152$  No. 139

Two staves of music in bass clef, 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes.

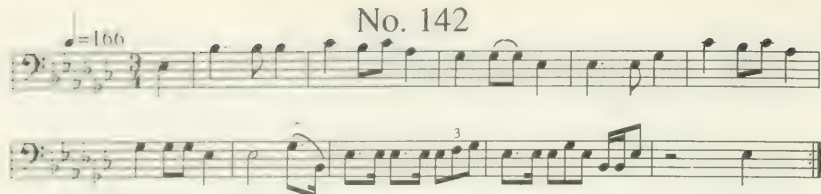
$\text{♩} = 100$  No. 140

Two staves of music in bass clef, 4/4 time, key of D major. The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with triplets indicated by a '3' over the notes.

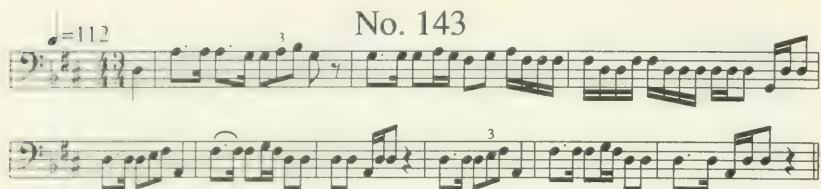
$\text{♩} = 156$  No. 141

Two staves of music in bass clef, 2/4 time, key of B-flat major. The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes.

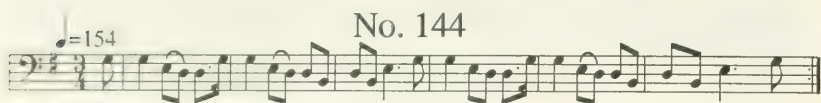
## No. 142



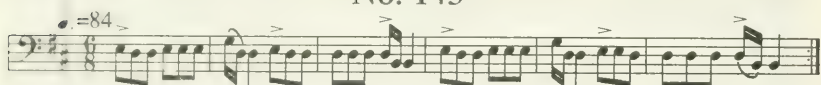
## No. 143



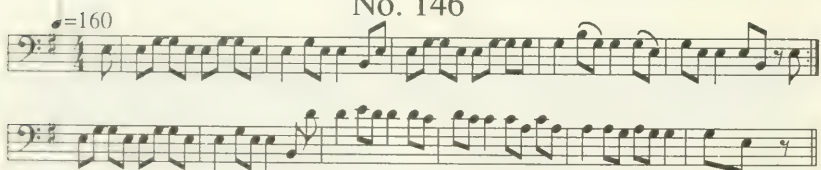
## No. 144



## No. 145



## No. 146





No. 147

$\text{♩} = 154$

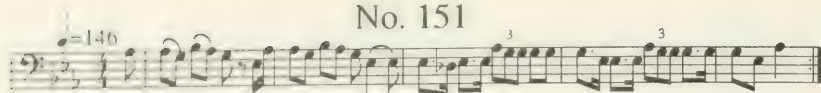
Seven staves of music in bass clef, key of D major (two sharps), and 6/8 time. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 154. The music features a continuous, rhythmic melody with many eighth and sixteenth notes, and some triplets. The piece ends with a double bar line and a final note on the seventh staff.

No. 147

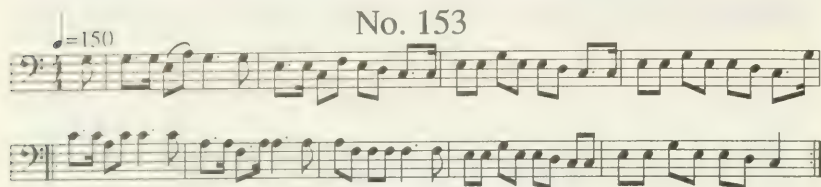
$\text{♩} = 138$

Three staves of music in bass clef, key of D major (two sharps), and 2/4 time. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 138. The music features a continuous, rhythmic melody with many eighth and sixteenth notes, and some triplets. The piece ends with a double bar line and a final note on the third staff.

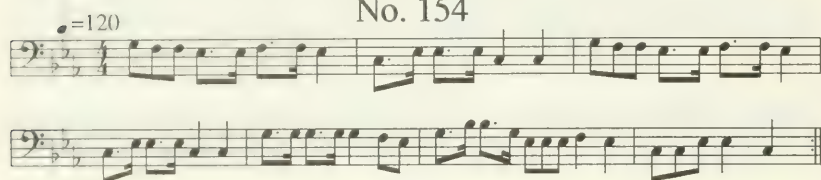
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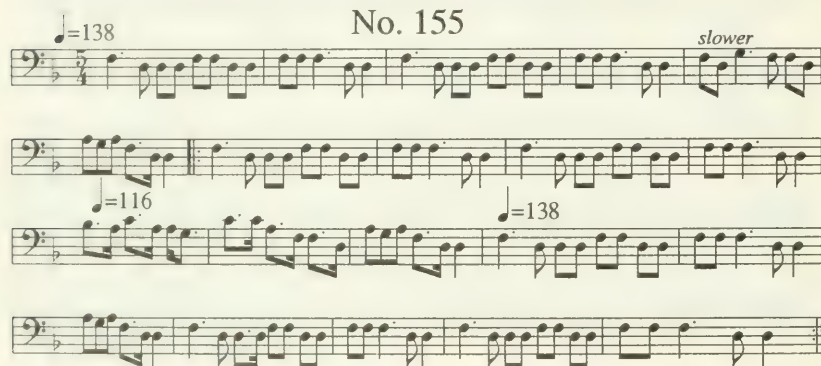
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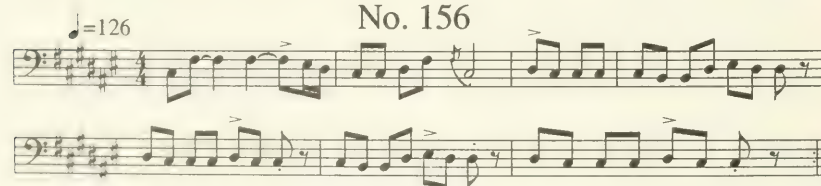
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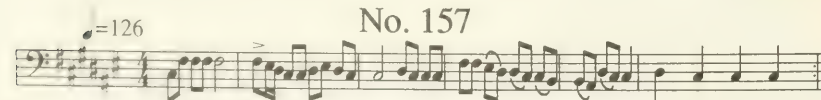
## No. 155



## No. 156



## No. 157



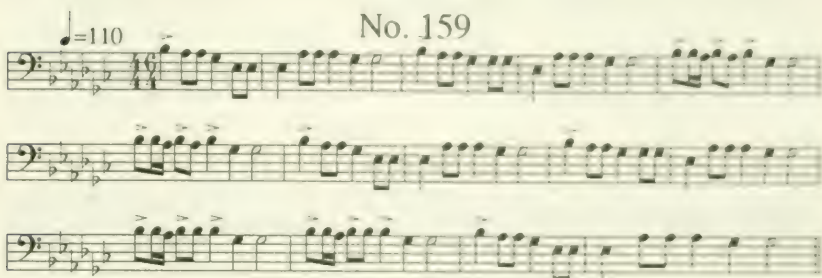
No. 158

$\text{♩} = 108$



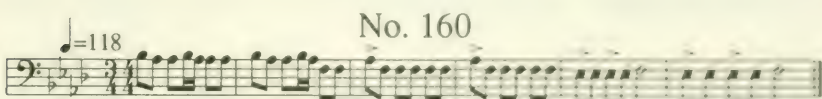
No. 159

$\text{♩} = 110$



No. 160

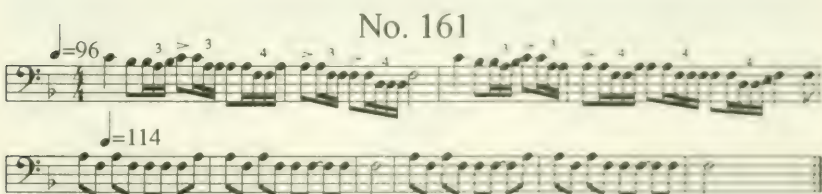
$\text{♩} = 118$



No. 161

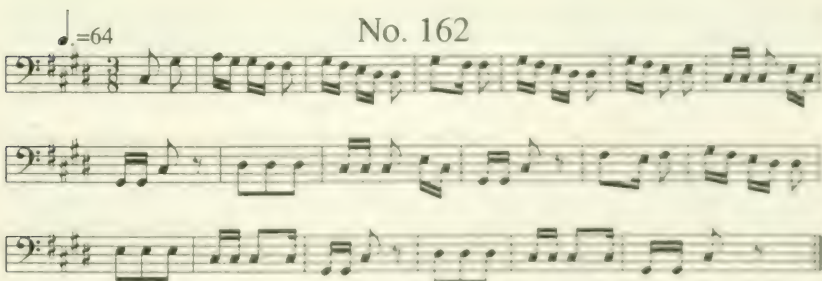
$\text{♩} = 96$

$\text{♩} = 114$



No. 162

$\text{♩} = 64$



No. 163

$\text{♩} = 112$   $\text{♩} = 66$

No. 164

$\text{♩} = 114$

No. 165

$\text{♩} = 104$

No. 166

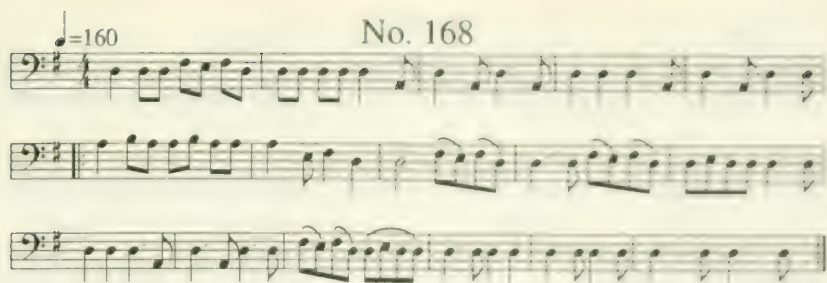
$\text{♩} = 94$

No. 167

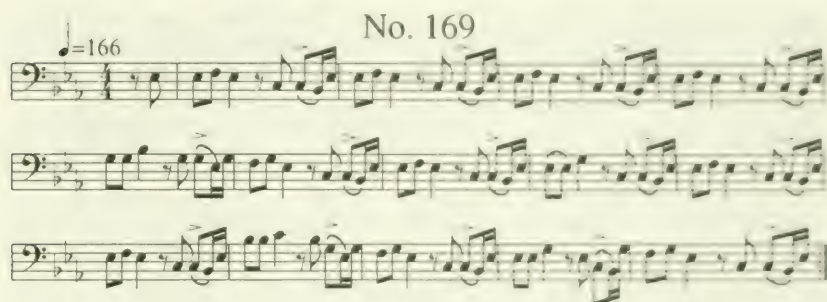
$\text{♩} = 160$



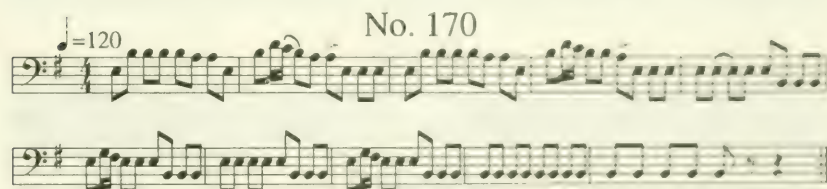
$\text{♩} = 160$  No. 168



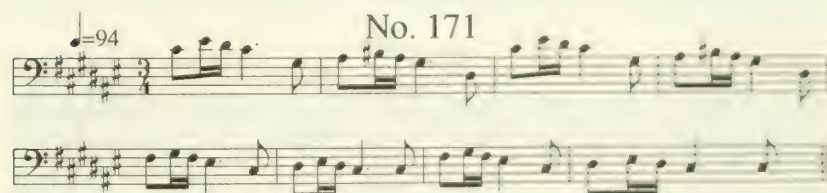
$\text{♩} = 166$  No. 169



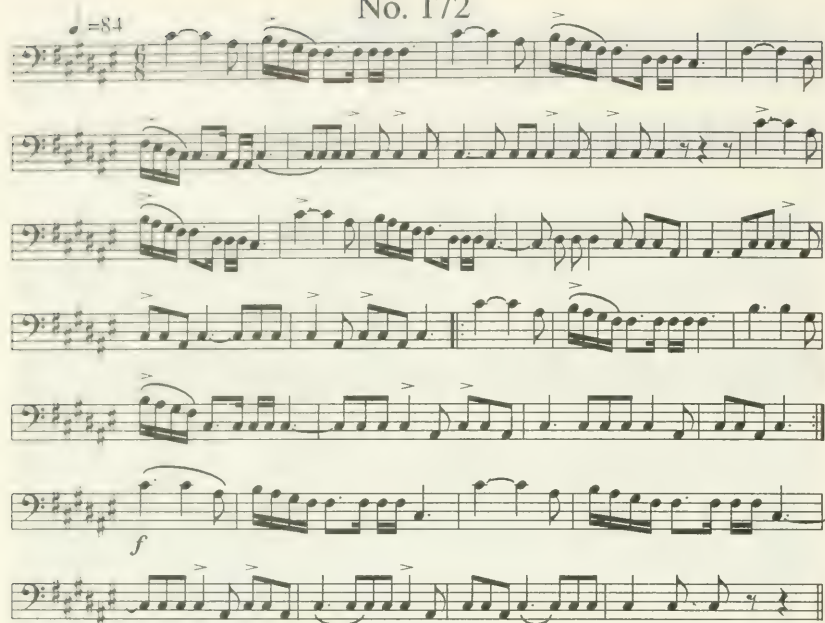
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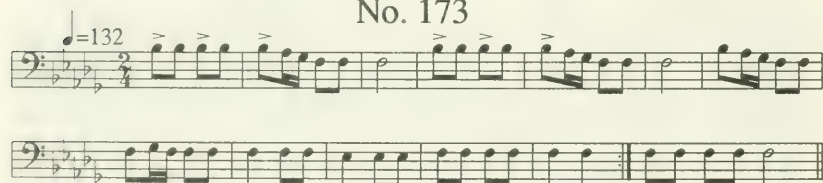
$\text{♩} = 94$  No. 171



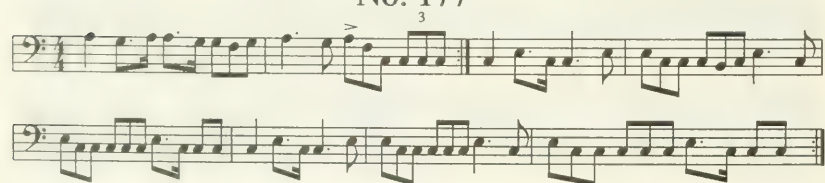
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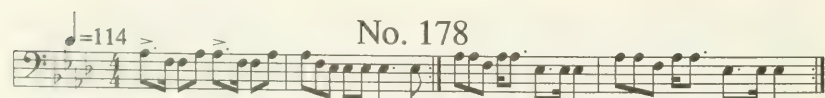
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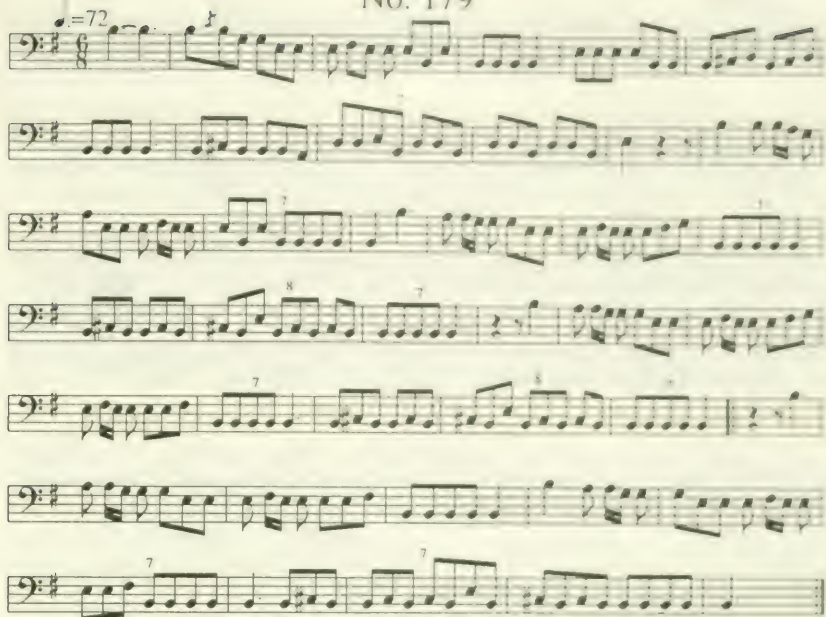
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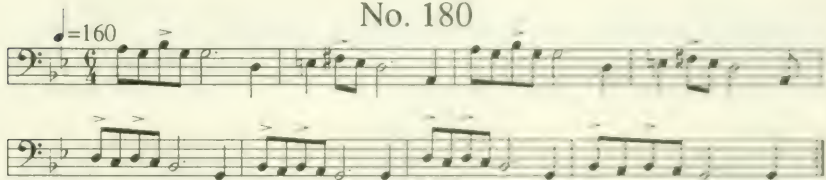
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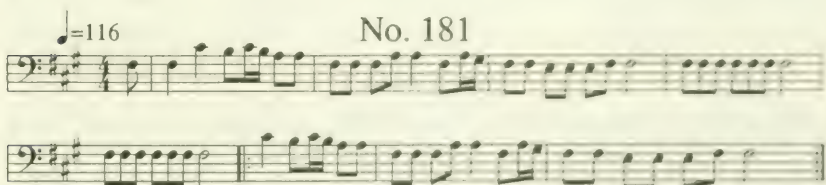
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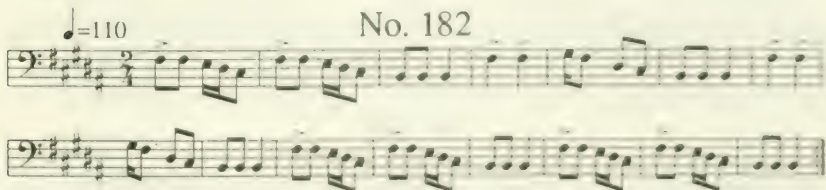
## No. 180



## No. 181



## No. 182



No. 182

$\text{♩} = 112$

No. 184

$\text{♩} = 158$

No. 185

$\text{♩} = 112$

No. 186a

$\text{♩} = 76$

No. 186b

$\text{♩} = 144$

No. 186c

$\text{♩} = 150$

No. 189

$\text{♩} = 100$

*ad libitum*

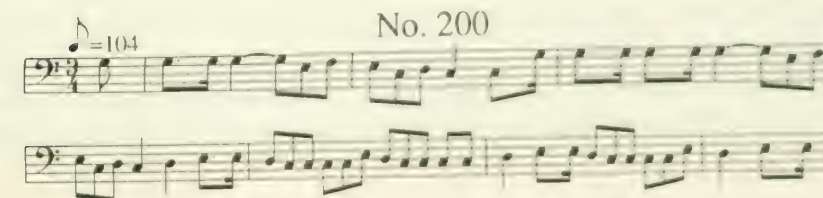
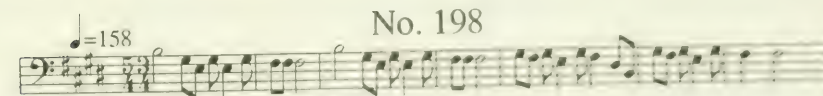
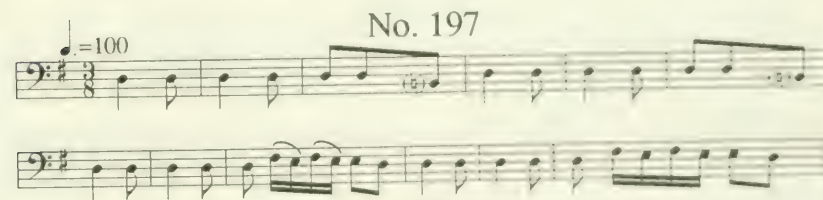
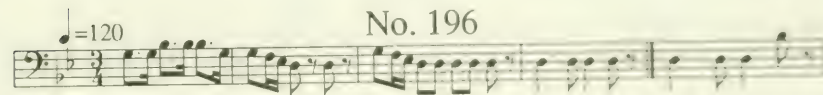
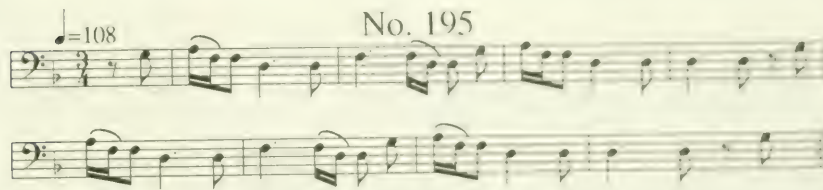
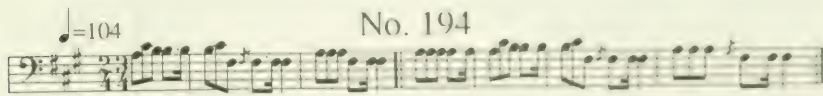
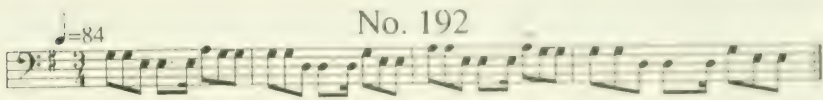
No. 190

$\text{♩} = 100$

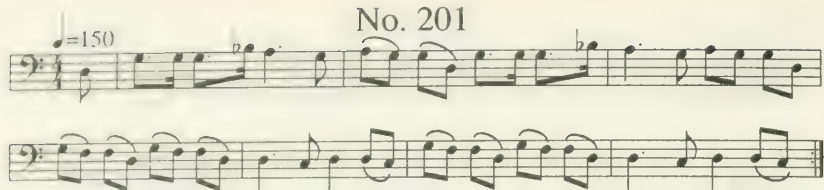
*ad libitum*

*p* *f* *p* *f*

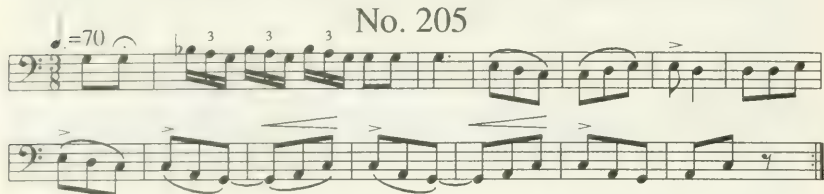




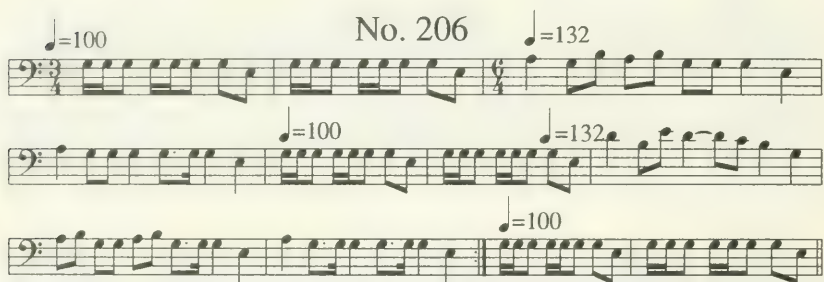
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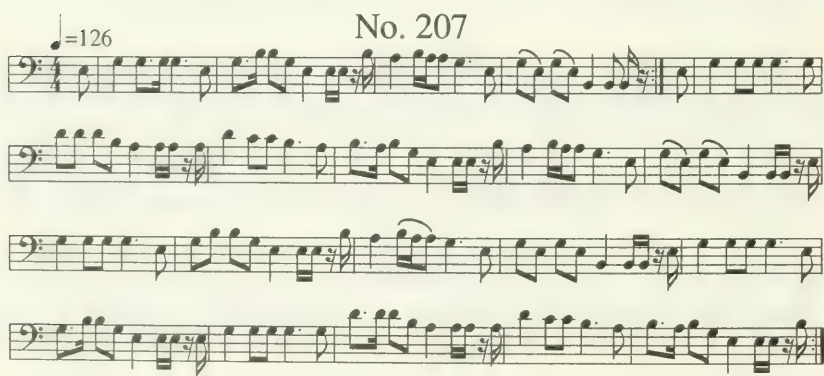
## No. 205



## No. 206



## No. 207



## An Apache Basket Jar

One ordinarily thinks of the Apache as cruel and unprincipled marauders without either time or inclination, until recent years, for the cultivation of the purely artistic impulse. Old Geronimo, the implacable foe of the United States Government, is the ideal of the lay conception of the Apache. And yet few Indian tribes, if we except certain tribes of California, do finer work than the Apache in that most characteristic of all Indian art forms, basketry. Day by day the Apache woman, with no other help than an awl and her own deft fingers, works patiently at her basket. The result is often an object of surpassing beauty of form and decoration, of such even finish of technique as to elicit wonder that unaided eye and hand could plan and execute so faultlessly. The Apache are now gathered into several reservations, the Jicarilla and Mescalero bands in New Mexico, the various bands grouped together as White Mountain and San Carlos Apache in Arizona. The New Mexico and Arizona bands differ considerably in their basketry, as in many other respects, that of the latter being considered of finer grade. [14]

The urn or jar-shaped basket here illustrated is a product of the Arizona Apache. It is perhaps the most striking single piece in a hall of the Museum crowded with interesting and beautiful specimens of Indian handicraft. It attracts partly by its unwonted size (it measures very nearly three and one-half feet in height, 17 inches in diameter of the mouth), but largely also because of its elaborate decoration and beauty of outline. It is doubtless one of the largest examples, if not the largest example, of Indian basketry exhibited in our ethnological museums, and is said to have consumed two years in the making. Whether or not this statement is strictly correct, it is obvious that even the most experienced basket maker would require an unusual length of time for the perfecting of such work. It is in fact an idealized form of the smaller and less profusely decorated flat-bottomed basket jar used by the Apache for storage purposes. In regard to technique, materials, method of applying and character of decoration, however, it does not present unusual features. In regard to technique, it is from beginning to end an example of the coiled variety of Indian basketry; in other words, it is



built up not so much by a process of weaving as of sewing. Firmness is given the basket by an ascending spiral of two slender but stiff rods of willow, which are added as required: to employ the terminology now in vogue, we have here a coiled technique with two-rod foundation. Around this wood core is wrapped the sewing material, peeled and scraped splints of willow or similar wood for the white areas, splints of the naturally black "devil's claw" (*Martynia louisiana*) for the black, these two materials relieving each other according to the requirements of the decoration; in Apache basketry designs are always brought out in black on a white background. Each winding of the sewing material not only includes the two rods of its own coil, but is caught under one of the two rods of the row or coil beneath, this method of "hitching" giving the fabric greater strength than if the wrapping were merely caught under the wrapped strands of the next lower coil, a technique, incidentally, which is characteristic of the Mescalero Apache. The direction of coiling, as one looks into the basket, is clockwise, the coiling continuing without variation to the very last stitch of the rim. The Pima, neighbors of the Apache, on the other hand, regularly finish off with a braided rim. It will thus be seen that the nature of the coiled technique leads to a spirally corrugated surface, the surface units being narrow and relatively high stitches of varying color. Evidently all designs must consist of vertical and horizontal rows of stitches, so that the style of art here illustrated is primarily geometrical in character. And, indeed, most of the characteristic motives in Apache as in other Indian basketry art, are purely geometric; this is seen particularly in the beautiful round bowl-like trays, also of coiled ware, exhibited together with the jar. Realistic or semi-realistic representations of human beings and animals are often introduced as designs into the jars of the Apache, a great deal of geometric conventionalization necessarily taking place. Thus, the wagging tails of the animals here represented are nothing but two short rows of black stitches diagonally disposed, while the five fingers of the men are simply that number of black stitches in a row, each being kept apart from its neighbor by a white stitch.

The main body of the basket is decorated with fifteen concentric bands, consisting in part of geometric, in part of mingled geometric and realistic motives. This arrangement of the decorative field into concentric bands is a more or less pronounced characteristic of Apache [15] basket art, and will be found further illustrated in the trays already referred to. The first band, starting from the bottom, consists of a series of terraced figures with inverted bases, and is only partly visible in the



photograph. The second band is composed of a series of alternating crosses and quadrupeds, presumably dogs; the third band is a simple checkered pattern bounded, above and below, by black coils. It will be observed, by a reference in the figure to the upper left hand part of this last band, that the bounding coil ends a stitch higher than it starts, in other words, true circles are impossible in the coiled technique, and must be replaced by rounds of a spiral. Alternating man and vertically disposed diamond and cross make up the fourth band, followed in the fifth by a second area of checkerwork; the sixth band is made up of a series of alternating man and dog with superimposed cross, the seventh of a third checkered field, and the eighth of a second series of inverted terraces. The ninth band is practically the center of the decorative field and has the most elaborate designs of all: man, cross, followed by a three-pronged figure (possibly a rain symbol), and deer or dog (the deer are arranged in two groups of four each, the dogs in one of three and one of two), are the design elements in the order given. A fourth area of checker work, without the lower bounding coil in black noted before, forms the tenth band; the eleventh band is another series of inverted terraces, this time in black and white instead of solid black. A series of dogs forms the twelfth, a fifth field of checkerwork the thirteenth, still another series of inverted terraces the fourteenth, and a series of alternating man and dog, the men being connected by horizontal lines, the fifteenth or neck band, followed by a finishing coil in black. The six bands of checker work may be looked upon as marking off six decorative fields.

A curious point comes out on a careful study of the ninth band, illustrating the difficulties the basket maker encounters in mapping out, in her mind's eye, the size and recurrence of elements in a restricted field. Ordinarily the cross is followed by the three-pronged figure, yet once out of the thirteen times that the group occurs, the reverse order is followed. An examination of the actual specimen, for the photograph fails us here, will convince the visitor that this is not due to mere forgetfulness on the part of the maker. To follow the usual order would have brought the elements into conflict with the adjoining man and deer; in other words, an inaccurate mapping out, at the start, of the decorative field left too little space at the end for the proper carrying out of the initial idea.



An Apache Basket-jar.

### Editorial Note

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## A Note on Sarcee Pottery

In his "Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, 1910, vol. v, pp. 1-175) Dr. C. Wissler makes no mention of the use of pottery in that tribe. In discussing the household utensils of the Plains Indians in his "North American Indians of the Plains" (*American Museum of Natural History*, Handbook Series No. 1, 1912, p. 69), however, Wissler remarks:

Pottery was made by the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara and probably by all the other tribes of the village group. There is some historical evidence that it was once made by the Blackfoot and there are traditions of its use among the Gros Ventre, Cheyenne, and Assiniboine; but, with the possible exception of the Blackfoot, it has not been definitely credited to any of the nine typical tribes.<sup>1</sup>

In his book on *The American Indian* (first edition, 1917), the same writer states (p. 67):

As nearly as can be told, at the time of discovery, North America had but one large area in which no pottery was made. If we draw a line from Ottawa to the mouth of the St. Lawrence and another to Edmonton, and then one from Edmonton to Los Angeles, we shall have, in the rough, the northern boundary to pottery making. There seems to have been a narrow strip down into the bison area that should be excepted. This extended down through the country of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche. On the other hand, certain early information for the Ojibway, Cree, and Blackfoot westward from Winnipeg, indicates that they made pottery; but this about exhausts the exceptions. Practically the whole of the Pacific belt and the great sweep of the caribou area is without pottery, but the Eskimo of Alaska and eastward at least as far as Coronation Gulf made it. Archaeological evidence does not change the boundary; hence, we may infer that the distribution of pottery was still in progress at the opening of the period of discovery and that it was distributed from the South. In Siberia we find a pottery somewhat like that of the Eskimo, which suggests that in this case the trait is intrusive from Asia. Yet, we must not overlook the [248] possibility of contact with North American potters around Hudson Bay, a region whose archaeology is absolutely unknown. The improbability of this arises from the absence of the trait from the greater part of the caribou-hunting peoples, its tendency to fail the most typical bison hunters, and that its encroachment in each case resembles the fringe of

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1. See also Wissler's note (*Science*, April 26, 1912, p. 666) on "recent evidences for the former use of pottery by the Blackfoot Indians and its apparent similarity in type to that used by the Menominee and the Saulteaux."



an adjoining area. We see that its extension out into Saskatchewan and Alberta is coincident with the distribution of Algonkian-speaking tribes: the Blackfoot, Cree, and Ojibway.

Any information, no matter how scanty or unsatisfactory, that bears on the marginal distribution of aboriginal pottery in America is probably welcome. There is good evidence that the Sarcee Indians, of Alberta, used pottery in the old days, say one hundred years ago or even later. In the summer of 1921 Mr. D. Jenness learned from a Sarcee Indian named Otter that originally his people used clay pots, the manufacture of which they had been taught by the Maker. Iron pots were introduced at the same time as horses. To make a pot the clay was kneaded and hollowed out by hand. After it was shaped and dried in the sun, it was laid with its mouth towards a fire where the smoke would permeate it. This saved it from cracking. It is not entirely clear from this whether the pot was properly fired or consisted merely of a dried and smoked clay.

In the following summer I learned from two other Sarcee Indians, a middle-aged half-breed named John One-Spot and an old full-blood Indian named Two Guns, the owner of the only extant Sarcee beaver bundle, that it was a matter of common knowledge among them that the tribe formerly made extensive use of clay pots and that in telling stories of the old time they were in the habit of referring to "the days when clay pots were still used." When John One-Spot was a boy, he learned much about the older life of the Indians from an old Sarcee woman. She told him about the methods of making and using pottery, but unfortunately he could manage to remember but the veriest fragments, not altogether coherent at that, of what he had learned. The Indians do not seem to have been seriously hampered by their habit of traveling about. When the horse came in and locomotion became relatively rapid, pottery, replaced in any event by trade vessels, was doubtless an inconvenience, but in the earlier days the clay vessels were carried by their handles of withes or bone by [249] the women and children, who walked by the side of the dog travois. John One-Spot had very unclear ideas about the exact material that was used. He stated that the Indians used to repair to the Red Deer River country for their clay, if clay it was. The proper material was a whitish "stone" (limestone?) that was burnt down to a powder and then used. Apparently the reference was here to some ingredient that was mixed with the clay. The clay vessels, when shaped by hand, were baked black by fires applied both inside and outside. When the fire burned out inside, it was



renewed until the pot was thoroughly baked. Before the burning, holes were cut out near the rim of the clay vessel so that a willow handle might be fitted on later. The pots were of different shapes. One was a kettle for the boiling of water, another was a shallow tray in which the meat was dished out from the pot. Besides handles of willow withes, the Sarcee also used handles of bone, which had been softened by boiling and bent to the desired shape. Also horn was used to make hoop-like rims for the tops of the deep vessels.

Two Guns, the older Indian, stated that he had heard that in the early days, before he was born, the clay vessels were as well made as the vessels in use among the whites today, but the Indians have forgotten how to make them properly. There was a way of smoothing the surface of the pots, but this is no longer remembered. Not only was the clay modeled into pots and trays, but pipes were made of it as well. When Two Guns was a boy, he saw an old Indian smoke a clay pipe; this was the only actual example of Sarcee pottery, or rather of pottery used by the Sarcee, he had ever seen. It is not likely that even the oldest living Sarcee has ever seen a native vessel of clay. Two Guns further stated that children's toys also were made of clay — images of dogs, buffaloes, and other animals and objects. Asked whether there were any Indians still living who could make models of the old time Sarcee pottery, Two Guns replied that no one could be depended on to make them accurately but that his wife would make me a couple of samples. In a few days he brought me a cylindrical pot and a tray (Fig. 1). [250]

Two Guns explained apologetically that his wife, though one of the oldest Sarcee women, had not seen them made. They were in use before her grandmother's time. She claimed merely to have made them as well as she could manage from such descriptions as she had heard years before. The models are evidently poor. The clay is presumably not of the right quality, it was not sufficiently fired and is therefore hardly more than a dried, unbaked, and somewhat crumbly earthenware, and the vessels are too clumsy [251] in outline and too heavy to be of practical use. John One-Spot thought the present specimens were failures partly because of uncertainty in the method of manufacture, partly because the proper clay had not been used. However, if suitable material was not available, he explained, emergency pots could be and were made of ordinary clay.

There are several features about these crude models that are interesting and possibly significant. The willow-handled, flat-bottomed, cylindrical pot is an aberrant pottery form and legitimate doubts as to

whether it can be considered a truly traditional type weaken the force of any remarks which one may make about it. Both the cylindrical pot and the tray look almost like older Athabaskan models in bark (or wood, if one thinks back to Alaska), which have been crudely adapted to a poorly mastered pottery technique. On the other hand, Holmes figures a flat-bottomed or but very slightly round-bottomed clay pot from the Alaskan Eskimo, credited to Nelson, in his article on "Pottery" (*Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Part 2, p. 298), though I find no mention of such high earthenware vessels in Nelson's monograph on "The Eskimo about Bering Strait." Most of the examples of Alaskan pottery vessels that we possess are shallow, tray-like forms (see, e.g., Plate XXVIII of Nelson's monograph). Murdoch, in his monograph on "The Point Barrow Eskimo" (pp. 91, 92), remarks:

I obtained three fragments of pottery, which had every appearance of great age and were said to be pieces of a kind of cooking pot which they used to make "long ago, when there were no iron kettles." The material was said to be earth, bear's blood, and feathers, and appears to have been baked. There are irregular fragments of perhaps more than one vessel, which appears to have been tall and cylindrical, perhaps shaped like a bean pot, pretty smooth inside, and coated with dried oil or blood, black from age. The outside is rather rough, and marked with faint rounded transverse ridges, as if a large cord had been wound round the vessel while still soft.

Murdoch compares this ware with "the cement for joining pieces of soapstone vessels mentioned by Boas ("Central Eskimo," p. 526) consisting of seal's blood, a kind of clay, and dog's hair."

More noteworthy than the forms of the Sarcee models, because less open possibly to the charge of being spurious evidence, is the [252] fact that their maker mixed the clay with bits of twigs and with horse hair. The exposed surface of a charred twig is visible in the figure of the cylindrical pot, and tufts of hair in both figures. These materials were evidently intended to stiffen the ware and suggest a rather imperfect knowledge of pottery technique, particularly of firing, on the part of the old Sarcee potters. The Sarcee use of horse hair (originally, no doubt, dog hair or caribou or buffalo hair) is faintly suggestive of the Alaskan Eskimo use of feathers mixed in with the clay.

Archaeological evidence proves the former use of pottery in Alberta, though the finds are scanty. In the Victoria Memorial Museum at Ottawa there are two such finds. One (no. x.C.24) consists of fragments of one pot, fabric- or cord-marked, from Red Deer River, west of the fourth principal meridian of Alberta; it was collected by a geologist, T. C. Weston, in 1889. The other (no. x.C.25), from Long Lake, Alta.,



is the fragment of a crude rim of a pottery vessel, decorated with transverse notches along the top of the rim; it was presented by W. Dickson, of Pakenham, Ont., in 1890.

It is natural to look upon the pottery of the Blackfoot and Sarcee country as but a marginal outpost of the more intensive pottery culture of the Mississippi Valley and the western Great Lakes. Is it not at least possible, however, that the old Sarcee pottery, of which the Indians retain such a clear tradition,<sup>2</sup> is the survival of a northern type that is historically connected with the Eskimo ware or that it represents a compromise between northern and eastern streams of influence? It is useless to speculate at present, but it is worth while reminding ourselves that we do not know anything about the archaeology of the region extending from Hudson's Bay west to the Rockies. It is by no means a [253] foregone conclusion that the Eskimo pottery area is geographically disconnected from the southern area. That the present Athabaskan tribes north of the Sarcee (aside from Alaskan peoples close to the Eskimo) know or seem to know nothing of pottery proves little. Archaeological findings as to the distribution of pottery in northern Algonkian areas are not corroborated by anything that we can learn from such tribes as the Malecite or Cree or Saulteaux of today or that we could have learned from some of them even a hundred years ago. Pottery may have lingered longer among the Sarcee because they early gave up the use of bark vessels. It is not exactly likely that pottery will turn up anywhere in the caribou area, but the possibility should not be too summarily dismissed. Few would have ventured to surmise fifteen years ago that pottery would be found in the region of Coronation Gulf.

Linguistic evidence is not clear in such a case as this because the name of a type of utensil of one material may be readily carried over to an equivalent utensil of another material. There is a widespread Athabaskan term for "pot, kettle": *\*ons-a'*, *\*as-a'*. For Anvik Ten'a (lower Yukon) Chapman gives *éço*, *éçóxú*, *éçok* "pot" (properly "clay

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2. It may not be without significance that while Dr. Wissler's intensive researches among the Blackfoot apparently disclosed no knowledge on the part of the present Indians of their former use of pottery, Mr. Jenness and the writer each casually learned of pottery in the course of a brief visit to the Sarcee. This is probably a mere accident, but it may indicate that pottery was more extensively used among the Sarcee than among the Blackfoot or, at any rate, the Piegan, the southernmost of the three Blackfoot tribes. The early habitat of the Sarcee, as reported by Mackenzie and other writers, was pretty well to the north, in the headwaters country of the North Saskatchewan and Athabasca rivers.

pot," according to personal information obtained from Thomas B. Reed, a young Indian from Anvik); Petitot renders "marmite" (i. e. "kettle") *onisa* in Carrier, *onsha* in Sekanais, *onfiwa* in Hare, and *onfa* in Montagnard; Goddard gives *ūsa'* for "pail" in Beaver. I have recorded *as'a'* (*a* is high-pitched, velarized *a* is low-pitched) for "pot," specifically "clay pot," in Sarcee; and the Franciscan Fathers give *ā'sā'* in Navaho for "pot" and "native pottery." The term is apparently absent in Pacific Athabaskan. Presumably the Athabaskan term originally referred to a pail-like or kettle-like receptacle of bark, only secondarily to one of clay. And yet can we be sure that its primary meaning was not "clay pot"? If it was, we could understand why it was lost in the Pacific dialects, for a term for clay cooking vessel would not be readily used for one of twined basketry, while a term for bark vessel conceivably might be. Admittedly, however, this is a tenuous argument.

### Editorial Note

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Crude models of Sarcee pottery, made by wife of Two Guns, Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, nos. V.D. 255 (cylindrical pot) and V.D. 317 (meat tray).



## Personal Names among the Sarcee Indians

IN the summer of 1922 the writer studied the language of the Sarcee Indians, a small Athabaskan group now living on the Sarcee Reserve, near Calgary, Alberta. A set of personal names was secured in the course of the work from John Whitney, a half-breed, who was the source of the texts and grammatical material as well. As personal names reflect the culture of their bearers, it seems worth while to give these names and their literal translation. They will be listed under the current names of the Indians to whom they belong. Where an individual has or has had more than one name, they are grouped together under a single heading. In some cases an Indian possesses a nickname or two nicknames over and above one or more proper personal names; these too are listed. A few remarks on the nature of the Sarcee names follow the list.

### PHONETIC KEY

The phonetic symbols used in this paper are as follows:

VOWELS: *a*, as in German *Mann*; *ɑ*, as in English *but*; *ā*, like *a* but with distinct velar resonance marked in many cases by preceding *γ*-glide; *ι*, as in English *bit*; *u*, as in English *full*; *o* (variant of *u*), as in French *eau*; *ai*, *ai*, *au*, *ui*, diphthongs with half-long first vowels.

QUANTITY AND TONE: *aː* (and similarly for other vowels), denotes long vowel; *aː<sup>h</sup>* (and similarly for other vowels), denotes long vowel on level tone with slight rearticulation (these vowels and those with inflected tones result from contraction of two vowels); *ā*, short vowel with high tone; *ǎ*, short vowel with low tone; *a*, short vowel with middle tone; *āː*, long vowel with fully falling tone; *ǎː*, long vowel with fully rising tone; *ǎ̇*, long vowel with tone rising from middle position to high; *ǎ̇*, long vowel with tone falling from middle to low; *ǎ̇*, long vowel with tone falling from high to middle.<sup>1</sup> Note that many middle tones are secondarily dropped high tones or raised low tones.

<sup>1</sup> Owing to typographical difficulties I have not been able to use the proper symbols for rising tones and for half falling tones. I have also had to put the acute and grave accents after, instead of over, the vowel in certain cases.

## CONSONANTS:

Labial: *m*, nasal

Alveolar Stops: *d*, intermediate (i.e., gentle surd); *t'*, strongly aspirated surd; *t'*, glottalized (of "fortis" type); *n*, nasal

Guttural Stops (mid-palatal position): *g*, intermediate; *k'*, aspirated as above; *k'*, glottalized as above

Guttural and Palatal Spirants: *x*, voiceless velar (before *a*); *γ*, voiced velar (before *a*); *x*, voiceless guttural (mid-palatal position; before *a*, *a*); *γ*, corresponding voiced guttural (before *a*, *a*); *xw* and *γw* (also completely labialized to *w*), labialized forms of *x* and *γ*; *χ*, as in German *ich*; *y*, corresponding voiced spirant, approximately like English *y* of *yet* but more truly spirantal

Alveolar Sibilants: *s*, unvoiced, as in English *sit*; *z*, voiced; *dz*, *ts'*, *t's*, corresponding intermediate, aspirated, and glottalized affricatives

Palatal Sibilants: *c*, unvoiced, as in English *she*; *j*, voiced, as in French *jeu*; *dj*, *tc'*, *t'c*, corresponding intermediate, aspirated, and glottalized affricatives

Laterals: *l*, as in English; *L*, spirantal and unvoiced; *dl*, *tl*, *t'L*, corresponding intermediate, aspirated, and glottalized affricatives

Laryngeal: ' , glottal stop; *h*, as in English; ' , perceptible breathing after certain final vowels (here used only where of etymological significance)

Quantity: consonantal lengthening (e.g. -s'-) indicated only where it results from contraction of two consonants. Between vowels, particularly after short vowels, all consonants are more or less lengthened (e.g. *did-* is to be read *did'-*, *dit-dit-*).

## SARCEE NAMES

## YOUNG-BULLHEAD:

1. *t'Lùgà gútç'àwru* "prairie somewhere-big-the," i.e. Big-Prairie.

2. Nickname: *i'k'àyí:nítç'iLi*, contracted from *i'k'àyí inútç'iLi* "(buffalo-)bull he-is-lame-the," i.e. Lame-Bull.

3. Nickname: *múts'i.dí:k'a'l*, "his-head it-is-white," i.e. White-Headed.



## THE-SARCEE:

4. *duducá yí't'LaL*, "antelope he-runs," i.e. Running-Antelope.

5. *gú' 'ál'ina'*, "with-them (indef.) he-does-so-diminutive," i.e. He-is-a-gambler ("to do with people" is Sarcee idiom for "to play with people, to gamble").

6. Nickname: *ts'ó't'ina'*, "Sarcee" (*t'ina'*, "such and such a tribe, people"; *ts'ó'-* is no longer understood by the Sarcee).

## CROW-COLLAR:

7. *t'sá's'i mizálá'*, "crow his-neckwear-the," i.e. Crow-Collar.

8. *tc'á mǐ'za*, "rain his-child," i.e. Thunder's-Child ("rain" has in Sarcee also the derived sense of "thunder").

9. *idjiná'*, "something-he-sings-the," i.e. Singer.

## TWO-YOUNG-MEN:

10. *ak'iná'sgá<sup>a</sup>k'a*, contracted from *ak'iná isgá<sup>a</sup>k'á*, "two-person youth-plural," i.e. Two-Youths.

11. *t'ásídá<sup>a</sup>*, contracted from *-dá-t*, "on-top (of a horse)-he-sits-the," i.e. Rider.

12. *t'sík'uwa nǐtLána'*, "women many-the," i.e. Many-Womaned.

## RUNNING-IN-THE-MIDDLE:

13. *t'azik'a da-nǐ'cǐc'ò'*, contracted from *t'azik'a da-nǐ tcǐc'ò'*, "middle-on gun he-has-seized-it," i.e. Captured-a-gun-in-the-middle."

14. *mudziyá<sup>a</sup> cǐ'ciyǐl'ádzi*, contracted from *mudziyá' ácǐ'ciyǐl'ádzi*, "his-ears are-cut-apart-the," i.e. Split-Ears.

## ONE-SPOTTED:

15. *tc'àcǐ dǐ'ǐdǐcǐ*, (sibilants of first word assimilated from *ts'àsǐdǐ*), "above he-is-spotted-the," i.e. Single-Spotted-Pinto.

16. *dá'nik'á nǎzi'*, "gun-on he-stands," i.e. He-stands-on-a-Gun.

## THE-OTTER:

17. *nǎmiyǐ t'cǎdǐt'a'*, "otter wonderful-he-is-the," i.e. Sacred-Otter.

18. Nickname: *tc'í k'ál'ina'*, "wood male-he-is-the, wood-man," i.e. Carpenter.

## FOX-TAIL:

19. *tc'áyc'ná'yá tc'á*, (first word assimilated from *ts'áyc'ná'yá*), "Kit-Fox-Tail."

20. *í'k'ayǐ yǐsk'a'*, "(buffalo-) bull rump-fat-the," i.e. Bull-Fat.

21. Nickname: *nik'wǎl'cǐ'yá'*, "he-is-short-diminutive-the," i.e. Shorty.

## TWO-GUNS:

22. *ak'i<sup>i</sup> da'ni<sup>i</sup> tctc'ò*, contracted from *ak'iyi da'ni tctc'ò*, "two gun he-has-seized-it," i.e. Captured-Two-Guns.

23. *dzilaya k'ò*, "daylight-point-at (=heaven) fire," i.e. Heaven-Fire.

24. *it'sis 'ilà*, "one's-knee-joint fringing-the," i.e. (Buffalo's)-Fetlock.

## TONY:

25. *moγwò*, "his-teeth," i.e. Toothed.

## DOG:

26. *tlit'ca*, "dog-the," (relative form, cf. possessed form *-lit'cà*); also called *tlí*, "Dog" (absolute form) for short.

27. *gà<sup>a</sup> djit' t'sò-t'inà*, "Blackfoot-real (=Blood) Sarcee," i.e. Blood-Sarcee.

## YELLOW-LODGE:

28. *màya t'águsts'uwa*, "his-tent on-top-somewhere-it-has-been-painted-yellow-the," i.e. Having-a-Yellow-Painted-Tent.

29. *minist'iyā gūnilinà*, contracted from *minist'iyā' āgūnilinà*, "his-protective-charm it-is-good-the," i.e. Having-a-Magnificent-Charm.

30. Nickname: *xàni*, "Cow" (originally "buffalo," but now "buffalo" is termed *xànit'*, "cow-real, buffalo-real").

## WOLF:

31. *mayazlnà*, "Wolf" (possible etymological analysis: "his-fur-dark-the," but *-zin-* "black" is no longer freely used in Sarcee, though common elsewhere in Athabaskan, Ath. \*-jēn).

32. *t'cá<sup>a</sup>c'í tc'ák'a*, assimilated from *t'sá<sup>a</sup>s'í tc'ák'a*, "crow-ribs-the," i.e. Crow-Ribs.

33. *i'k'āyi minisgáná*, contracted from *-gáni-i*, (buffalo-) bull his-shield-the," i.e. Bull-Shield.

## BULL-COLLAR:

34. *i'k'āyi mizálá*, "(buffalo-) bull his-neckwear-the," i.e. Bull-Collar.

35. *tc'á t'ácdjidi*, (first word assimilated from *ts'á*), "stone it-is-painted-over-the," i.e. Painted-Stone.

36. *dí<sup>i</sup>dáya yi<sup>i</sup>t'LaL*, "(buffalo-) calf he-runs," i.e. Running-Calf.

## CROW-CHILD (Cree Indian living on Sarcee reserve):

37. *t'sá<sup>a</sup>s'í mī<sup>i</sup>za*, "crow his-child," i.e. Crow-Child.

## SARCEE-WOMAN (a man):

38. *gũ' dísts'idi*, "them-with he-charged-the," i.e. He who-charged-against (the Enemy).

39. *tc'tz k'ús*, "Duck Neck."

40. *ts'ò t'mà t'sik'á*, "Sarcee-Woman."

## DICK STARLIGHT:

41. *isl'ánt'cte'ò*, contracted from *isl'ánt' t'ct'ò*, "it-has-been-feathered-the (= arrow) he-seized-it," i.e. Captured an-Arrow. This name is generally pronounced with *-t'ò* instead of *-t'ò'* in ordinary speech. Such an example indicates how little the etymology of even the most transparent name need be present in the mind of the Indian.

## PAT GRASSHOPPER:

42. *mik'á dì'k'ázl*, "his-foot it-is-red-the," i.e. Red-Foot.

43. *más muk'á t'ùní*, "knife it-is-broken-off-the," i.e. Broken-Knife.

44. Nickname: *dzuLà*, "rough-the," Roughy.

45. Nickname: *t'cájà*, "cylindrical-the," Longy.

## TOM MANY-HORSES:

46. *ts'ò st'Lá*, "Gopher" (literally, "he has run into a hole").

## TOM HEAVEN-FIRE:

47. *ást's'á t'ànsida*, "first on-top-he-sat-down-the," i.e. First-to-Mount (his Horse).

48. *nidaγá*<sup>a</sup> "prairie-chicken-the," i.e. Prairie-Chicken.

## BOB LEFT-HAND:

49. *t'sist'àyà*, "Mink."

50. *ts'à mizálá*, "beaver his-neckwear-the," i.e. Beaver-Col-lar. It is worth noting that *ts'à* (Ath. \**ts'á*\*) is no longer freely used in Sarcee for "beaver," perhaps because of its phonetic identity with *ts'à*, "excrement" (Ath. \**ts'an'*). For "beaver" they now say *muc'á dik'ádi*, "his-tail it-is-broad-the, the broad-tailed one."

51. Nickname: *t'Liysi güdlu*, "left somewhere-self-be-the," i.e. Left-handed.

## DODGING-A-HORSE:

52. *dilit'cá' nágáts'i t'La*, "his (own) horse he-runs-behind-for protection-the," i.e. Running-behind-his-Horse-for-Protection.

53. *gütlâ t'sinist'üwu*, contracted from *gütlâ t'sinist'üwu* "many-times one-has-shot-an (arrow) at-him-the," i.e. Often-Shot, at (in battle.)

## PETER BIG-PLUME:

54. *t'áγá t'sinsxàt'Là*, "in-the-water one-has-thrown-him-the," i.e. Thrown-in-the-Water.

55. *misi ml'íza*, "owl his-child," i.e. Owl-Child.

## JACK BIG-PLUME:

56. *misi t'águ*, contracted from *misi it'águ*, "owl he-is-flying-the (past)," i.e. Owl-which-had-Flown-away.

57. *k'a'tc'adjìγà'*, "new-young-(buffalo-)bull," i.e. Recently-Turned-Bull. *tc'adjìγà'* is a "two (or three) year old buffalo bull."

## DICK NIGHT:

58. *milit'cak'a'á'ágùdlí* (final vowel rises from middle to high), contracted from *-k'á á't'ágùdlí*, "his-horse-plural it-is-bad-the," i.e. Bad-Horses, Owing-Bad-Horses.

## JIM STARLIGHT:

59. *máγazínà náyist'Lidzɣa*, "wolf he-is-lean-diminutive-the," i.e. Lean-Wolf.

60. Nickname: *t'ásgì'na'*, "Policeman," said to refer to the red jackets of the Northwest Mounted Police. Jim Starlight is the policeman of the reserve.

## JOE BIG-PLUME:

61. *di'í'k'ázá'sná'*, contracted from *di'í'k'ází isna-l*, "it-is-red-the he-eats-the," i.e. Eating-Red-Things.

## JOHN WATERS (properly HEAD-ABOVE-WATER):

62. *dimázák'a t'anánisda'*, "his (own) -knife-on on-top-again-he-sat-down-the," i.e. He-who-again-Mounted-his-Knife.

63. *na'á'í'úwú dicgàc*, "he-weaves-something-the (=spider) he-is-black," i.e. Black-Spider.

## MANY-WOUNDS:

64. *gutLa di'í'xádík'ádi*, "many-times he-has-been-wounded-the," i.e. Often-Wounded.

## PETER MANY-WOUNDS:

65. *í'k'áyi t'a'ík'í*, "(buffalo-) bull three," i.e. Three-Bulls.

66. Nickname: *súlà'*, "Woolly."

## CHARLIE CROW-CHIEF:

67. *dilit'càk'a t'anánisda'*, "his (own) -horse-on on-top-again-he-sat-down-the," i.e. He-who-again-Mounted-his-Horse.

68. *tlidáγǎ'*, contracted from *tlidáγǎ'-l*, "dog-lip-hair (=whiskers) -the," i.e. Dog-Whiskers.

## OSCAR OTTER:

69. *tlá'á'p'á t'sínás'ini*, "everyone one-looks-at-him-the," i.e. Looked-at-by-Everyone.



## GEORGE BIG-CROW:

70. *t'sudá k'á'ínà*, "boy male-be-the," i.e. Boy-Man, Manly-Boy.

## PAT GRASSHOPPER (nicknamed SLIM):

71. *nídáyát'áγá*, contracted from *t'áγá-i*, "prairie chicken-wing-the," i.e. Prairie-Chicken-Wing.

## JOHN BULL-COLLAR:

72. *níst'sínàs'ì γe'ì'láL*, "it-blows (=wind)-against he-runs," i.e. Running-against-the-Wind

## GEORGE BIG-PLUME:

73. *díná níts'ì'l'Lyá*, "person he-is-small-diminutive-the," i.e. Small-Man.

## ANTHONY DODGING-A-HORSE:

74. *di'k'álik'a t'anísda*, "he-is-white-on on-top-he-sat-down-the," i.e. He-who-mounted-a-White-Horse.

## SLEIGH (Cree Indian living on Sarcee reserve):

75. *u'sudás-ùLì*, "one-is-dragging-a (sleigh)-the," i.e. What-is-dragged-along, Sleigh.

## BIG-KNIFE:

76. *mumájà' nùc'awú*, (first word assimilated from *mumázà')* "his-knife it-is-big-the," i.e. Big-Knife.

77. Nickname: *mázà'* "Knify," abbreviated from 76.

78. *mlil'càk'a tLanì*, "his-horse-plural many-the," i.e. Having-many-Horses. This name refers to a fact, Big-Knife having by far the largest herd of horses on the reserve.

## DAVID ONE-SPOT:

79. *ts'ágó-záγák'á*, contracted from *-k'á'-l*, "weasel-foot-the," i.e. Weasel-Foot. Literally translated, "weasel" is "he-is-stone-smoothed-diminutive-the," i.e. "the one whose skin is smoothed (white) with a stone."

80. Nickname: *mìzì nídùwá*, "his-name it-is-not," i.e. Having-no-Name. This name is also abbreviated to *mìzì* (cf. absolute *mìzì* "his name").

## JOHN WHITNEY (also called JOHN ONE-SPOT):

81. *dìl'ánì γe'ì'láL*, "he-flies-off-the (=eagle) he-runs," i.e. Running-Eagle.

## WOLF-CARRIER (deceased):

82. *màγázind'áγáLì*, contracted from *màγázind' i'γáLì*, "wolf he-is-carrying-the," i.e. Wolf-Carrier.

BIG-BELLY (deceased chief):

83. *k'úł'ádi'ł'lát'ł*, "down-hill-he-is-wont-to-run-the," i.e. Always-Running-Down-Hill.

LIZARD (deceased):

84. *ná'ł'iniłá*, "Lizard" (relative diminutive in form, but etymology uncertain; connected by John Whitney with *ł'iná* "trail").

PIEGAN-BOY (deceased):

85. *ł'sidá'sgànat'sidá*, "Piegan-persons-boy-the," i.e. Piegan-Boy.

ROLLING-HILLS (deceased):

86. *gúd'ł'cúlá*, "country-is-rolling-the," i.e. Rolling-Country.

BULL-HEAD (deceased):

87. *ł'k'áts'ł'ł*, contracted from *ł'k'áyłs'łhł*, (buffalo-) bull-head-the," i.e. Bull-Head.

EAGLE-RIBS (deceased):<sup>2</sup>

88. *dł'ánłt'ák'á*, contracted from *-ł'ák'á'ł*, "eagle-ribs-the," i.e. Eagle-Ribs.

LITTLE-CHIEF (deceased):

89. *xák'idjłs'ł'łá*, "Chief-Little."

LITTLE-BEAR (deceased):

90. *niniłáts'ł'łá*, "Bear-Little."

SPOTTED-EAGLE (in origin legend):

91. *dł'ł'áni dł'dłci*, "eagle he-is-spotted-the," i.e. Spotted-Eagle.

CROW-FLAG (in origin legend):

92. *ł'sá's'ł xá'áys'a*, "crow he-has-a (pole) -sticking-out-the," i.e. Having-a-Pole-sticking-out (of his painted tent) -with-a-Crow (for a flag).

EATING-TREE-TOPS (a woman):

93. *łc'łláłà gúsná*, "tree-point-the somewhere- (she) -eats-the," i.e. Eating-Tree-Tops.

STARLIGHT (a woman):

94. *łc'łtc'ł'ł*, "it-is-wont-to-shine-like-a-star-the-the," i.e. She-who-Twinkles-like-a-Star.

#### COMMENTS ON THE NAMES

These names show clearly how well the Sarcee had assimilated the culture of the other Plains tribes with which they came into con-

<sup>2</sup> The Sarcee Indian from whom Dr. Goddard obtained most of his Sarcee text material. See P. E. Goddard, "Sarsi Texts," University of California Pub. in Am. Arch. and Eth., vol. 11, no. 3, 1915, p. 191.

tact. Almost any of them might have been borne by a Blackfoot Indian. Some of them may, in fact, be duplicated among the Blackfoot. Captured-Two-Guns or Two-Guns (no. 22), for instance, seems to bear the same name as the Two-Guns that Dr. Wissler has made the hero of a recent Blackfoot sketch,<sup>3</sup> though it is not in the least likely that there is any direct connection between these two names. It is enough that they grew out of the same cultural soil and were patterned on a model common to the Sarcee, the Blackfoot, and other tribes of the region. We do not know enough about the typical method of Athabaskan nomenclature to compare the Sarcee names with the type or types which they must have gradually displaced. A set of names recently obtained from a Kutchin Indian of Fort Yukon, Alaska, suggests strongly that one of the most common types of Athabaskan names is the sobriquet, a name referring to some personal peculiarity, generally laughable, of the bearer and which is avoided in his presence because of its unflattering implication. Some interesting linguistic evidence on this point will be touched on later. Some of the Sarcee names, particularly the nicknames, are of this type, but the majority refer to the more important facets of Plains life. They imply the use of the horse, the economic predominance of the buffalo, warlike adventures, and the acquirement of sacred "medicines."

Perhaps it is worth noting that not a few of the Sarcee names, for instance "Against-the-wind he-runs" (no. 72), "Tree-tops the-one-who eats" (no. 99), and "On-his-knife the-one-who-again-mounted" (no. 62), consist of more than a single word, that is, are phrases rather than true compounds or simple word-syntheses. Their form would almost suggest that they were somewhat cumbrously translated from equivalent but more compact terms in other languages. In Algonkian, to which both Western Cree and Blackfoot belong, the possibilities of synthetic structure within the limits of a well-unified word are probably greater than in Athabaskan. Hence many Sarcee names seem better adapted to these languages than to Sarcee itself. However this may be, it is likely to be of significance that all the Kutchin names obtained are single words, including, of course, true compounds.

The Sarcee names here listed may be grouped into a number of fairly distinct types, though quite a number of them belong to more

<sup>3</sup> See "Smoking-star, a Blackfoot Shaman" (in "American Indian Life," edited by Elsie Clews Parsons, 1922), p. 46.

than one type. Some of these types are much better represented than others.

I. *Names of Geographical Reference*: Big-Prairie (1); Rolling-Country (86).

II. *Tribal Names*: Sarcee (6); Blood-Sarcee (27); Sarcee-Woman (40); Piegan-Boy (85).

III. *Animal and "Medicine" Names*. These are grouped together because it is impossible to tell, without further information, whether a simple animal reference like "Mink" is concerned with a vision or not. Needless to say, the supernatural experience referred to is not necessarily an incident in the life of the bearer but may belong to the giver of the name. This also applies to names referring to war adventures or other incidents. Animal and "medicine" names may be conveniently subdivided into three groups. (a) *Simple or Qualified Animal Names*: Dog (26); Cow (30); Wolf (31); Gopher (46); Prairie-Chicken (48); Mink (49); Lizard (84); Little-Bear (90); Black-Spider (63); Lean-Wolf (59); Running-Antelope (4); Running-Eagle (81); Owl-which-had-flown-away (56); Dog-Whiskers (68). (b) *Names referring to "Medicines" and to Animals or Parts of Animals considered as "Medicine"*: Sacred Otter (17); Wolf-Carrier (82); Crow-Collar (7); Beaver-Collar (50); Bull-Collar (34); Bull-Shield (33); Crow-Flag (92); Kit-Fox-Tail (19); Crow-Ribs (32); Eagle-Ribs (88); Duck-Neck (39); Prairie-Chicken-Wing (71); Weasel-Foot (79); Thunder's-Child (8); Crow-Child (37); Owl-Child (55); Painted-Stone (35); Having-a-Magnificent-Charms (29); Having-a-Yellow-Painted-Tent (28); Heaven-Fire (23); Starlight (94); Big-Knife (76). Note the patterns "Crow-Collar" and "Owl-Child" as those most typically referring to the manitou relation. (c) *Buffalo Names*: Lame-Bull (2); Bull-Fat (20); Buffalo's-Fetlock (24); Running-Calf (36; cf. a, nos. 4, 81); Recently-Turned-Bull (57); Three-Bulls (65); Bull-Head (87); also Bull-Shield and Bull-Collar listed under (b).

IV. *Names referring to Horses and Riding*: Rider (11); Single-Spotted-Pinto (15); Owning-Bad-Horses (58); Having-Many-Horses (78); First-to-Mount (47); He-who-Mounted-a-White-Horse (74); He-who-again-mounted-his-Horse (67). The name He-who-again-Mounted-his-Knife (62) belongs to the "riding pattern."

V. *War Names*: Captured-a-Gun-in-the-Middle (13); Captured-Two-Guns (22); Captured-an-Arrow (41); He-Stands-on-a-Gun (16);



He-who-Charged-against (the Enemy) (38); Often Shot-at (53); Often-Wounded (64); Running-behind-his-Horse-for-Protection (52).

VI. *Names referring to Incidents or Objective*: Thrown-in-the-Water (54); Running-against-the-Wind (72); Always-Running-Down-Hill (83); Two-Youths (10); Broken-Knife (43); Sleigh (78); Eating-Red-Things (61); Eating-Tree-Tops (93). Some of these are likely to have reference to war or "medicine" experiences.

VII. *Names referring to Personal Characteristics*. He is a Gambler (5); Singer (9); Carpenter (18); Policeman (60); Many-Womaned (12); Looked-at-by-Everyone (69); Manly-Boy (70); Small-Man (73); Little-Chief (89); Having-no-Name (80); Left-Handed (51); Toothed (25); Woolly (66); Roughy (44); Longy (45); Shorty (21); White-Headed (3); Split-Ears (14); Red-Foot (42). Most of the nicknames belong to this type. A great many names of this sort are also used by the Kutchin and Navaho.<sup>4</sup>

There are four names of our list which have a very special linguistic interest. These are:

<i>dzuLà'</i>	"Roughy"	(44)
<i>l'cújà'</i>	"Longy"	(45)
<i>sùl'à'</i>	"Woolly"	(66)
<i>mázà'</i>	"Knify"	(77)

They are sobriquets directly formed with the "relative" and possessive suffix *-à'* (Ath. \* *-è'*) from monosyllabic adjectival or nominal stems. Now ordinarily the *-à'*, when suffixed to noun stems as a possessive, better relating, element, requires a possessive pronoun or other possessing stem before the noun which is possessed, e.g. *u-máz-à'*, "my knife" (from *más* "knife"), *si-l'ùw-à'* "my water" and *utá:s-l'ùw-à'* "leaf's water, tea" (from *l'ù* "water"). Adjective stems, unless frequently as the second element of compounds (e.g. *ts'ádzu* "stone-rough, gravel"), required to be preceded by one or more prefixed elements (e.g. *dí-dzu* "rough to the feel," *dí-l'cúj* "round and long, cylindrical"), i.e. they cannot easily be used as first-position elements. Sobriquets like *mázà'* and *l'cújà'*, therefore, are distinctly peculiar formations and seem to represent an archaic type of form that has survived from the time when the adjective (and verb) stem had a greater mobility than now and when the "relative" suffix (Ath. \* *-è'*, \* *-ε*, \* *-ì*) could be appended to a mono-

<sup>4</sup> See the list of male personal names in The Franciscan Fathers, *A Vocabulary of the Navaho Language*, St. Michaels, Arizona, II, pp. 207-211.

syllabic stem as a sort of particularizing particle without the help of possessive pronouns or other limiting elements.

That these sobriquets are indeed of an archaic type seems to be demonstrated by the fact of their occurrence as independent words in Navaho and Chipewyan as well. Among the Navaho examples given by the Franciscan Fathers are personal names like *yě'l-i* "he who is slightly hunchbacked" (Ath. \**γél-ě*), from *qēL* (i.e. *xēL*) "pack, load," possessive *bi-yael'* "his load" (Ath. \**xēL*, \**mě-γél-ě*); *ch'ā'h-i* "he with the hat"; *gě'sh-i* "he with the cane"; also clan names like *k'ā'i* "willow-clan" (Ath. \**k'ay-ě*) and *yo'ō* "bead-clan" (Ath. \**yo-ē*). These Navaho names are identical in form with Sarcee nicknames like *máz-ā* "Knify." Chipewyan examples taken from Father Legoff<sup>5</sup> are: *gay-e* "le blanc, Whitey" (cf. *de-l-gai* "white" as independent adjective-verb); *douè* (i.e. *due*) "le court, Shorty" (cf. independent *ne-d-douè* "short"); *zenn* "le noir, Reddy" (cf. independent *de-l-zenn* "black"). These Chipewyan nicknames are parallel to our Sarcee *t'cūj-ā*, *sūl-ā*, and *dzuL-ā*. In Kutchin the final short unaccented vowel dropped, as regularly in this dialect. The resulting monosyllabic adjective forms do not seem to be used entirely alone but require a preceding noun. Forms like *Charlie t'cā* "ragged Charlie," *Sarah γo* "round, plump Sarah," and *Jinny lāl* "sloppy Jinny" are current today. Kutchin forms like *γo*, *lāl* are regular reflexes of Ath. \**γ(w)enj-ě*, \**lēl-ě*, which belong to the same general type as our Sarcee, Navaho, and Chipewyan examples.

<sup>5</sup> Le Rév. Père Laurent Legoff, *Grammaire de la Langue Montagnaise*, Montreal, 1889; see p. 30.

## Editorial Note

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Fang-Kuei Li



## An Expedition to Ancient America

The anthropologists of the University of Chicago are like all other anthropologists known in considering their academic work but half, and that the smaller half, of their work. Field work among primitive peoples is the very life of their discipline. In accordance with this tradition, Professor Cole and I have been devoting a great deal of attention during the last two years to formulating plans for an anthropological field program.

One of the items in this plan which has especially interested me is the intensive linguistic study of a certain group of American Indian tribes known as "Athabaskan" or "Dene." These tribes have a very interesting and irregular distribution. The main portion of them is settled in the northwestern part of the American continent, ranging all the way from Hudson Bay to near the mouth of the Yukon River in Alaska. The southern division of these peoples embraces the Navajo and Apache tribes of New Mexico and Arizona. Aside from a few isolated Athabaskan tribes, the remainder of the group is situated in two geographically sundered areas in southwestern Oregon and northwestern California. It is the southern of these two Pacific groups of Athabaskan tribes which especially engaged the attention of the University of Chicago during the summer of 1927. Wedged in among a large number of linguistically alien tribes, these Californian Athabaskans, who have been thoroughly assimilated in their mode of life to the customs of their neighbors, present a somewhat puzzling problem. Important linguistic and ethnological materials on certain of these tribes, particularly the Hupa of the Trinity River Valley and the Kato, had been published by Dr. P. E. Goddard, of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, but my comparative interest in the Athabaskan group as a whole and in its relation to certain other languages demanded a much more refined and accurate study than had yet been made.

Attention was particularly concentrated on the Hupa Indians, chiefly because their language seems to present especially archaic features. They are also the most interesting of the Californian Athabaskans in cultural respects, for they share in the very peculiar Northwest Californian

culture which is so characteristic of the lower course of the Klamath River and of the Pacific coast at its mouth. I took along with me Mr. F. K. Li, an able Chinese student who is specializing at the university in general linguistics and who was eager to develop a first-hand acquaintance with field methods in the study of aboriginal languages. This is probably the first time in the history of linguistic science that a properly trained Chinese student has studied an American Indian language in the field.

### A Dying Culture

We arrived in Hoopa, the site of a small Indian reservation, in the latter part of June, and found ourselves in a delightful valley tucked away in the Coast Range mountains, far away from the tourist of the highway but, sad to relate, within earshot of the ubiquitous Ford, which seems to be owned by every Hupa Indian who can afford the initial outlay. In spite of this, however, we soon discovered that first class informants were by no means difficult to secure. The old Indian culture has largely disappeared, it is true, and what remains of it cannot resist the inroads of modern civilization much longer, but there are many men and women who still remember the old life and the language is still spoken in its purity by many even of the younger people. Mr. Li stayed with me [11] long enough to acquaint himself thoroughly with field methods and then left to follow up a few clues that we had obtained that might lead to the discovery of the Mattole language, an Athabaskan dialect that was supposed to be extinct. Very fortunately Mr. Li succeeded in finding an Indian at the mouth of the Mattole River, in the southern part of Humboldt County, who remembered a great deal of this distinctive Athabaskan dialect, though he had not spoken it for over thirty years. This means that Mr. Li was able to rescue for science a language that will probably prove to be of very considerable importance in reconstructing the original features of the whole Athabaskan group—no mean feat for a first field trip. In the latter part of the summer Mr. Li proceeded to Round Valley reservation, where he made a record of the Wailaki language, another Athabaskan dialect. The combined party, therefore, succeeded in making a rather complete and adequate record of no less than three Athabaskan languages in the course of the summer's work.

Aside from some incidental work on non-Athabaskan languages, which took up only a small share of my attention, I devoted a little more than two months of continuous research to the study of the language and culture of the Hupa Indians. I was very fortunate in securing the services of an Indian named Sam Brown as my chief interpreter and one of my best informants. Sam Brown is a curious combination of the conservative Indian and the up-to-date Indian who has become too sophisticated to accept the teachings of his forefathers without criticism. It almost seemed at times as though he were divided into two personalities. One half of him was lost in the dim past of conceptions that are almost unintelligible to the white man. The other half of him seemed utterly at home in the modern world of scientific application and religious scepticism. At one moment Sam would speak of some mysterious rock, which one is forbidden to touch, with obvious faith and awe. At another he would turn around with a smile and declare that the old beliefs were "all imagination." This dualism of Sam's was extremely fortunate for me, for it meant that he was the ideal interpreter of the old life and the old conceptions to the inquiring white man. There were other interesting Hupa informants who rendered important assistance, but Sam Brown was easily the most valuable of them all.

The Hupa field trip was eminently successful. Many intricate points of Hupa phonetics and grammar which had remained obscure were cleared up, so that it will now be possible to use the Hupa evidence, along with that previously obtained from such other languages as Sareee and Navajo, in the difficult task of working back to earlier Athabaskan conditions. More than seventy-five Hupa texts dictated by Sam Brown and other Indians made a valuable record for the ethnological study of the Hupa, while a good deal of supplementary material on the customs of the Indians was obtained by direct questioning. The titles of some of these texts will give an idea of the nature of the material secured. "How Acorns are Treated," [12] "The Jumping Dance," "Rules of Daily Life: Insults," "Tall-Boy's Wife Scolds the Young People," "Power over the Grizzly Bear," "A Woman's Love Medicine for Getting a Man," "Prayer in Going over the Trails in the Mountains," "Medicine Formula Pronounced over a Child to make him Wealthy and Brave," "Good Looking Men and Women," "The After-World," "The Feast of the First Salmon," "Medicine Formula to Purify one who has Handled a Corpse," "Tattooing," "Two Young Men Do Black Magic," "A Blaspheming Village," "A Medicine Formula for War."



## Poetry in Hupa Life

The life that is revealed by such texts as these and by the information obtained in answer to direct inquiry is a strange and in many ways a beautiful one. Northwest Californian culture had been described in terms that led one to think of these Indians as interested in little else than the pursuit of individual wealth. This impression, while not wholly unfounded, seems to me to be unsound. There was in the old culture an unsuspected depth of feeling for things sacred and beautiful. In everything that he did the Indian of the old time felt himself in touch with supernatural powers. Everything that he did that was contrary to the proper way of life helped to "spoil the world," to unsettle that very center of the world which is known today as the Hoopa Valley. The Indians were by no means insensible of the beauty of their country. In one of the medicine formulae it is related how one of the beings of the pre-human epoch went about in search of adventure. He came to a high point from which he looked down upon the Trinity winding in and out among the river flats which were later to become the sites of the Hupa villages. Overcome by the beauty of what he saw, he cried out, "Why should I be going about looking for other lands when I come from the most beautiful place in the world?"

## Editorial Note

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## A Linguistic Trip among the Navajo Indians

The summer of 1929 marked the beginning of a new method in studying the customs, languages and archeological remains of the American Indians. For the first time in the history of the teaching of anthropology in this country the various American universities interested in the scientific study of our aboriginal population have pooled their resources and provided opportunity for graduate students to acquaint themselves in the field with the methods and problems of American Indian Anthropology. Owing to the munificence of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and of the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial a "Laboratory of Anthropology" has been founded with headquarters at Santa Fe, one of the purposes of which is to look after the field researches referred to. During the present season the university groups have formed themselves into three parties. One of these, under the direction of Dr. A. V. Kidder, has been carrying on work at the famous Pecos mines in the southeastern part of the state of New Mexico. A second party, under the direction of Dr. A. L. Kroeber of the University of California, has been studying the customs of the Hualapai Indians of Arizona. The third party, under the direction of Dr. Edward Sapir, of the University of Chicago, has devoted itself to the field study of the Navajo language and has just finished its work on the Navajo reservation.

The personnel of this third party consists of eight individuals: Dr. Sapir, Father Berard Haile, Harry Hoijer, W. H. Sassaman, Victor Riste, Alden Lillywhite, Alden Stevens and Dr. Paul Kirchhoff. A word as to each of these. Dr. Sapir, who is Professor of Anthropology and General Linguistics at the University of Chicago, has for many years been interested in the comparative study of a particular group of Indian languages, those known as Athabaskan, which stretch with many interruptions from the interior of Alaska and the Mackenzie River Valley, south into the arid country of New Mexico and Arizona. When the opportunity was presented to him of instructing graduate students in linguistic field methods he chose a tribe which would at the same time be typical of the life of the Southwest and dovetail into the special Athabaskan researches. The Navajo, the most populous and in many

ways one of the most interesting of American Indian tribes, seemed especially suited for the scene of operations of the party. Father Berard Haile is known to all students of the Southwest as the authority par excellence on the language and customs of the Navajo and the party owes a very special debt of gratitude to him for his active participation in the work. For many years he has been the chief scientific spirit in the group anonymously known to anthropologists as "The Franciscan Fathers" with headquarters at Saint Michaels, Arizona. Of late years Father Berard has been relieved from practical missionary work and has been able to devote himself to the scientific study of primitive folk. His status on the party is that of Fellow representing Catholic University, Washington, D.C. Harry Hoijer is a young graduate student of the University of Chicago, who had already had some experience in linguistic field work in Oklahoma and who is hoping to make American Indian linguistics his specialty. He is also a Fellow of the School and represents the University of Chicago. These three men may be considered as the linguistic professionals of the group.

Of the other five members of the party, Mr. Sassaman, another Fellow representing the University of Chicago, is a graduate student who expects to devote himself to the study of primitive life and who has been getting a grounding in linguistic methods as an aid to future ethnological work. Mr. Riste, a Fellow representing the University of Washington and an impending graduate student at the University of Chicago, is in much the same position. Mr. Lillywhite came not as a Fellow but as a graduate student of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, while Mr. Stevens, an undergraduate of the same university, was charged with the task of looking after the truck run by the party and has been sharing in its scientific work at the same time. Dr. Kirchhoff, finally, is a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow, who has come from Germany to study American field methods in anthropology and has attached himself to the party in order to gain some insight into linguistic methods as an aid to ethnological research. In many ways the group has been a remarkable one. In spite of considerable differences of training and interest it has worked together as a most effective unit with headquarters at Crystal, New Mexico. Professionals and novices have worked together on the same problems and with the same Indians and have assisted each other to the utmost of their ability.

In the course of the work three older Indians were engaged to dictate myths and accounts of Navajo customs in their own language, while three younger Indians were employed to add to this material and to

interpret all of it for the benefit of the group. The time was divided between formal analysis of the linguistic material obtained and the more rapid work of amassing scientific data. In this way instruction was combined with original research. Dr. Sapir feels that the season's work has been decidedly successful in both respects. Those who were new to the task of working out the phonetics and structure of a difficult Indian language by the direct method of oral dictation have obtained an insight into this very specialized type of research that could hardly have been obtained in any other way.

At the same time a very noteworthy addition has been made to our knowledge of the Navajo language and of Navajo lore. In due course of time the materials gathered, when properly worked up, will be published as a contribution of the Laboratory of Anthropology to our scientific researches in the Southwest.

One cannot close this account without a word on the practical conduct of the expedition. The truck, which was purchased for the party in Chicago, gave it great freedom of movement, a necessity in so scattered and thinly populated a country as the Navajo reservation, so that in addition to its proper linguistic work the party was in a position to take in quite a little of the life of the natives. No better headquarters could have been selected than Crystal, New Mexico, at which excellent accommodations were provided by Charles Newcomb, an Indian trader who has had a great deal of practical experience with the Navajo Indians and who in a hundred little ways has helped materially to make the work of the party a practical success. It is a great pleasure also to mention the very generous spirit in which Mrs. Charles Newcomb has ministered to all the wants of the party. One and all of them feel that they have had to endure very little of the expected rigors of field work but have had all the comforts and hospitality which one associates with the amenities of civilized life.

### Editorial Note

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## A Note on Navaho Pottery

with Albert G. Sandoval

Few of the Navaho women of today remember the precise technique of Navaho pottery; fewer still, if any, still make this crude ware. At Dr. A. V. Kidder's request I tried in the course of field work among the Navaho in the summer of 1929 to assemble a few facts about pottery making, but could get nothing tangible on the subject till the latter part of the fall of 1929, when I received a letter from my interpreter, Albert G. Sandoval, of Lukachukai, in answer to my suggestion that he make inquiries among the older women. The passage dealing with pottery reads as follows (slightly edited by E.S.):

I want to tell you what I found out about the Navaho pottery. I got this from my mother-in-law, who used to make some. She says that first you look for a certain kind of mud (adobe), the kind that is not apt to crack when it starts to dry. She says that it is rather hard to find this kind of mud. It is reddish in color and very sticky when you start to work it. And then you pick some of the broken pottery around in the ruins in the Navaho country, and then you grind that pottery up and mix it with the adobe and work it into a stiff dough, so that you can work the clay into any shape you want and it is ready to be made into a pot or bowl.

First you take a piece of that clay and flatten it out and shape it like a sauce-dish in any size you want. Next you take small pieces of the soft clay you prepared and roll them as a baker rolls out the dough when he is baking bread, and wind them around one on top of the [576] other, using a corn-cob to smooth it inside and out as you go along to the finish. When you have it all finished and the pot is dry, but not too dry, you use a small boulder, about the size of a hen's egg, and very smooth, to rub it and polish it in that way. She says you are to keep the pot inside of a hogan while doing this because if you do it outside or in the draught, the pots are liable to crack on you. And another thing — not everybody can go into where they are making pots because it is bad luck, that is, you are bound to have bad luck if you allow everybody to come and watch you.

You keep those pots inside of the hogan until they are perfectly dry, and when they are thoroughly dried you are ready to bake (i. e., fire) them. In baking them, you rub together sheep manure, enough to completely cover your pots, and set fire to the sheep manure with the pots in it. Let it burn gradually, and when it all burns up, your pots are ready for the pitch, which you have ready for them. The pitch you apply to the pots while it is hot. And that is about as well as I can explain the making of pots to you in English.

## Editorial Note

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## A Navaho Sand Painting Blanket

AS is well known, the Navaho Indians have of late years taken to the weaving of sand painting blankets, that is to say blankets in which the usual geometrical designs are replaced by more or less faithful copies of sand paintings belonging to the great curing ceremonies known as "chants," such as the Night Chant, the Mountain Chant, and the Shooting Chant. As the actual sand paintings of the rituals must be destroyed before nightfall of the day on which they are laid down in the ceremonial hogan and as, further, it is forbidden for the "chanter" to keep a permanent record of the sand paintings which are part of his curing ritual, these sand painting blankets are, by definition, blasphemous—doubly so, indeed, for to the wrong of preserving what should be a transitory moment of holiness is added that of an illegitimate transfer of the picturing of an episode in a ritualistic origin legend from a sacred context to a mundane article of sale. The older Navaho are said to be very much opposed to these blankets but the demand of the white man appears to be more powerful than religious sentiment.

The weaver has a simple expedient for warding off the curse which follows a tampering with holy things. By deliberately changing the sand painting design here and there she feels that she absolves herself from the charge of blasphemy. The blanket decoration looks like a genuine sand painting to the white man but to the gods and instructed Navaho the departures from ritualistic accuracy put the woven blanket into the class of profane objects. No curse need follow the weaving—at least, so it is hoped.

The blanket figured in this paper<sup>1</sup> was purchased by the writer in the summer of 1929 at Crystal, New Mexico, one of the less frequented trading posts on the Navaho reservation. It was made by Manuel Denetsone's wife, according to the trader, Mr Charles Newcomb. A Navaho, Albert Sandoval, who was then interpreting for the writer, very kindly went over the details of the design with him and pointed out what he considered to be its "inaccuracies." He was naturally unable to say which departures were intentional, which due to a faulty memory. The latter possibility is by no means to be excluded, for a weaver, like any other non-chanter, would only have sporadic opportunities for seeing any particular sand painting and might readily have failed to note minor details in the composition. It is obvious,

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks are due Mrs C. S. Ford for the drawing of the blanket design and to her and Dr C. S. Ford for calling my attention to a number of details in the design, to Father Gerard Haile for one or two points of terminology.

however, that certain gross "errors" in this blanket were intentional and it seemed to be Albert Sandoval's feeling that few of them were due to mere ignorance. His comments are given for the light they throw on an interesting phase of Navaho psychology.

According to Albert Sandoval, the sand painting woven into this blanket belongs to the Male Version of the so-called Shooting Chant (na'at'oe' biká'ží).<sup>2</sup> A somewhat similar, but by no means equivalent, sand painting was published by Natalie Curtis (Burlin) in "The Indians' Book," plate opposite page 366 (edition of 1923), and is referred by her to the Mountain Chant.<sup>3</sup> The four sacred figures represent, from left to right, the Holy Young Man (diné'h diyi'ni), the Holy Young Woman (č'iké'h diyi'ni), the Holy Boy (kiyé'h diyi'ni), and the Holy Girl ('at'é'd diyi'ni). The body of the Holy Young Man is all black and is covered with white zigzags representing forked lightning ('acinlX'is). These lightning lines should not only run down towards the feet but also up to the wrists [1].<sup>4</sup> The feet are missing [2]; they should be accompanied by "black-edged moccasins" (ké bā'h našž'i'd) [3].<sup>5</sup> The anklets, right-angular attachments to the missing feet, represent lightning. They should be black, not red and blue [4], and they should have four corners, not three [5]. The two bars, blue and red, at the knees should also appear at the ankles [6] and at the wrists [7]. The placing of the bars—whether blue-red or red-blue in the direction away from the face—is of importance. In the former case the chant to which the sand painting is attached is a "blessing-way chant" (hóžó'ží hatá:l); in the latter, a "fighting-way chant" (de:zlá' hatá:l). The "fighting-way chant" is ap-

<sup>2</sup> Phonetic note: The orthography employed in this paper is strictly phonemic. The characters *c* and *č* represent *ts* (of English *hats*) and "*tc*" (of English *chew*) respectively; *š* is "*c*" (of English *shoe*), *ž* is "*j*" (of French *je*); *z* and *ž* are "*dž*" and "*dj*" (of English *adze* and *judge*, approximately); *χ* is *tl* (lateral affricative); *γ* is velar voiced spirant before *a*, prepalatal voiced spirant before *e* and *i* ("rubbed" *y*); *t'*, *k'*, *c'*, *č'*, *χ'* are glottalized stops and affricatives. Syllables with acute accent (e.g. *á*) are high-toned; unmarked syllables (e.g., *a = á*) are low-toned.

<sup>3</sup> I owe this reference to Miss Eva M. Horner, formerly a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Chicago.

<sup>4</sup> The numbers in brackets represent "errors." Mrs Burlin's sand painting shows the lightning lines from the knees to the feet and from the elbows to the wrists in figures 1, 2, and 4, and from the knees to the feet alone in figure 3.

<sup>5</sup> In Mrs Burlin's sand painting the feet are shown and underneath them are bars, bordered in black and red, which probably represent moccasins. In the song (p. 368) which the chanters sing "while dressing the runners to represent the Divine Ones" pictured in her sand painting occur the lines:

Moccasins decked with black,

Thereof he telleth.

The Navaho text has "ke-pa-nashjini" for the first line.



propriate for a patient who is bit by a rattlesnake, struck by lightning, or hurt by water. The present sand painting obviously goes with a "blessing-way chant."

The skirt, skirt fringes, and belt fringes can be decorated to suit the individual fancy. The arm fringes, or pendants, must be yellow and brown, not yellow and black [8],<sup>6</sup> as in the blanket. The lower tips of these fringes should be decorated in black and red, not blue [9] and red, with a white strip on each side. The neck should always have a ground of blue and four red stripes, not three [10], as in the figure of the Holy Young Man of our blanket; the other figures are correctly represented with four red stripes at the neck. The order of the blue and red stripes does not matter.<sup>7</sup> The horizontal yellow bar at the bottom of the face represents the evening twilight (nahócoi). Instead of the inner red border at the top of the face there should be a bar of white [11], representing the dawn (hayólká'í). Above the yellow bar there might be a parallel one of blue, representing the sky blue (nahode'á'í'ž), and across the eyes another horizontal bar of black, representing the night or darkness (čahá'xe'í); but these middle bars are generally omitted. The white, blue, yellow, and black, if all present, are an obvious replica of the colors of the four cardinal points (east, south, west, and north).<sup>8</sup> The face-color is always brown, here represented by the ground color of the weaving, and is laid down before the other colors are put on. The ear-pendants (žá'á'ó'í) are of red and blue, representing turquoise and red shell respectively, and the white line in the blue represents the string which attaches the pendants to the lower face-corners. The vertical red

<sup>6</sup> It seems reasonable to suppose that the black is a purely technical substitute for brown, as the ground color of the blanket is a brown, against which a decorative brown would not stand out.

<sup>7</sup> This discrepancy, as Dr and Mrs Ford point out, is probably due to a technical slip in the weaving. "Figure 2," they remark, "has four red stripes on the neck, as is quite plain from the blanket, although in the picture the red band melts in with the red color of the dress. If the blanket was woven from right to left, the following is a likely explanation of the differences in the neck-band representations

"Figure 4 is correctly represented with four red bands on a background of blue. Figure 3 is also correctly represented with four red bands on a background of blue, but the order is different. In figure 3 the blue band appears first immediately beneath the yellow border of the face. In figure 2 this blue band was kept in the same position as in figure 3. This necessitated, although four red bands were meant, the running of the red into the red of the dress. It thus appeared to the weaver that there were only three red bands in figure 2, a representation which was continued in figure 1."

<sup>8</sup> See "An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language" of The Franciscan Fathers, p. 40, for the four colored lights: "first light and early dawn," "azure, the deep sky-blue at dawn or sunset," "the yellow light at sunset," and "darkness, dark light of the north."

bars on the side of the face—the connecting one should be white, as we have seen—represent a face paint of red ochre (*čí'h*). All around the head (presumably only the sides and top are meant) is a border of black, not blue [12], representing the hair, and about this in turn is a concentric border of red, representing horse-hair (*lí'ya'*). The two parallel right-angled strips of white erected on the head represent string for the tying of soft breast feathers (*'ac'os*) to the hair. These feathers are represented by the heavier white bar. Under this bar is a slender line of black and spots of red and yellow (in figure 2 the red spot is missing), representing a turkey tail (*tažice'*). The color scheme of this turkey tail is incorrect [13]. It should be red, blue, yellow—starting from the string—followed by the flange of white at the tip.

The second figure, the Holy Young Woman, should be corrected in a number of features as for the Holy Young Man [2, 3, 6–13]. She wears a dress of various colors—red, yellow, blue, white, and black. The order of these colored triangles does not matter, the ornamentation being purely decorative, not ritualistic, as is also the case with the skirt and fringes. Albert Sandoval considered the use of the yellow, blue, white, and black correct, but was not convinced that the red was allowable [14?], for red is the color of blood and should not be used except where ritually prescribed. If, therefore, the blanket weaver has here been in error, it is probably through ignorance rather than intent. Both the legs and the arms [15] should have a straight line of black [16], to represent the flash lightning (*haco'olyaí*). The curved attachments to the feet represent the rainbow, which should have a strip of white [17] between the red and the blue (see below).

The third figure, the Holy Boy, is an exact replica of the first, aside from the four red bars of his neck, which is not a relevant contrasting feature, the reversed order of the red and blue lines inside the skirt, an immaterial ornamental variation, and the object that he should be holding in his right hand (see below). Needed corrections should be made as for the Holy Young Man [1–9, 11–13].

The fourth figure, the Holy Girl, is an exact replica of the second, aside from the different color scheme of her dress (blue, white, green, gray, red, and black, which is a purely decorative, not ritualistic, contrast, the presence of the red spot in the turkey feather and of blue-red bands on the wrists, the difference of order in the red neck-bands, and the object that she should be holding in her right hand (see below). Needed corrections should be made as for the Holy Young Woman [2, 3, 6–13, 14?, 15–17].

The circular objects of blue and black-spotted white which the divine

figures hold in their hands are all incorrect, being merely decorative substitutes for the correct objects, which quintessentially define the holy beings. These missing objects were evidently felt to be too sacred to be represented in a blanket. Albert Sandoval was not sure what these substituted symbols were meant to indicate but thought they might be baskets. In that case the three black spots might mean cornmeal or an offering of pollen. The

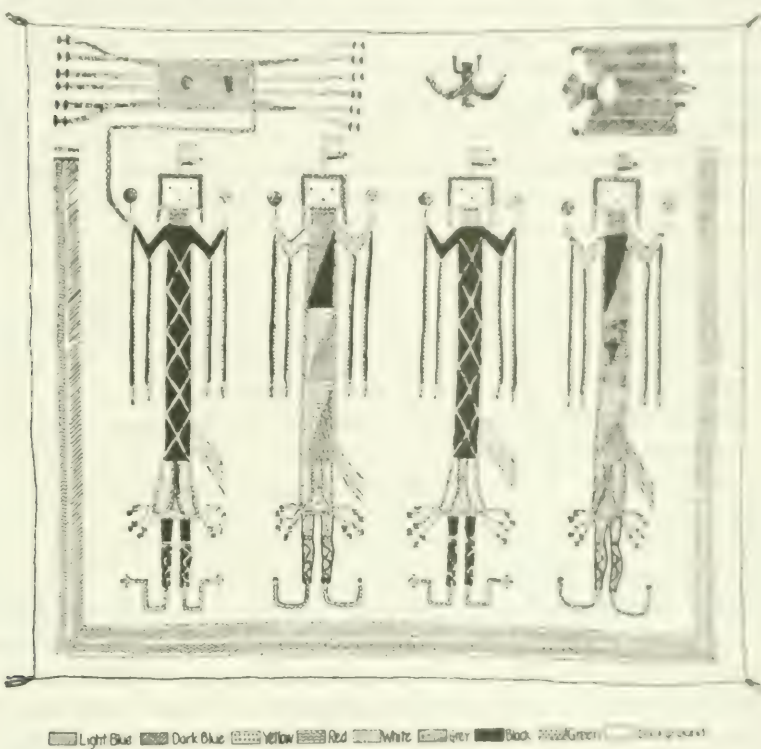


FIG. 1. Color scheme of a Navaho sand painting blanket (52½ x 56 inches).

Holy Young Man should hold a black bow ('alt'i'n dilt'it) in his left hand [18] and a ceremonial object known as "feathered with an eagle tail-feather" ('ace' be-st'á'n) in his right [19]. The Holy Young Woman should hold a yellow bow known as 'att'i' cétkani' ("the bow of cétkani'," a wood doubtfully identified as "yellow mahogany") in her left hand [20] and a "feathered cane" (gisist'á'n = giš yist'á'n) in her right [21]. The Holy Boy, like the Holy Young Man, should hold a black bow in his left hand [18] but, by contrast, has a "yellow-feathered arrow" (ce' k'isdi coi) in his right



[22]. The Holy Girl has the yellow bow of the Holy Young Woman in her left hand [20] but in her right hand she holds a "red-feathered arrow" (t'ałčí' k'a') [23].

The border of blue and red which surrounds the four holy beings on three sides is called "a string" (ał'ó·l) and, according to the sand painting, may be interpreted as rainbow, lightning, or smoke. In this sand painting the border must be taken as the rainbow (na'c'í·lid), which goes with the represented figures, for, according to the well-known Navaho belief, the supernaturals travel through space with the flinging of the rainbow. It is colored like the rainbow-anklets of the Holy Young Woman and the Holy Girl, which are in error, however, in not having the dividing strip of white [17] which is properly shown in the rainbow border. The surrounding white of the rainbow is correct. The disconnected white bars at the ends of the rainbow, however, are merely a substitute for the head [24] and tail [25], which are respectively at the left and right ends, sunwise movement.

The figure at the upper right is the bat (ža'abaní), the door-guard. His representation is correct so far as it goes, but Albert Sandoval thought there was something missing [26?]. The bluebird (dóli') to the left of the bat does not belong to this sand painting at all [27].<sup>9</sup> The tentacled object at the upper left represents a tobacco pouch (nát'ohzis). The forked lines of red, blue, and white attached to the right side of the pouch should both curve in (lower right to upper left) like goat horns [28] and should fork into three or five white lines, not two [29]. The number of middle white lines too should be three or five, not two [30]. All these corrections for the pouch strings on the right apply to those on the left except, of course, for the counter-curve of the "goat horns." At the end of each of the white lines the crescents of red and black, which are deer hoofs, should be three or five in number, not two [31]. Along the upper and lower sides of the pouch, presumably on the outside, there should be a white zigzag line for forked lightning [32]. The blue circle on the pouch represents the sun. The blue triangle represents a pipe, which is supposed to be lit by the sun. It should have a white line at the base to indicate ash [33]. The long red and blue line attached to the lower side of the pouch represents the pouch string. It should not connect with the Holy Young Man [34] but should merely run out a little from the pouch. Bat and tobacco pouch always go together in the sand paintings.

Albert Sandoval remarked that the figures of a sand painting must never touch each other. If they do, it is a sign that the people are going to have a

<sup>9</sup> Mrs Burlin's sand painting has no blue bird at the top but only two bats facing each other, corresponding to the bat and tobacco pouch of our sand painting except that the two bats are centered between the second and third figures.



fight. Such a sand painting as this would take eight men working together about three hours to lay down. They start from the center and work outward.

Unfortunately we are not in a position to state categorically what is the nature of these thirty-four (and possibly other) "errors." It seems fair to assume that not all of them are intentional departures from the ritualistic norm but that some of them are due to:

1. Unfamiliarity with the minor details of the sand painting [such, perhaps, as nos. 4, 5-7, 9, 11-14, 16, 17, 27, 33, 34]. It seems difficult to believe, however, that the insertion of the bluebird [27] is a mere transfer from other sand paintings in which it is in place. Can it be that the weaver inserted the delightful, happiness-bringing bluebird as a personal good-luck token to take away the curse of handling a ritualistic design for non-ritualistic purposes?

2. Technical difficulties [e.g., no. 8, already commented on] or oversights [e.g., no. 10]. To produce a set of goat-horn curves [no. 28] in a medium such as a woven blanket would probably have demanded more care than the weaver thought worth while.

3. "Undercutting," the well-known Navaho trick of always leaving out something, however trivial, in a communication involving holy things, such as telling an origin legend, teaching the novice a chant, copying a sand painting [such, perhaps, as nos. 3, 26, 29-32].

The last, generalized, motive leads insensibly to the specific fear of copying peculiarly holy symbols without ritualistic justification. The omissions and substitutions that come under this head can hardly be regarded as other than intentional. They comprise in this blanket, with nos. 1, 2, and 15 still doubtful:

[1, 15]: lightning up to wrist of holy beings omitted, presumably because of fear of lightning in their hands;

[2, 15]: lightning interrupted at lower end by absence of feet and moccasins, perhaps to disconnect representations of holy beings from attached lightning and rainbow symbols;

[18, 19]: substitution of "baskets" for black bow and ceremonial object with eagle tail-feather in hands of Holy Young Man, to avoid significant identification of figure in blanket with figure in actual sand painting;

[20, 21]: substitution of "baskets" for yellow bow and feathered cane in hands of Holy Young Woman, to avoid significant identification;

[18, 22]: substitution of "baskets" for black bow and yellow feathered arrow in hands of Holy Boy, to avoid significant identification;

[20, 23]: substitution of "baskets" for yellow bow and red-feathered arrow in hands of Holy Girl, to avoid significant identification;

[24, 25]: substitution of white bars, a purely decorative feature, for head and tail of rainbow, presumably to avoid significant animation of rainbow.

In brief, the holy beings, essentially characterized by continuous lightning from hand to foot, by the swift animated rainbow which is their holy symbol of progress, and, above all, by the symbolic bows and feathered objects which they hold, are deprived of their ritualistic reality. There is no true animation in the blanket design. It is a dead decoration and the weaver may reasonably hope to remain free from sin.

### Editorial Note

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## Hupa Tattooing

CHIN TATTOOING FOR WOMEN, as is well known, is characteristic of the tribes of northwestern and central California and northward into Oregon. The custom is described for the Hupa by P. E. Goddard in his *Life and Culture of the Hupa* (UC-PAAE 1:20):

All mature women have marks tattooed on their chins. These marks are vertical and vary in number and width. Sometimes curved marks are added at the corners of the mouth. Delicate marks were placed on the chins of quite young girls. These were added to in size and number later in life. The Hupa deny that they mark age or social status, declaring that they are for ornament only. The tattooing was done by pricking in soot with a sharp flint or a splinter of bone.

An equivalent statement for the Yurok is made by Kroeber in his *Handbook of the Indians of California* (BAE-B 78:77-78). Figures 45 and 46 of this work give a convenient summary of Californian skin-tattoo designing.

In the summer of 1927, in the course of linguistic and ethnological work among the Hupa, I secured from Sam Brown, a very intelligent half-blood Hupa Indian, a brief text on tattooing. It follows in as literal translation as is consonant with easy intelligibility.<sup>1</sup> Notes, which explain or amplify various passages, follow the text.

Long ago, when the Jumping Dance<sup>2</sup> was held at Ta'k'imildin,<sup>3</sup> I saw it, how in the fall girls raised their little burden baskets in the morning and went off after fir pitch. They all went across the river. And then Water-flows-past-him-place,<sup>4</sup> now dead, came across with them in order to interpret for them with the Yurok Indian who understood chin tattooing. Widow-he-has-been-made,<sup>5</sup> he used to be called.

He said to the girls, "Now! go to get pitch!" And then when they had gone up the hill to In-the-big-flat-place,<sup>6</sup> each of them carried out pitch in her burden basket to where that Yurok Indian was staying across from Ta'k'imildin on the gravel. And then he built two roofed structures circle-wise with rocks, and in them he dumped the pitch. And then he built

<sup>1</sup> The field work was undertaken for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, to which thanks are due for permission to use the material in this place.

<sup>2</sup> This is the fall '8'idilye', popularly known as "Jumping Dance." For an account of the ceremony see Goddard, *op. cit.*, 85-87.

<sup>3</sup> The main village, ceremonially, of the Hupa as a whole. It belongs to the lower, or northern, geographical moiety of the Hupa. See Goddard, *op. cit.*, 12, 13, and map opposite p. 88. A plan of the village is given, *op. cit.*, 129. The name, while very likely referring to the acorn feast held here, literally means "where one prepares acorn mush"; cf. Goddard, *op. cit.*, 80.

<sup>4</sup> This name, to'xode'ldin, is the name of a house in the village of Me'dildin. The owner of the house, Captain John, was named after it. The wealthy men or "chiefs" of the Hupa and Yurok were generally called after the houses they occupied rather than by their proper personal names. Cf. Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> The Hupa form of the name is 'isdiya n'ewin xowil'we'n. The "widow" refers literally to a woman and the name is equivalent to Shaved-head. This Yurok was from Johnson's (Hupa name, ni'nidahsa'andin, "where earth round-sits above, knoll place") on the Klamath river, above the Yurok village of Requa. He was visiting among the Hupa for the dance.

<sup>6</sup> Hupa xonte'lkohme', up on a bench back of Oscar Brown's place.

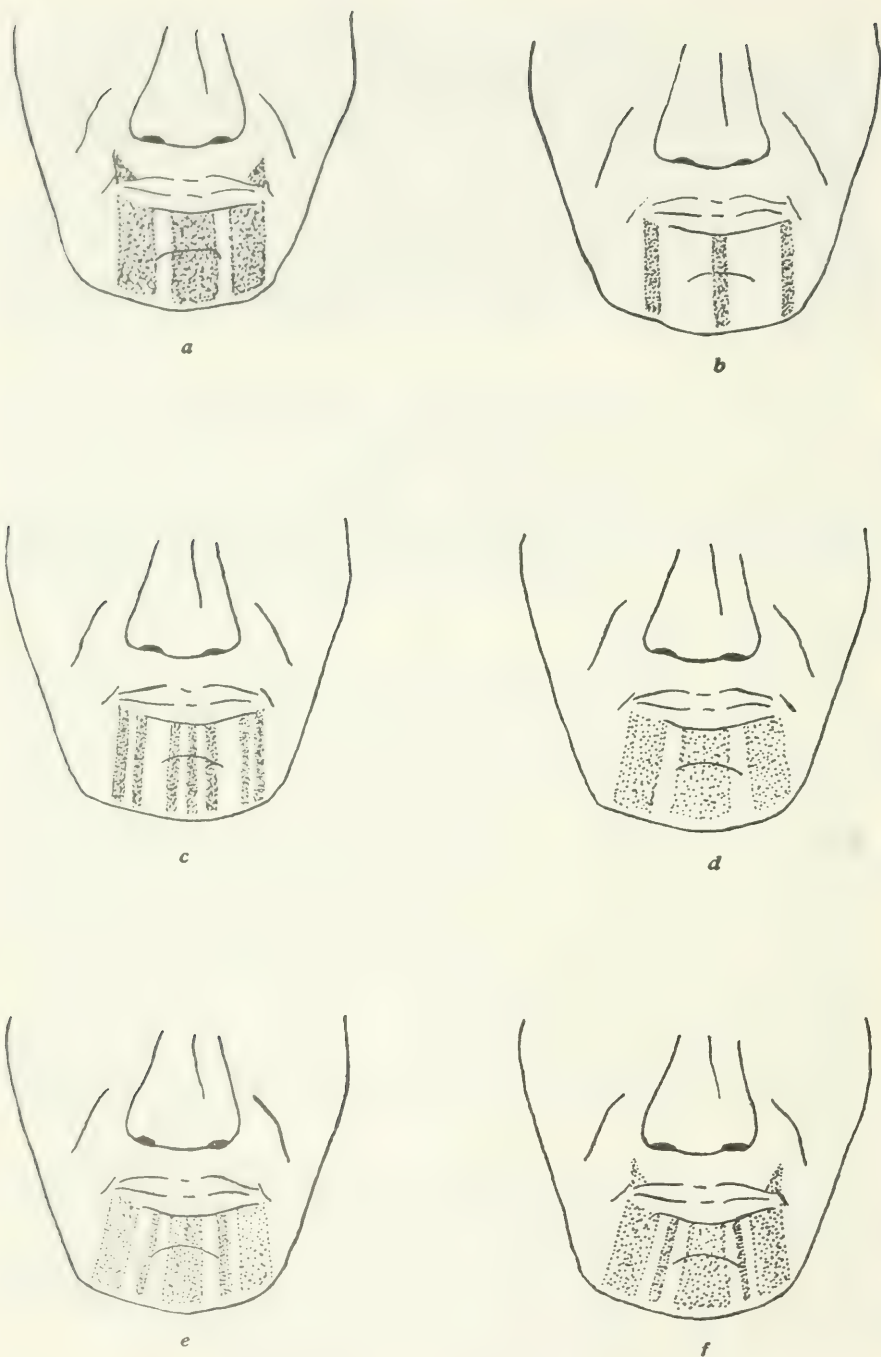


Fig. 9. Chin tattoo designs of the Hupa and neighboring tribes.  
See text for interpretations of varieties a-f.



in the rocks all around until they met on top of the structure.<sup>7</sup> Then with fire he poked the pitch,<sup>8</sup> did this to the pitch in both places. And then, after a while, when it burned up, after he had taken the rocks off from the fire,<sup>9</sup> he scraped from them all the fine particles of black which had been thrown on by the fire.<sup>10</sup> When he had done this to all the rocks, every one of the girls sat down.

With soot mixed with marrow<sup>11</sup> they were already marked<sup>12</sup> down their chins in whatever way they wanted it. And then of one of them first he tattooed the chin, with a quartz silver<sup>13</sup> he keeps cutting it, he keeps cutting at it in short dabs. With a stick he scraped off the blood. And then he keeps putting in that pitch soot. Finally, when he has tattooed the chins of one or two girls, night falls.<sup>14</sup>

And then, when he has tattooed the chins of all of them, they do not eat, anything white they do not eat—only seaweed and anything blue, such as salal berries, so that their chin tattoo marks may turn blue. But if she eats anything white, her chin cannot turn blue.

Just that much do I know of this tattooing of their chins.

They used to say, if a girl's chin was not tattooed, "You, are you going to look like a mount Lizards run into your mouth, your chin is not tattooed. Your ears are not punched through."<sup>15</sup>

Men used to be tattooed only inside their arms, some on their chest; some used to make signs of measuring where dentalia are measured. As soon as they stop growing, they tattoo for that purpose.<sup>16</sup>

The ten chin-tattoo designs illustrated in figures 9 and 10 were drawn by Sam Brown.<sup>17</sup> The interpretations are also his.

Figure 9a, characterized by three broad bands on the chin and two triangles at the upper corners of the mouth, is a combination of two distinctly

<sup>7</sup> In other words, he built two circles of boulders and then put other rocks on top of each in ever-lessening circles until they met in the center, which stood a foot or a foot and a half from the ground. The ground within the circle of boulders was somewhat scooped out to hold the pitch. The inner faces of the rocks were to catch the soot. It is of some interest to note that the Hupa verb for "building a roofed structure," *ɬ miɬ* (*me'n*), *Maitale* *ɬ biɬ* [*be'n*] "to build a house," is also found in Navaho, *ɬ bi* "to build a (new) Hogan." This verb is based on an old Athapasean noun, "roof, roofed structure," which appears dialectically as "roof" (Carrier, *bon*, Kaska [Jenness], *ba'n*) or "house" (*Chasta Costa*, *mon*), in Hupa as a diminutive, *min'-s*, "menstrual hut."

<sup>8</sup> "To poke the pitch with fire" is the technical term for "to light the pitch."

<sup>9</sup> Carefully, so as not to shake off the soot. He collects it for the "ink," as Sam Brown put it.

<sup>10</sup> Hupa has a technical term for these particles, *dahe'isde'*.

<sup>11</sup> This fatty stencil soot is called *mit-xo'a'di'e'n* in Hupa.

<sup>12</sup> The Hupa verb for "tattooing," *ɬ-ta'e'*, really means "to mark" and is used in this passage as well as in those referring to tattooing.

<sup>13</sup> This tattooing instrument is called *cehigay*, literally "white stone." A boulder of quartz is broken up and the sharpest bit, which is quite small, is taken for the knife.

<sup>14</sup> In other words, he cannot expect to tattoo more than two girls at most during the day, the work is so slow. Tears drop down their cheeks as he cuts. He has to wait quite often. They had to be careful with the tattoo marks. They generally kept them covered until they healed, which took about five or six days.

<sup>15</sup> An incidental reference to another required bodily mutilation. The ears were punctured with a porcupine quill. It was pricked in lightly in the evening, and by morning it had worked its way through. The Yurok did not, it seems, perforate the ear; see Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 77.

<sup>16</sup> For these measuring tattoo marks, see Goddard, *op. cit.*, 48, 49. "Signs of measuring where dentalia are measured" correspond to Goddard's "creases on the left hand." Sam Brown's marks "inside their arms" are doubtless also for measuring. Goddard states, "He also had a set of lines tattooed on the inside of the left forearm. These lines indicated the length of five shells of the several standards."

<sup>17</sup> My thanks are due Mr. John Crowley, a Yale student, for redrawing the originals for reproduction.

named designs. The band design is called *nite'l-wiltač'*, "wide-marked"; the triangular one, *me'siwiḍlay*, "several carried up along it."

Figure 9*b*, three narrow bands, is called *'ist'ik'isi-wiltač'*, "slender-marked."

Figure 9*c*, a developed form of *b*, is called *'ist'ik'isi-k'ine'ino'*, "slender-several are stood up."

Figure 9*d* illustrates the banded design of *a*, without the triangles.

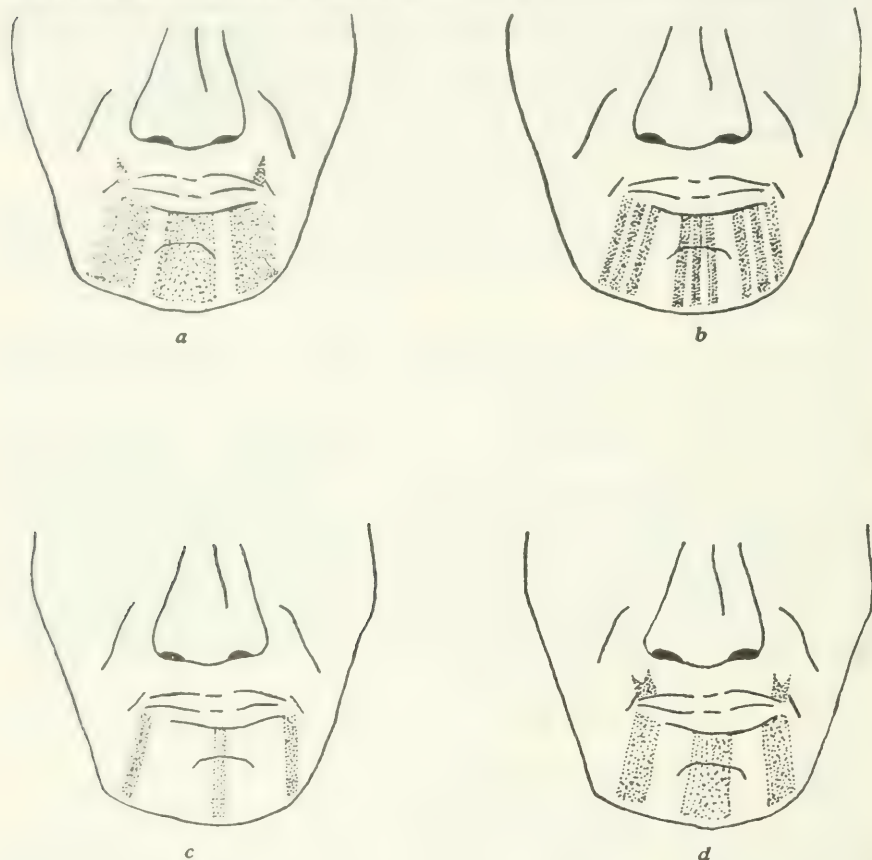


Fig. 10. Chin tattoo designs of the Hupa and neighboring tribes.  
See text for interpretation of varieties *a-d*.

Figure 9*c* is developed from *a* by the insertion of a narrow white streak between the center band and each of the two outer ones. The design is called *nite'l-wiltač' milgai' wilčwe'n*, "wide-marked + made with white thereto."

Figure 9*f* is a combination of *e* and the triangular design in *a*. The design name of the whole is compounded of the two names, the "wide-marked" being omitted: *milgai' wilčwe'n me'siwiḍlay*, "made with white thereto + several carried up along it."

Figure 10*a* is developed from figure 9*a* by the addition of a row of triangular spurs to the two outer bands. Its name combines the three features: *nite'l-wiltač' me'siwiḍlay č'ah-č'e'ŋ'eλ'-wilewe'n*, "wide-marked + several carried up

along it - made with 'caps' in a row coming out." This design was said to be Yurok and Wiyot, not Hupa. The element *č'ah* was entirely obscure to Sam Brown. It is almost certainly the Hupa reflex of the Athapasean noun \**č'a'a*, "cap, headgear" (cf. Navaho *č'a'h*, "cap," Mattole *č'ah*, "hat," Ingalik *č'ax*, "cap of beaver fur," Kutchin *č'e'h*, "cap," Kaska [Jenness] *č'a'h*, "cap," Chipewyan *č'a'*, "hat, cap"). The word had become obsolete in Hupa, not being applied to the woman's basket cap, but lingers on in a disguised form in a design name. Perhaps its proper meaning was originally "peaked for cap" rather than "headgear" in general.

Figure 10*b* differs from figure 9*c* in having all three of the units of figure 9*b* triplicated instead of only the center one. This design is named *taq'i na'ya'kida'ay*, "several with three standing up straight."

Figure 10*c* is merely a slight variant of figure 9*b*.

Figure 10*d* differs from figure 9*a* in substituting forked figures for the simple triangles of the latter. The compound design name is *nite'l wiltao' hglw me'siwidlay*, "wide-marked - with forks carried up along it." This tattoo design, like figure 10*a*, was said not to be Hupa, but to belong to the Athapasean tribe of Van Duzen creek (No'ngahl in Hupa).

It is worth noting that all the names of tattoo designs recorded are strictly geometrical in character. This is in accordance with the general character of Northwest Californian basket design names. The Hupa basket designs described by Goddard (*op. cit.*, 44-48) are named partly geometrically ("sharp and slanting," "set on top of one another," "points sticking up," "it encircles," "they come together," "one-on-the-other its scratches"), partly after fancied resemblances which have no true symbolic significance ("rattlesnake's nose," "grizzly bear his hand," "frog his hand," "swallow's tail," "sturgeon's back," "worm goes round").<sup>19</sup> Interestingly enough, at least one of the tattoo design names is identical with the name of a basket design. This emphasizes the purely technical, geometrical nature of design nomenclature among the Hupa. The identity in question is *č'ah-č'e'η'el'* (fig. 10*a*), which I have rendered "with 'caps' in a row coming out," and Goddard's *teaxceñeL*, rendered "points sticking up." According to Goddard this design "is applied indiscriminately to series of projecting angles" (*op. cit.*, 47). Kroeber obtained the name also for an isolated triangle,<sup>20</sup> but it is probable that the triangle was thought of, in this case, as merely abstracted out of a projecting row of triangles. Furthermore, the simple "tea" or "teax hultwe" (read probably *č'ah* and *č'ah-wilčwe'n*, "cap" and "cap-made, made into a cap" respectively) was obtained by Kroeber for the basketry design called "waxpoo" in Yurok and "apxankoikoi" in Karok.<sup>21</sup> In this too the projecting triangle seems to be the fundamental feature.

<sup>19</sup> See, further, Kroeber, *Basket Designs of the Indians of Northwestern California*, UC PAAE 2:133-139. See pp. 159-162 for pseudo symbolism in Californian basketry design.

<sup>20</sup> *Basket Designs*, 136.

<sup>21</sup> *Basket Designs*, 137.

## Editorial Note

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## Kutchin Relationship Terms

The following very fragmentary set of "Kutchin" Kutchin relationship terms was obtained from a young Kutchin Indian, John Fredson, in the summer of 1923.<sup>[1]</sup>

The system of orthography used is strictly phonemic. Vowels: a as in German Mann; e as in English met; i, when short, as in English it, when long, i:, as in French fini; o, close as in French eau, but pronounced close u: in diphthong io-; diphthongs ending in i are falling diphthongs, those beginning in i are rising diphthongs, while ioi is a triphthong with normal value of o; ̣, beneath letter indicates nasalization of vowel or diphthong; ˊ indicates high tone, ˋ indicates low tone, middle tone is undesignated.

Consonants: d, "intermediate" (voiceless lenis) alveolar stop; t, corresponding aspirated fortis; n, as in English; ˋd, d with voiced nasal attack. g, k, ʁ, intermediate, aspirated, and glottalized guttural stops. x, voiceless guttural spirant, as in German ach; ɣ, corresponding voiced spirant; ŋ, as in English sing. ʃ, c, é, alveolar sibilant affricatives; s, z, as in English. ç, ʒ, like above but with palatalized position. ʒ̣, ç̣, "ʒ̣, sibilant affricatives of position of English sh. ç̣, ʒ̣, sibilants with retroflex position of tongue, with retroflex r timbre. l, lateral spirant. h, as in English; ʔ, glottal stop. The tones of the syllables are contextual, i. e., such as are required when the word is immediately followed by another word. The hyphen indicates that the word has the appropriate possessive pronominal prefix.

1. -tíˊ: father; "my father" is irregular: tíˊiáˊ, also used as vocative  
-hán: mother; "my mother" is irregular: náˊé, also used as vocative
2. -gíˊ: child (of male or female)  
-íˊn̄ʒiˊ: son (of male); also -diˊn̄ʒiˊ, literally "one's man" (also used for "husband")  
-zióˊ: son (of female); cf. zióˊ "young (of animals)," e.g. cáˊzióˊ "young beaver"  
-kíˊ: daughter (of male)  
-éˊcíˊ: daughter (of female)
3. -oˊn̄déˊ: older brother (of male or female)

- čá: younger brother (of male or female)
- ε·ží: older sister (of male or female)
- žió: younger sister (of male or female)
- [John Fredson did not know the "cousin" nomenclature.]
- 4. -tí: paternal uncle
- ε·í: maternal uncle
- ε·kái: aunt (paternal or maternal?)
- 5. -ió: nephew (of male); seldom used of female's nephew
- čá: nephew (of female); literally "younger brother;" less often used of male's nephew [137]
- [John Fredson doubtful if term for "nephew" can also refer to "niece."]
- 6. -cí: grandfather (of male or female); also used for "old man"
- ciq: grandmother (of male or female); also used for "old woman"
- céi: grandchild (of female)
- zí: grandson (of male)
- kiói: granddaughter (of male)
- 7. -kai: husband; also -dížì "one's man" (cf. "male's son")
- 'ád: wife; also -žinjžà' (cf. činjžà' "woman")
- 8. -ó·čl: mother-in-law (of male)
- kí·kai: son-in-law (of male); (literally, "male's daughter's husband")
- 'éh<sup>n</sup>dà': son-in-law (of female)
- q̄ (in certain forms: -há): brother-in-law (of male) = male's sister's husband, wife's brother
- yói: sister-in-law (of male or female), brother-in-law (of female) = male's brother's wife, male's wife's sister, female's brother's wife, female's husband's sister, female's husband's brother, female's sister's husband)
- [John Fredson seemed unable to give the terms for "father-in-law" and "daughter-in-law."]
- 9. -låg: friend, relative
- 'ó·dè' (formally a relationship term): sweetheart; also -žjó' "younger sister," if she is younger than male speaking.

### Editorial Notes

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New Haven, 1970.) Reprinted by permission of Human Relations Area Files, Inc.

1. For discussion of these terms, and of the Kutchin sound system, see Volume XIII of *The Collected Works, Northern Athabaskan*. As Sapir suggests, this list is incomplete, and some items are erroneous; the full set is to appear in the stem list in Volume XIII.





[Foreword to]  
Walter Dyk, *Son Of Old Man Hat*

It is one of the consequences of the gradually deepening consciousness of modern man that curiosity arises about the daily life of communities which are of utterly different race and culture from our own. The systematic ethnologist has done a great deal to map for us the essential cultural outlines of primitive societies and has given us more than a hint of the astounding variability of the forms which man creates and conserves in the course of his struggles with nature and fellowman. There is no dearth of information about primitive houses, artifacts, cooking methods, kinship systems, rituals, and folk-tales. The reader who is not something of an anthropologist, however, comes away from most of this material a little fatigued and confused. He is not schooled to analyze the details of cultural patterning into their tiniest elements, nor to trace out historic lines of development and ethnic interchange of custom running through these patterns and sub-patterns of socialized behavior. He finds it hard to think of custom as a severely objectified network of historically determined patterns, for custom to the average man is merely what you and I do and think because of the unplumbed necessities of our common human nature, and such variations from custom as are not immediately accepted as immaterial embroideries on understood themes are anxiously questioned as to their reasonableness. The ethnologist proudly withholds all value judgments, leaving his more naive — or shall we say, his less completely revised? — reader in the grip [vi] of conflicts of judgment. "If only," cries this man in the street, "I could really and truly understand why these rather interesting people have to avoid all commerce, however innocent, with their mothers-in-law! or why these other, possibly even more appealing, folk make such an ado about obviously unnecessary problems of ritual cleanliness and pacification of spirits!"

In the long run the tight-lipped scientist of custom cannot hold us off with smiles and shakings of the head. There is something valid, at any rate something not wholly to be frowned off the stage of intelligent interest, in these untutored questions about values and meanings. Cus-

toms are not merely eccentricities of history. They must all have meaning, however obscurely and indirectly, in terms of what you and I find intelligible in our own lives and in our own experiences with other people. The truth of the matter is that in their efforts to be precise, detailed, objective, and impersonal, the ethnologists have inevitably been drawn away from the recognition of universal modes of behavior, of universal feelings, of inescapable human necessities. Their triumph can only be transitory, however, for psychology, which is their natural critic and which has, for the most part, been beguiled into charitable absent-mindedness because of an even more intensive preoccupation with what is derivative of man yet not truly man, is now, in its less legitimate and more interesting off-hours, asking the very questions, though in a more commendable vocabulary, that have always been asked by the man in the street.

And so there arises, partly under cover of orthodox ethnology, partly in unconcern of it, the primitive case history — biography or autobiography. One discovers that a "primitive" can talk, often prefers to talk, about his personal memories even where they do not seem to give the ethnologist chapter [vii] and verse for some important rubric in his filing cabinet. His certainty, at any rate his interest, concerning what actually happened to him at various points in his experience obviously equals his assurance about "what we people do." Now it is clear that such a case history can serve various ends, and its form and content are likely to be molded in no small degree by these ends, which may in turn be dictated by temperament, by fashion, by what the questioner is looking for. Before we undertake to estimate the meaning and value of this truly remarkable document, let us be clear as to what it is not and does not pretend to be.

In the first place, it is not a cultural museum. There are historical novels and primitive romances, also a few primitive records of individuals (notably Paul Radin's fascinating Winnebago autobiography, "Crashing Thunder"), which aim to show a given culture in operation, as it were. Such works are dramatizations of cultural patterns, of the mechanics of custom, rather than human documents in the simple sense. They aim to give us the glamor of exotic custom as a background for more or less interesting events affecting people in other times and other places than our own. It seems to be generally agreed that this vivification of custom itself is a ticklish business, for the individuals who are requisitioned for this somewhat technical process — medicine men and Carthaginian priests and outlaws of the Scottish border — have a

disappointing way of dying in the meshes of the tapestry which they are commanded to enliven. There seems, indeed, to be something inhuman about the conscious articulation of custom, just as there is something in us all which rebels at the analysis of words. There is no doubt — at least, I presume there is none — that the Son of Old Man Hat is as completely in the grip of his own culture as any other Navaho. No doubt the detailed picturesqueness of sand-painted gods and goddesses, perhaps [viii] even the secrets of divining and witchcraft, are as present to his cultural consciousness as to that of any Navaho who is urged, or paid, to talk about such matters. But there is no declaration of them in this book, merely a quiet, subtle assumption of their reality in the minds of men. It is as though the intricacies of our economic system had to be pieced together out of such episodic hints as that "she sent Sally to the five-and-ten-cent store to buy herself a pink ribbon" or that "when the crash came the Joneses sold their summer cottage." Navaho culture, so clearly patterned as an ethnological artifact, is here in the mind of the narrator an electrically charged solution of meanings, and Dr. Dyk has been skillful in the transcript, leaving out little that was essential, injecting nothing out of the spirit of romance or scientific curiosity.

Nor is this book a heavily documented contribution to individual psychology. It is in no sense the study of a personality. It is a sequence of memories that need an extraordinarily well-defined personality to hold them together, yet nowhere is this unique consciousness obtruded upon us. We are in constant rapport with an intelligence in which all experiences, remote and proximate, "trivial" and "important," are held like waving reeds in the sensitive transparency of a brook. Such concepts as "ego" or "frustration" seem heated and out of place when we try to feel with this intelligence. Our science tells us that the record is actually as instinct with personality as it is essentially complete in its cultural assumptions, but the stream of memory is too close to the actuality of events to be analyzed in simple psychological terms. We who dramatize life into the eager self and its resisting medium, the physical and cultural environment, will find it difficult, yet soothing, to surrender ourselves to a consciousness in which neither [ix] cultural nor personal values are raised, both resting unassembled at its periphery.

What this singularly untroubled narrative does for us is to destroy all turbulent dichotomies of self and not-self. It is as far removed as possible from the romantic spirit, the self-exploitive phase of which is the sign manual of contemporary American feeling. And so the Son of



Old Man Hat, not by hinting at human likeness or difference but through the sheer clarity of his daily experiences, resolves all cultural and personal conflicts and reminds us that human life is priceless, not because of the glories of the past nor the hopes of the future, but because of the irrevocable trivialities of a present that is always slipping away from us. And for this reason the book is actually closer to us in its universality than the most accurate portrayal of modern conflict could ever be.

I should like to quote two passages, one near the beginning, the other near the end, of the narrative. "About this time I began to herd around the hogan, in the morning and evening when the sheep came home. But I was so small. I went out with the sheep like a dog. I just walked along with them and stayed right in the middle of the herd. I was afraid to go around them, but while I was in the middle of the sheep I wasn't afraid of anything." What psychologist or ethnologist could have anticipated this delicate interplay of the cultural implications of sheep-herding in the lonely Navaho country and the child's timid acceptance of his companionship? Is he the boss or is it the flock? And was ever security more accurately defined?

"He was lying still, just breathing a little all that night, and just as morning came, just as you saw a little white and blue sky coming over the mountain, he passed away. He died that morning and all his relatives began to cry. As soon as he died they told me to go and round up the horses, and [x] while his relatives and friends were holding him and crying I started out, and while I was running I was crying too." Those who wish to know something of Navaho culture should consult the priceless ethnological records of Washington Matthews and the Franciscan Fathers, but in all their pages it is not told what a boy who happens to be about is expected to do when an old man dies.

### Editorial Note

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## Review of Frank G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*

Speck, Frank G. *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*. Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, Vol. I, No. 1. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1909.

If the standard set by this first number of a new series of publications of the University Museum is to be upheld by the succeeding volumes of the series, the University of Pennsylvania will have to be congratulated for being thus directly responsible for a set of anthropological monographs of the highest scientific value and interest. In the volume before us Dr. Speck takes up for detailed ethnologic treatment an important American Indian tribe formerly inhabiting South Carolina and Georgia but now removed to Oklahoma. The importance of a study of the culture of the Yuchi is twofold. In the first place the Yuchi are a typical, perhaps the most typical, tribe of the Southeast, and although Dr. Speck has already given us valuable information on the culture of this area in articles published in anthropological journals, particularly in an extended paper on "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town," it is nevertheless true that the region as a whole could not be considered as well known to the anthropological public as for instance the Plains or the Pueblos of the Southwest. In other words Dr. Speck's study of the Yuchi is in the nature of a pioneer work. In the second place the Yuchi are peculiar in that they are linguistically unrelated to any other known people, so that a thorough-going study of their customs might be expected to reveal much of distinctive interest. This expectation is realized in the work before us.

A rapid survey of the contents of the book will give some idea of its scope. After short but none the less meaty introductory chapters on the history, numbers, human and natural environment and language of the Yuchi, the subject of material culture is exhaustively treated. Under this heading all the various phases of the domestic economy of the Yuchi are taken up, while the implements connected with these activities are carefully described and figured. Agriculture, hunting, fishing, pottery,

basket making, woodwork, preparation of hides, metal work, beadwork, house building, domestic utensils, fire making, preparation of foods, and dress and ornament all receive thorough treatment. The discussion of basket weaves, checker and twilled, forms a particularly interesting portion of this part of the work. In the next two chapters, dealing with decorative art and symbolism and with music, the artistic side of Yuchi life is treated. Very interesting is the characteristic interpretation of geometric designs as celestial bodies or phenomena, a point duly emphasized by the author. Even more significant is the chapter on the social and political organization of the Yuchi. Three social and political units are to be recognized – the clan, a totemic exogamous group with descent in the female line; the society, dividing the tribe into the two main groups of “chiefs” and “warriors,” with descent in the male line, and the town, with its officials, the activities of which are largely associated with a town square, the meeting place and religious shrine of the tribe. Next come chapters dealing with their methods of warfare, their games, and the various customs connected with birth, naming, marriage, puberty, burial, and sundry other activities. The longest chapter in the book, that dealing with religion, follows. First is given the beliefs of the Yuchi in regard to the origin of the earth, light, sun, moon, and stars, and in regard to their own origin. In this connection Dr. Speck lets the Yuchi speak for themselves, for he gives English versions of their own cosmogonic myths. The religious symbolism of the town square is next taken up. This leads naturally to a detailed treatment of the religious ceremonies annually enacted on the square ground, more particularly of the annual festival at the time of the ripening of the corn. This festival is the most important expression of the religious life of the Yuchi: it embraces a new fire rite, a scarification rite, a rite of the taking of an emetic, and a large number of dances. A consideration of the shamanistic practices of the Yuchi concludes the author’s treatment of religion. The last chapter of the book deals with mythology; a valuable element in Dr. Speck’s discussion of this theme is the large number of references he gives to related myth motives in other American Indian mythologies. It should not be omitted to mention that the book is richly illustrated with well executed text figures and plates, some of them colored; these serve to give the reader a more vivid idea of the life of the Indian than he could gain from a mere description, however circumstantial.

In conclusion it is safe to state that Dr. Speck has given us in this volume one of the most important contributions to North American

ethnology that has appeared in recent years. Let us hope that this work is but the first of contributions from his pen to the series it so brilliantly ushers in.

### Editorial Note

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## Indian Tribes and Customs [of the Prairie Provinces of Canada]

The Indian tribes of the Prairie Provinces of Canada may be divided into three groups according to the linguistic stocks that they belong to, the term "linguistic stock" being understood to mean all the languages of a group that can be demonstrated to have been derived from a common source. These three linguistic stocks are the Algonquin, Siouan, and Athabaskan or D  n  . The Algonquin tribes now represented in the Prairie Provinces are the Plains Ojibwa or Saulteaux of most of Manitoba and of south-eastern Saskatchewan; the Western or Plains Cree of Saskatchewan and Alberta, south of Churchill and Peace Rivers, and the Blackfoot Indians of Southern Alberta, this tribe consisting of the three confederated sub-tribes of the Blackfoot proper or Siksika, the Blood, and the Piegan. These Algonquin tribes are not limited to the prairie region of Canada, bands of the Ojibwa being found as far east as the southern peninsula of Ontario, and to the south in the Great Lakes region of the United States, the Cree (including Woods Cree bands under this head) stretching east over a vast extent of country as far as the eastern shores of James' Bay, while the Piegan division of the Blackfoot is represented also across the line in Montana. The Siouan stock was originally represented in Canada by the Assiniboine or Stoney Indians, now in western Alberta, only. In comparatively recent times, however, several bands of Dakota, the so-called "renegade Sioux," have taken up their residence in south-western Manitoba and southern Saskatchewan. The real home of the Siouan tribes lies further to the south in the Missouri Valley, the Assiniboine themselves being but an offshoot of the Dakotas. The Athabaskan tribes found in the two western provinces are the Chipewyan of northern Saskatchewan and the region of Lake Athabasca, who extend also beyond the confines of the Prairie Provinces north to Great Slave Lake and east to Hudson Bay; the Slaves of the country north of Peace River, who are mainly situated further north in the upper Mackenzie Valley; the Beaver Indians, who occupy the country west of the Slaves between Peace and Liard Rivers and thus extend into north-eastern British Columbia; and, quite isolated from

the main body of Athabascan tribes, the Sarcee, who, supposedly a southern offshoot of the Beaver Indians, became thoroughly assimilated to the customs and methods of life of the Plains Indians, established friendly relations with the Blackfoot, and are now located near Calgary. The Iroquois of western Alberta in the neighbourhood of the Yellow Head Pass, whom the vicissitudes of the early fur trade have brought so far west of their proper home in Quebec and who are now very much intermixed with the Cree, may be mentioned for the sake of completeness.

All three of the linguistic stocks of the Canadian Plains include a large number of important tribes extending over large sections of the North American continent; Algonquin tribes are found all through Eastern Canada, the interior of Labrador, and far to the south in the United States, while Athabascan tribes are known as far north as the lower Yukon and as far south as the arid regions of New Mexico and Arizona. The Athabascan languages, resembling in this respect those of the west coast, are harsh and difficult of pronunciation; the Algonquin languages, notably Ojibwa, are remarkably smooth and pleasant; and Sioux and Assiniboine are characterized by a great abundance of nasal vowels. The Athabascan and Algonquin languages have hugely complex grammatical structures, while the Siouan languages are rather simpler.

The number of Indian tribes that made their home in the Prairie Provinces is remarkably small in proportion to the immense territory that they occupied. This is to be explained, at least in part, by the fact that none of these tribes was agricultural in any true sense, so that the economic basis of their life depended on hunting. In other parts of aboriginal America an abundant supply of fish or of [147] edible wild plants made it possible for non-agricultural tribes to lead a settled or semi-settled life in villages, but here on the plains we deal with moving bands of buffalo or caribou hunters, who moved camp frequently and whose territorial limits, at all times ill-defined, changed considerably from generation to generation. Thus the Assiniboine, who were first met with by the early explorers far to the east of their present home, in the country about Lake of the Woods, later moved west to the region of Lake Winnipeg, and then ever westward to the foothills of the Rockies. The advent of the horse must have had a profound influence on the movements of population in this region, in that a ready means was thus afforded the Indian for covering great distances whether in the buffalo hunt or war party. Just when the Plains Indians first learned to use horses is not definitely known, but it is clear that they were well

provided with them by the middle of the eighteenth century, long before they had come into any considerable contact with the whites. These horses seem to have been originally secured by intertribal trade from the Spaniards of the south-west, though there is reason to believe that some horses may have come in also from the east.

From an ethnological point of view the tribes we have been considering are to be classified into two groups or culture areas: the Plains culture area, characterized by dependence on the buffalo and by an elaborate development of ceremonial and ritualistic ideas, and the Plateau-Mackenzie culture area, the tribes of which are to a large extent dependent on the caribou and are lacking in the social and religious complexity attained by the tribes of the first group. Both of these culture areas extend far beyond the borders of the Prairie Provinces, the Plains tribes occupying the region to the south between the Mississippi and the Rockies, while the Plateau-Mackenzie tribes extend far to the north and west to the lower Mackenzie and Yukon. Of the tribes enumerated, the Blackfoot, Sarcee, Assiniboiné, and Sioux are the most typical of the Plains area, while Beaver, Slave, and Chipewyan are to be reckoned members of the Mackenzie area. The Western Cree and *Saulteaux*, while generally accounted Plains tribes, are relatively recent intruders from the wooded country to the east and seem to have only partially assimilated the cultural traits characteristic of the typical Plains tribes.

The physical characteristics of the Indians of the Prairie Provinces have not been very thoroughly investigated. The Plains Indians represent the most typical of the physical varieties of American aborigines in the sense that they come closest to the ideal Indian familiar to us in art and literature, the Indian of rather high stature, bold and prominent features, wide face, high cheek-bones, aquiline nose, and manly bearing. In regard to cephalic index, the average, according to Dr. Boas, is somewhat below 80, which would put these Indians in the mesocephalic or medium-headed class. Further to the east, among the Ojibwa, the index increases, indicating the presence of a brachycephalic or short-headed type. The Athabaskan Indians of the Mackenzie basin do not seem to differ much in cephalic index from the Canadian Plains Indians, but are of lower stature and have less prominent noses.

The economic mainstay of the Plains Indians was the buffalo, which at one time roamed over the plains in vast herds and which provided the natives with flesh for food and hides for clothing and tent covers. The arrival of the horse undoubtedly greatly facilitated the hunting of buffaloes, so much so that there is reason to believe that certain Plains



tribes that were at one time more largely dependent on agriculture became primarily buffalo-hunters when they found a ready means at their disposal of following up the herds. Before the use of firearms, bows and arrows served to dispatch the game. The herds were in earlier times either driven into pounds or corrals constructed of brush and tree trunks, where they were then killed, or rushed down rocky declivities or ledges, where many of them were killed by the rocks. The meat of the buffalo, which formed the staple food of the Plains Indians, was either roasted or boiled, chiefly the latter. The boiling was done in rawhides supported by four props, sometimes in a paunch, the water being heated by means of red-hot stones lifted in with tongs; there are also indications, both archaeological and traditional, of the former use of earthenware vessels for cooking, but this method was long ago abandoned. A typical food used by these Indians when travelling was pemmican: this consisted of the dried muscles of the buffalo pounded to a cake, mixed with mashed berries, and sealed as a preservative with fat.

Other animals than the buffalo, particularly the deer, elk, and antelope, were also hunted for their flesh, but mainly for their skins. Fish were of very minor importance. While vegetable foods occupied only a secondary place in the primitive larder, they are not entirely negligible, the chief of these being several varieties of berries, particularly service-berries, buffalo-berries, and choke-cherries; edible roots, particularly the prairie turnip, and, among the Blackfoot, the camass-root, were dug up with digging sticks and prepared with meat. Agriculture was not practised, though some of the Plains tribes to the south, such as the Mandan and Hidatsa of the Missouri, and the more eastern bands of Ojibwa, had developed a considerable culture of corn, beans, and squashes. Native tobacco, however, used chiefly for ceremonial purposes, was cultivated by all the Plains tribes.

The Athabascan tribes of the north subsisted mainly on the caribou, to a considerable extent also on fish, which were generally caught by spearing or in nets. Meat and fish were boiled in bark vessels held directly over the fire, the water in the vessels preventing the bark from flaming. Owing to the rigorous climate and greater difficulty of securing food, the hunting bands were not infrequently reduced to starvation, resulting sometimes, according to well-authenticated accounts, in cannibalism. These Athabascan tribes, the Cree and the Saulteaux, depended to a considerable extent on small fur-bearing animals, which were snared or caught in dead-falls. Among the Saulteaux several



varieties of fish and game-birds, particularly ducks and geese, were of prime importance. The most eastern bands of Ojibwa of the region discussed doubtless also knew the use of wild rice and maple sugar.

The clothing of the Indian tribes here enumerated consisted almost entirely of the tanned skins of buffalo, antelope, elk, and, in the north, caribou. Several of the tribes were excellent tanners, preparing even-grained and flexible skins, with or without the hair left on, and often darkened by means of a smudge. The instruments and methods employed differed somewhat from tribe to tribe, the typical Plains tools being a chisel-like flesher of bone for removing the fat and an adze-like scraper used to remove the hair. The essential step in the tanning process was the application [148] of the brains of the deer or other animal, which rendered the skin pliable, followed by stretching or kneading. The articles of clothing making up the costume of the Plains Indians consisted of a loose shirt, breechcloth, leggings, moccasins, and buffalo-skin robes. The woman's shirt or dress differed from that of the man in coming down lower, about half-way between the knee and the foot. The woman's costume was further characterized by a pair of garters, often richly ornamented, tied around the leggings. In earlier days the garments were sewed with sinew by means of a bone awl. The various articles of dress, particularly the moccasins, were often decorated with geometrical designs which differ from tribe to tribe. In former times these designs were embroidered by means of dyed porcupine quills, laid down according to a considerable variety of techniques; but in more recent times coloured beads, which are at the same time easier to work and less pleasing in artistic effect, have displaced these. No woven fabrics worthy of the name seem to have been in use among the Plains Indians. Characteristic of the costume of the Athabaskan tribes of the north are footwear consisting of a combination of moccasin and legging, and hoods. Blankets and certain articles of dress were woven out of long strips of twisted rabbit-skin with the hair left on. Such rabbit-skin fabrics, which are extremely warm, were in use also among the Cree, Ojibwa, and many other tribes of northern and western America.

The hair was generally worn long except in mourning; the styles seem to have varied considerably among the different tribes, the men having generally been far more careful about the dressing of the hair than the women. Among the Plains Indians the women either wore the hair hanging loose or in two braids; a favourite method among the men seems to have been the formation of a long lock hanging over the forehead. Among many Indian tribes the hair of the face was often

carefully removed by tweezers. Combs consisting of the tail of the porcupine were common throughout the area discussed. Face-painting was practised by all the tribes, but seems to have reached its highest degree of development among the Plains Indians, among whom definite designs were associated with ceremonial features. Hair and body painting were also practised. Tattooing seems to have been found more among the women of the northern Athabascan tribes than among the Plains Indians. Nose and ear rings also were less in use among the latter, though the ears of the infants were regularly perforated. Necklaces and hair ornaments of different types were in use everywhere, many of these serving at the same time as amulets. It is interesting to note the occurrence of several apparently well-authenticated references to the practice of circumcision among the Athabascan tribes, a practice that on the whole is conspicuously absent among the natives of North America.

Perhaps no single feature is so characteristic of the culture of the Plains tribes as the conical lodge or tepee, nowadays covered with canvas, in earlier days with a cover, sewed together, of several buffalo skins. This type of dwelling, consisting as it did of a portable framework of poles and an easily rolled-up cover, was eminently suited to the life of a roving, buffalo-hunting people. The tepee belonged to the woman, a necessary consequence of which is that the work of putting up the tepee when making camp devolved upon her. The first part of the tepee to be erected is a foundation, consisting, in some tribes, like the Sioux, of three poles, in others, like the Blackfoot, of four; these foundation poles are held in place by a thong tied about their point of crossing. Other poles are then set in their proper place, until the canvas or skin cover, tied to the top of a pole, is ready to be lifted on to and placed about the circular frame. Above the opening for the door, which is usually to the east, the flaps are tied together by wooden pins inserted through holes ready to receive them; the circular bottom of the cover is staked down to the ground by a set of wooden pegs. The fireplace is in the centre of the lodge, the smoke being allowed to escape through the opening at the top of the tepee: this opening can be regulated or, in stormy weather, closed entirely by a pair of flaps or "ears" operated by two movable poles.

The northern Athabascan tribes and the Saulteaux use various types of bark lodges, one of the most typical of these being the conical house, which is somewhat similar in construction to the Plains tepee. The Saulteaux also knew how to construct a semi-spherical lodge, circular or oval in ground plan, constructed of pairs of saplings that were bent



over and tied together, the whole being covered with layers of birch-bark or rush matting. Sweat-houses are universal in the area discussed, being merely temporary structures among the Plains Indians.

Transportation facilities were quite different among the northern Athabascan and the Plains tribes. The well-constructed sleds and snow-shoes made by the Chipewyan, Slave, and Beaver, so necessary for winter travel, seem to have been entirely unknown among the Blackfoot and other Indians of the plains. Moreover, the birch-bark canoes of the Ojibwa and of the northern Athabascans, which differed considerably in type from each other, find no parallels in the plains; this is doubtless due to the shallowness of the rivers of that region, which made canoe navigation difficult. On the whole the Plains Indians felt much more secure on land than on the water, often following the courses of rivers for considerable distances instead of crossing them. Some of the tribes, such as the Sioux, made use of a peculiar tub-shaped craft with skin cover, the so-called "bull-boat," for crossing streams; even this type of craft was apparently unknown to the Blackfoot. Before the introduction of the horse, the native dog was valuable as a draught animal. He was harnessed to a highly characteristic type of carrying frame or vehicle, known as the "travois." This consisted of two long poles coming to a point at the end that rested on the dog's back; about half-way down their length they were lashed to a connecting hoop netted with thongs that served to bear the burden, the diverging ends of the "travois" trailing behind on the ground. Instead of the hoop-frame a ladder-like frame of sticks was often used. Larger "travois" were in more recent times also made for horses, and one can still see the horse and "travois" in use among the Blackfoot.

The industries of the Plains Indians were limited in scope, owing to the rather restricted range of materials at their disposal. Metal, plant fibres, and bark were as good as unutilized in aboriginal times. Owing to the difficulty of procuring wood in a prairie country, woodwork attained a rather limited degree of development. So scarce, indeed, were trees of the required height and shape, that the tepee poles were always carefully preserved in moving about, constituting a valuable form of woman's property. Outside of tepee poles, travois frames, bows, arrow-shafts, lances, and certain ceremonial objects, there was curiously little in the objects of [150] use that was made of wood. Bone and stone were used to a moderate extent. On the other hand, very extended use was made, in the manufacture of many objects, of hides, whether as soft-tanned leather or rawhide. Besides being used for tepee covers, various

articles of clothing, and such miscellaneous objects as dog-harness, travois-netting, and bull-boats, which have been already referred to, skins were invaluable in making tobacco-pouches and paint pouches of soft leather, rawhide bags, and cases of various kinds, folding-bags of rawhide (*parfleches*) used for storage and carrying of meat, quivers, shields, drums, rattles, and other objects. In sharp contrast to the absence of bark as an industrial material among these Indians stands its extensive employment for many purposes among the northern Athabaskan and Saulteaux tribes. Canoes and lodge covers have been already mentioned; bark basketry was also well developed among these tribes. Many articles of skin were also made; particularly worthy of mention are the bags of "babiche" or thong netting made by the Athabaskan tribes.

Of the tribes inhabiting the Prairie Provinces the Plains Indians were by far the most warlike; the Cree and Saulteaux seemed to have been less so, while the Athabaskan tribes of the Mackenzie Valley were known to be relatively cowardly and proved no match for the neighbouring Cree. The war-parties of the Plains Indians were rarely tribal affairs, but generally consisted of raids organized by any one that so desired, accompanied by as many followers as cared to join. Such parties were organized sometimes to revenge the death of a tribesman slain by the enemy in some previous engagement, more often to steal some of the horses of a hostile tribe, thus gaining military glory for themselves. Before the days of firearms the only weapons employed in warfare were bows and arrows, lances, and stone clubs encased in skin; the arrowheads were either of bone or stone. Hide shields served as defensive weapons; apart from their actual protective value, shields were generally provided with painted designs of magic significance, believed to assist materially in warding off the arrows of the enemy. The practice of scalping was widespread in the plains, the scalps of the enemy being generally preserved as trophies. It is a common error to suppose that military prestige depended primarily on the number of scalps a warrior had taken. As a matter of fact, to "count coup" — that is, to be the first to touch one of the enemy, particularly if he was not disabled — was considered a far greater honour.

The artistic ideas of the Plains Indians find expression in decorative art, dancing, and music. Decorative art consists almost entirely of painted designs on tanned skins and rawhides, and of quilled and beaded designs embroidered on objects of tanned skin. The beaded and quilled designs are in practically every case geometrical in character, occurring



on the uppers of moccasins, on soft leather pouches, on ornamented leather strips attached to blankets, and elsewhere. Painted designs are partly of the same sort as these, as in the case of the geometrical designs found on rawhide fringed bags and parfleches, partly realistic in character. The latter type are well illustrated in the painted tepees common among all the Plains tribes, in which a reference is generally implied to the "medicine bundles" of magic power which, with their associated legends and rituals, are inseparably connected with them. A further example of realistic Plains art is to be found in the so-called "winter counts" of the Sioux Indians, which consist of a series of realistic designs painted on buffalo skin and arranged in the form of a spiral; each design serves to recall a past year by referring to some specific event that made it memorable, the winter count thus constituting a primitive calendar and historical record. Several of the geometrical designs referred to, which are nearly all reducible to rectangles and triangles or combinations of these, are found in more than one tribe, but the symbolism may vary or, as in the case of the Blackfoot, may be absent altogether. Good examples of the symbolic interpretation of geometrical designs are to be found among the Sioux; here, for instance, a pair of isosceles triangles resting on the opposite sides of a short base may be interpreted as a feather; an isosceles triangle with enclosed rectangle resting on the base as a tepee; and an elongated diamond as the whirlwind. Among the *Saulteaux* realistic picture-writing, comparable to the realistic paintings of the Plains Indians, are etched on bark; geometrical designs, frequently floral in character, are found on beaded bags and other articles.

Dancing and music, as so often in aboriginal America, are in practice generally found together, though many types of song exist without dancing accompaniment. Instrumental music is of little importance, drum and rattle serving merely as accompaniments to the vocal music. Independent instrumental music was not developed except in the case of the flute or flageolet, which, however, is of distinctly subsidiary importance. A surprising number of types of songs are sung by the Plains Indians, particularly in connection with religious ceremonies. Some of the more important of these, such as the Blackfoot "beaver bundle" ritual and the Sun Dance common to all the Plains tribes, possess hundreds of songs, all of which must be accurately rendered. When one bears in mind the total number of public and private rituals possessed by such tribes as the Blackfoot, the total number of distinct songs used by all the members of the tribe, reaching as it does in the

thousands, becomes truly astonishing, and argues a prodigious musical memory on the part of the old men who have accumulated experience in the proper conduct of rituals. It may be noted that favourite songs are often adopted by a visiting tribe, and may thus travel over a great extent of territory.

The social organization of all the tribes here considered is simple, as contrasted with that of the west coast Indians, in that there are no distinctions of rank observed. Slavery was not developed to any extent, captives in war being either killed or adopted into the tribe. Chiefs had little more actual power than the ordinary rank and file, and it was within the power of every one to gain renown for himself by success and bravery on the war-path. Wealth and the possession of powerful medicine bundles also contributed to give one standing in the community.

The Plains Ojibwa were organized into a rather large number of clans possessing animal totems, the members of which were forbidden to intermarry among themselves. The names of the clansmen, however, do not seem to have been associated to any extent with the clans and totems, and in general the whole clan system was not developed along as rigid lines as among the Iroquoian tribes. The Plains tribes of Canada have no totemic clans, but are more loosely divided into a number of bands that seem in earlier times to have occupied more or less definite territories relatively to one another. Among the Piegan there are over [151] twenty such bands, while among the Blood and Blackfoot proper there are many less; these bands all bear nicknames, such as "Fat-roasters," "Seldom-lonesome," and "Early-finished-eating." It has been thought that bands such as these have been transformed from earlier totemic clans analogous to those of the Ojibwa, but evidence is not conclusive on this point. Marriage is not expressly forbidden within the band, though in practice one generally married outside of it, if only for the reason that most of the members of a band were apt to be blood relatives, among whom marriage was naturally forbidden. In all important tribal gatherings, as for the Sun Dance, the bands arrange themselves in the form of a camp circle, each pitching its tents in a specified part of the circle. This interesting custom is paralleled among all the tribes of the plains, the units of the circle being sometimes clans, as in the case of the Omaha.

Polygamy was common in earlier days among the Plains Indians, though one wife was always regarded as the main wife, whose duty it often was to take an important part in the private rituals of her husband.



Among the Blackfoot a man generally took up his residence with his wife's people, so that his children were reckoned members of her band. The line between men's and women's property was rather sharply drawn, the tepee, among other things, as we have seen, always being accounted the property of the woman. Property was transmitted to both male and female descendants, the property of the woman generally going to the daughters, while that of the man went to his sons. An interesting feature in the social life of the Plains Indians is the avoidance of intercourse between certain people who are related by marriage; particularly strong is the feeling against familiarity of any kind between mother-in-law and son-in-law, it being considered a very serious breach of social etiquette for these to speak to each other. The marriage by a widower of his deceased wife's sister, a custom known as the levirate, was common in this area. Adoption into a family was not uncommon among the Indians of the Plains; among the Sioux there was an elaborate pipe-ceremony intended to bring unrelated men into the relation of father and son.

Perhaps no single feature is so characteristic of the culture of the Plains tribes as the great development of ceremonials. These are partly social in character, but the religious element enters strongly into nearly all of them. As a matter of fact the social and religious elements are so closely interrelated that one aspect cannot well be discussed without the other. Of prime importance are various societies, or fraternities, which have their definite dances, songs, and regalia, and to which members are admitted by a formal process of initiation involving the expenditure on their part of a considerable amount of property. While the social or military functions predominate in certain of these societies, the religious aspect is more pronounced in others. Chief in importance among these societies is a progressive series of so-called Age or Military Societies, the members of which pass in a body from one to the other at a certain period of their lives. The first in order of these societies had a membership of young boys, while the highest was reserved for old men of approved valour and experience. Several of the Age Societies were actively connected with the conduct of war expeditions or with the policing of the camp, particularly when on the buffalo-hunt. Among the Blood the series of Age Societies, known by the inclusive term of All-Comrades, consist, in the order of their rank, of the Mosquitoes, All Brave Dogs, Braves, Black Soldiers, Raven Bearers, Dogs, Horns, and Catchers. Several of these names have a wide distribution among similar societies in other Plains tribes. Generally the women were organized into societies analogous to those of the men.

Owing to complete breakdown of the old military life and system among the Indians, the Age Societies and the rituals belonging to them have lost much of their hold upon the people in recent years. A number of other dances, or more properly rituals, however, still occupy an important place in the life of the Indians. By far the most important of these is the famous Sun Dance, which is found in essentially the same form among all the Plains tribes of Canada and the United States, having even been adopted by certain tribes not generally reckoned as belonging to the Plains culture area. The Sun Dance, or Offerings Lodge, as it is sometimes termed, is primarily a ceremonial of prayer addressed to the sun, the Buffalo spirit being also invoked. It is ordinarily given by a man as the result of a vow addressed to the sun in time of distress. In practice the Sun Dance is an exceedingly complex ritual, lasting several days and consisting of a series of ritualistic observances of religious import, a great number of traditional songs, and the giving of offerings, such as clothing, to the sun. It constitutes, perhaps, the chief force bringing the members of the tribe together, and forms the chief expression of their religious emotion. In earlier days many men inflicted severe torture upon themselves during the Sun Dance, so as to arouse the pity of the powers they supplicated for long life and success. Many other dances of lesser significance are also found, some of them, such as the widespread Cree Dance and Omaha Dance, being popular as forms of social entertainment.

Besides the more definitely public rituals we have briefly considered, there are a great many private rituals associated with medicine bundles. These sacred bundles, which seem to occupy a particularly important place in the religious life of the Blackfoot, are either articles of ceremonial or military use or aggregates of various, in themselves often quite inconspicuous, objects, such as skins of animals, whistles, and heads of birds, kept in wrappings or a bag and believed to be endowed with magic power. A medicine bundle is practically always the property of a single individual, who is supposed to be deriving the benefit of its special magical potency, be it long life, freedom from ill, ability to cure disease, wealth, success in war, or what not. The origin of such a bundle is always a dream, in which some supernatural being, like the Sun, Moon, Morning Star, Thunder Bird, or animal spirit, confers a specific gift or blessing, the outward symbol of which is the bundle, and gives instruction in the form of a ritual, songs, and certain regulations of conduct. The medicine bundle must be carefully handled according to prescribed rules, being generally kept in the rear of the tepee during the



night and placed at various points around it in the daytime. Once, and in some cases several times a day, sweet-grass or other aromatic herb is burnt as an incense-smudge inside the tepee. A bundle may be transferred for a consideration, the ritual of transfer putting the purchaser in the same relation to the power that originally granted it as the first recipient of the blessing. As famous bundles are apt to increase in value with each transfer, they come to partake somewhat [152] of the nature of investments. The various types of medicine bundles which have been described for the Blackfoot are war bridles, weasel-tail suits, hair-lock suits, head-dresses, shields, otter bundles, bear knives, medicine lances, medicine pipes, beaver bundles, Sun Dance bundles, and many types of painted tepees. The medicine pipes and beaver bundles are the most important of these, and have extremely complex rituals connected with them. The possession of a bundle of one of these types does, perhaps, more to give a man social prestige than any other factor.

Distinct from the owners of medicine bundles are shamans or conjurors, whose function it is to extract disease by sucking or by the singing of medicine-songs. Among the *Saulteaux* there are several classes of conjurors, such as healers of the sick, jugglers clever at sleight-of-hand performances, and prophets. The most important ceremonial among these Indians was the *Midewiwin* or *Medicine Lodge*, which consisted essentially of a series of medicine performances on the part of the shamans of the tribe, who were grouped into four ranks or degrees; at the same time novices were initiated into the secrets of the *Medicine Lodge*. An important phase of the religious life of the *Ojibwa* is the acquiring of personal protectors or guardian spirits in dreams; this usually takes place during the period of fasting at the time of puberty. An intimate relation is thus brought about between an individual and a supernatural power, which exercises a profound influence on his whole life. Unlike the medicine bundle of the Blackfoot, the protection of the guardian spirit is not transferable.

The religious ideas of the Indians centred around the general conception of supernatural power, termed *Wakan* by the *Sioux* and *Manido* or *Manito* by the *Ojibwa*. Terms such as these are probably understood rather differently by different individuals, but the general conception emerges of a mysterious cosmic force which takes on many concrete forms and which may be transmitted in varying degree to favoured individuals. Thus an amulet and a supernatural being are alike *manito*, though in quite different form and degree. The heavenly bodies and the more powerful animals are in particular identified with this power, and

we therefore find them prominent in myth, ritual, and prayer. The manifestations of manito, however, are by no means limited to these, and may be exhibited in the most diverse and unexpected forms, animate or inanimate. It would be in vain to seek a definite philosophy or body of religious doctrine in the notions of the Indians on the subject of manito. Though the cosmic power often takes the form of definite supernatural beings, as in the case of the sun, who appears in dreams as an old man, it cannot be said that the Indians developed a clear-cut system of gods or endowed their beings with very definite attributes. The conception of a supreme being was at least vaguely arrived at by the Ojibwa as the Great Manito. Prayers were often addressed and offerings given to supernatural powers. Such offerings were not necessarily of great intrinsic value, but might consist of tobacco or an old garment disposed on some mountain height or other secluded spot. It was the devout prayer implied in such an offering, not its mere outward value, that mattered.

Among all the tribes here considered the dead were believed to depart as ghosts to some far-off other world, generally located in the west. The life led by the ghosts was believed to be rather indifferent and insipid than definitely happy or painful. Despite the undoubted bravery of the Plains Indians, they had a healthy fear of the dead and were eager to get away from corpses as quickly as possible. In the plains the dead were in former times often buried in trees or on high points of land, articles of use belonging to the deceased being commonly placed with them.

One of the most interesting chapters of Plains culture is the mythology of the Indians. The myths, which are handed down orally from generation to generation, are numerous and consist partly of accounts of the legendary origin of various rituals and societies, partly of narratives of adventure dealing with various beings supposed to have existed in a remotely past mythological epoch. The former type of myth is looked upon as more sacred in character and they are often recited or enacted in the course of rituals, while the latter, though believed by the old men even today to be true, are often told of a winter evening for the mere pleasure of the telling. The actors in these are either human beings endowed with supernormal qualities or animals conceived of in the guise of human beings. Some of the myths are of a decidedly humorous turn and give excellent examples of the Indian's comic sense, a sense in which he is often, for some mysterious reason, believed to be lacking. The most humorous stories are generally such as deal with the Trickster,

examples of which are the Old Man of the Blackfoot, Mambojo of the Ojibwa, and Wisakichak of the Cree. The Trickster is generally thought of as a powerful being who does much good for mankind, but who oft-times gets himself into sorry scrapes or plays the clown. Many myths, or at least incidents of myths, are distributed over an immense area in aboriginal America, some of them extending from the Atlantic to west of the Rockies. Such, for instance, is the favourite story of the diving of Beaver or Muskrat for a handful of earth, from which the present world was made.

### Editorial Note

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## An Ethnological Note on the "Whiskey-Jack"

The term "whiskey-jack," locally applied in Canada to the Canada Jay, looks for all the world like a genuine English word. Ingenious theories might be spun as to the origin and applicability of the term. Such theories, however, would be little more profitable than the well-known bit of folk etymology that explains the asparagus plant as "sparrow-grass." As a matter of fact, "whiskey-jack" is merely the perverted English form of an Indian original.

In his "Myths and Folk-Lore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timigami Ojibwa,"<sup>1</sup> F. G. Speck states that "the trickster-transformer Wiskedjak 'meat-bird' is the personified Canada Jay or 'Whiskey-Jack'." He proceeds (pp. 2-16) to give a number of Timiskaming Algonquin tales dealing with this well-known Indian character. The name Wiskedjak occurs in other forms in closely related Algonquin tribes of Canada. In his "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux,"<sup>2</sup> Alanson Skinner gives further tales referring to the same mythological character. The Northern Saulteaux form is given by him as Wisekejack, the Eastern Cree form as Wisagatchak. Further, we find Wisagatchak stories of the Cree included by Frank Russel in his "Explorations in the Far North."<sup>3</sup> The Algonquin and Northern Saulteaux are to all intents and purposes bands of the Ojibwa, who have travelled north and come into contact with their present neighbors the Cree. The main body of Ojibwa tribes are not acquainted with Wisagatchak, so that it is a fair inference that he is, to begin with, a Cree culture-hero and trickster and that many of the tales told of him travelled to various other Algonkian tribes that neighbored the Cree. It is not at all certain, however, that he originally had anything to do with the Canada jay, as he does not seem to be so identified in all of the tribes, nor does the word itself indicate the jay. Evidently related to Wisagatchak is the Fox culture-hero and trickster

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1. Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 71, Anthropological Series No. 9, 1915, p. 1.

2. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 9, 1911, pp. 83-88 and 173-175.

3. University of Iowa, 1898; see "Myths of the Wood Crees," pp. 201-216.

Wisahkâ.<sup>4</sup> The Fox Indians are now [117] located in Iowa, but originally dwelt along the west shore of Lake Michigan. That the Ojibwa, who occupy territory between the Cree and the Fox, should originally have lacked this character in their mythology is somewhat surprising, but is corroborated by the linguistic evidence, which indicates that the Fox language is more closely related to the Cree than is the geographically less remote Ojibwa. The English term was evidently derived from some Algonkian tribe, in all likelihood an Algonquin or Saulteaux band, among whom the identification of the culture-hero with the Canada jay was current.

The meaning of the term Wisagatchak seems to be doubtful. In his "Dictionnaire de la Langues des Cris,"<sup>5</sup> Father A. Lacombe does not attempt to give any etymology for Wisakketjâk, but merely defines the term as "legendary man of the various tribes of the North, to whom they attribute supernatural power with a great number of tricks, turns, and follies. He is regarded as the principal genius and as the founder of these peoples." What has happened, then, in brief, is that an Indian term of obscure meaning, employed to refer to an important mythological being, was, in a limited area, identified with the Canada jay and that this term was then borrowed by the whites as the common name of the jay and finally refashioned into a make-believe English word.

Curiously analogous is the history of the French word *renard* "fox." This word is not of native Romance stock but is merely a French application of the favorite mediaeval trickster Reynard, identified in folk-lore with the fox. The term itself is of Germanic origin and appears in many different forms. Among them are the modern German name Reinhart, and the Dutch and Flemish Reinecke or Reinke.

### Editorial Note

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4. See William Jones' "Fox Texts," Publications of the American Ethnological Society, vol. 1, 1907, pp. 229—379.

5. Montreal, 1874.

## Kinship Terms of the Kootenay Indians

THE Kootenay kinship data here presented were obtained in May, 1916, from Paul David, an old Kootenay chief who was then visiting Ottawa on government business relating to his tribe. His Indian name is *Ganq'u'skle* "red horns."

The phonetic system employed is the standard system now in use among Americanists.<sup>1</sup> The sonant stops (*b*, *d*, *g*) are to be understood as intermediates.

The *ga-* of the following terms is the first person singular possessive pronominal prefix, "my." No distinctive vocative terms were given by Paul David. The pronominal forms in *ga-* were said to be used instead. Thus, *ga-d'to* "my father" (male speaking) was said by him to be also vocatively employed, "father!"

A few remarks of a linguistic nature may be ventured. *-di'to* (no. 1) and *-di'te* (no. 7), despite their outward resemblance, can hardly be etymologically related. *-di'te* is doubtless a reduplicated stem; this is perhaps true also of *-di'to*. Other reduplicated stems are *-bap'a* (no. 6), *-t'a't'* (no. 9), and *-nan'a* (no. 13). *-cwin* (no. 5) is perhaps related to its reciprocal *-co* (no. 2). *-tca* (no. 10) and *-tci'ya* (no. 11) are doubtless related terms. *-ba't'* (no. 19) is evidently a derivative of *-ba* (no. 18); for *-t'* compare no. 16. Nos. 20, 21, and 26, ending in *-nathl*, are based on nos. 4, 5, and 22 respectively. *-'atcawa't's* (no. 25) is derived from *-'atci* (no. 24). Nos. 27-31 are clearly derivational forms, but my ignorance of Kootenay morphology prevents me from understanding their analysis.

The Kootenay system of kinship terms offers a number of interesting features.

1. Chief among these is probably the extensive use of distinct

<sup>1</sup> *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, vol. 66, no. 10 (1916).

Term	Meaning		
	Male Speaking	Male or Female	Female Speaking
1. <i>ga-d'i't'o</i> 2. <i>ga'-co</i> 3. <i>ga'-ma</i> 4. <i>ga-nxa't'i</i>	father	mother son	father  sister's son (see also no. 20) (see also no. 21)
5. <i>ga'-cw'in</i> 6. <i>ga-ba'p'a</i>			
	{ grandmother (paternal or maternal) granddaughter daughter-in-law sister's son's wife	{ grandfather (paternal or maternal) grandson	father-in-law  { grandmother (paternal or maternal) granddaughter mother-in-law daughter-in-law
7. <i>ga-d'i't'e</i>			
8. <i>ga-a't'i'um'i</i>		great-grandfather great-grandmother great-grandchild older brother	
9. <i>ga'-t'a't'</i> 10. <i>ga'-tca</i> 11. <i>ga-tci'ya</i> 12. <i>ga'-tco</i> 13. <i>ga-na'n'a</i> 14. <i>ga'-xa</i>	younger brother		younger brother
	brother's child	older sister younger sister father's brother maternal aunt's husband paternal aunt's husband (see also no. 15) mother's brother paternal aunt's husband (see also no. 14) father's sister maternal uncle's wife mother's sister paternal uncle's wife	
15. <i>ga-a'tca</i>			
16. <i>ga-d'ldet</i>			
17. <i>ga'-gok'u</i>			
18. <i>ga'-ba</i> 19. <i>ga'-ba't</i> 20. <i>ga-nxat'ina't'it</i> 21. <i>ga-cw'in'a' t'it</i>			brother's daughter brother's son sister's son (see also no. 4) sister's daughter (cf. no. 5)
22. <i>ga-nwa'spa't</i>	father-in-law mother-in-law sister's daughter's husband brother-in-law	son-in-law	
23. <i>ga'-cka't'</i> 24. <i>ga'-a'tca</i> 25. <i>ga-atca'wa'ts</i>	sister-in-law		sister-in-law brother-in-law



Term	Male Speaking	Meaning	
		Male or Female	Female Speaking
26. <i>ga-nwa'spa-tinait</i>		brother's father-in-law	
27. <i>ga'-agil-tsmak'ni'k</i>		child-in-law's parent	
28. <i>ga-xat.ga-oniyat'u'm'a'l</i>		parent-in-law child-in-law (after spouse's or child's death)	
29. <i>ga-fluma'</i>		sibling-in-law (after spouse's or sibling's death)	
30. <i>gu-'ok'u-xwe'm'a'l</i>		cousin; any remoter relative of recognized blood	
31. <i>ga'-gonik-na'amo.</i>		remote relative (exact degree of kinship not known)	

terms according to whether the speaker is male or female. The principle is not developed, however, with complete rigor or symmetry. The following table more clearly brings out the workings of the principle in Kootenay.

ENGLISH TERM	MALE SPEAKING	FEMALE SPEAKING
father.....	no. 1	no. 2
grandmother } .....	6	7
granddaughter } .....		
younger brother.....	10	11
brother's son.....	14 }	19
brother's daughter.....	14 }	18
sister's son.....	15 }	20 (or 4)
sister's daughter.....	15 }	21
father-in-law.....	22 }	6
mother-in-law.....	22 }	7
daughter-in-law.....	6	7
brother-in-law.....	23	25
sister-in-law.....	25	24
sister's son's wife.....	6	?
sister's daughter's husband.....	22	?

For other relationships the same Kootenay term is employed by both sexes. It is to be noted that only certain of the terms entered in the sex-table (nos. 1, 2, 7, 10, 11, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24) are exclusively used by either male or female; the rest have a wider range

of significance that includes usages applying to each sex singly or both indifferently. The application of the sex principle is thus involved in a good deal of irregularity and criss-crossing.

2. The principle of reciprocity is illustrated in a number of terms:

grandfather.....	}	no. 6
grandchild (man speaking)....		
grandmother (man speaking)...	}	6
grandson (woman speaking)....		
grandmother (woman speaking)	}	7
granddaughter (woman speak'g)		
great-grandparent.....	}	8
great-grandchild.....		
father's brother.....	}	14
man's brother's child.....		
mother's brother.....	}	15
man's sister's child.....		
son-in-law.....	}	22
man's parent-in-law.....		
man's daughter-in-law.....	}	6
woman's father-in-law.....		
woman's daughter-in-law.....	}	7
woman's mother-in-law.....		
wife's brother.....	}	23
man's sister's husband.....		
husband's sister.....	}	24
woman's brother's wife.....		
man's sister-in-law.....	}	25
woman's brother-in-law.....		

Particularly remarkable is the fact that while the terms for uncle (nos. 14, 15) are reciprocally used (man's brother's *or* sister's child), this does not hold true for the terms for aunt (nos. 16, 17), each of the four reciprocal possibilities being here distinguished (nos. 18-21). The grandparent-grandchild relation may be most readily defined by saying that *-bap'a* applies to all reciprocal possibilities except when two females are concerned (no. 7). Similarly, a single term is used for all parent-in-law-child-in-law relationships (no. 22) except where a daughter-in-law is involved (nos. 6, 7).

3. The sex of the connecting relative is not considered in Kootenay except in the avuncular-nepotic relationships (nos. 14-21).

4. Perhaps the most interesting characteristic of the Kootenay

kinship system is the partial confusion of terms of consanguinity and terms of affinity:

man's granddaughter....	}	...no. 6.....	{	man's daughter-in-law
woman's grandfather....				woman's father-in-law
woman's granddaughter..	}	... 7.....	{	woman's daughter-in-law
woman's grandmother....				woman's mother-in-law
father's brother.....14.....				mother's (or father's) sister's husband
mother's brother.....15.....				father's sister's husband
father's sister.....16.....				mother's brother's wife
mother's sister.....17.....				father's brother's wife.

The first two of these terms are readily understood as developed from teknonymous usage. The woman speaks of and addresses her parents-in-law in terms of her children; her father-in-law is her child's grandfather, her mother-in-law is her daughter's grandmother. The reciprocal usages (daughter-in-law) would follow on the analogy of other reciprocal terms. The other four terms may be thought to suggest the customary marriage of a sibling<sup>1</sup> pair of opposite sex to another such pair. To put this idea into more realistic terms, two male friends marry each other's sisters. On the other hand, the nomenclature may be merely due to a psychological cause, a feeling for symmetrical patterning.

5. Note the use of distinctive terms for relatives by affinity when the connecting link is deceased (nos. 28, 29).

6. The identity or practical identity of the terms for woman's sister's child (nos. 4, 20, 21) with those for son and daughter (nos. 4, 5) suggests the customary marriage of a widower to his deceased wife's sister. In other words, her sister's children are her own potential (step-)children. On the other hand, it is worth noting that "identical" cousins are apparently not classed as brothers and sisters (see no. 30).

<sup>1</sup> "Sibling" indicates brother or sister.

### Editorial Note

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### Corrigenda to “Kinship Terms of the Kootenay Indians”

A number of misprints have crept into my paper “Kinship Terms of the Kootenay Indians” (vol. 20 of this journal, pp. 414–418). They are listed here for the convenience of those who may wish to correct their copies.

Page 414, no. 11: for *ga-d'to* read *ga-di't-o*.

Page 415, no. 21: read *ga-owm·a'tlil*.

Page 416, no. 27: read *ga-'aqtlttsma'k'mr·k'*.

Page 416, no. 28: read *ga-ḡat.gaxəniyal·u'm·a·l*.

Page 416, no. 29: read *ga-tl'uma't'·i'*.

Page 416, no. 30: read *gu-'ok"ku·xwe'm·a·l*.

Page 416, no. 31: read *ga-gm·ik'na''amo·*.

### Editorial Note

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Section Four:  
Beyond North America



## Introduction

Edward Sapir's ethnological writings are almost entirely on native North America, his area of specialization. Nonetheless, there are a few forays into world ethnography which reflect the breadth of his interests and his immediate application of anthropological methods to any novel cultural information he encountered. Included in this section are two papers (Sapir and Hsü 1923a, 1923b) on Chinese folk-tales, co-authored with his friend Hsü Tsan Hwa of the Chinese embassy in Ottawa. Sapir had a long-standing interest in China; his final illness and the Sino-Japanese conflict prevented him from spending a planned sabbatical there in 1937-38.

At the University of Chicago, Sapir collaborated with Charles G. Blooah, a Liberian student who also served as an informant for his courses, on Gweabo linguistics and ethnology. Sapir was fascinated by this African language and published a paper (1931i, see Volume II) on its phonology, as well as the paper (Sapir and Blooah 1929) on Gweabo proverbs included in this volume. In 1929 Sapir wrote to Edmund Day, of the Rockefeller Foundation, that besides the language work itself, "in the course of our work a good deal of ethnological material has also been obtained, such as proverbs and data on social organization, and we plan to follow up this work as well as the linguistic work, which is already far advanced and includes materials that will eventually be published in the form of a complete grammar, a series of native texts, and a complete dictionary." Although Sapir did not plan to visit Liberia himself, in 1930 he arranged a nine-month field expedition there for Blooah and George Herzog, a student of von Hornbostel in ethnomusicology and linguistics who was working with Boas. In 1931 Sapir proposed to Edmund Day that a ten-volume series of publications on "The Djabo of West Africa: Contributions to the Language and Culture of an Eastern Liberian Tribe," with himself as general editor as well as contributor to two of the volumes, the grammar and the dictionary. In the end, however, the major study was delegated to Herzog.<sup>1</sup>

The review (1934d) of Melville Herskovits on Caribbean Negroes indicates that Sapir's enthusiasm for new genres of ethnographic re-

porting persisted throughout his career. Here he discusses the unobtrusive method, "a tangential or unwitting accumulation of significant cultural insights through the accidents of personal experience" (p. 135). He praised the work for lacking the "grimness" of most travel books and ethnographic monographs.

This and Sapir's review (1937c) of an earlier book by Melville and Frances Herskovits on their work in the Caribbean indicate that his ethnographic interests in the New World were not restricted to Indian cultures. In fact, his later theoretical writings on culture (see Volume III) drew on Anglo-American and European examples more frequently than on American Indians. Sapir wrote several papers on contemporary issues in American and European society (see Volume III, Section 2), and while he probably would not have called this work "ethnological," it is clear that he saw the scope of cultural anthropology as global.

### Note

1. See, e.g., Herzog's *Jabo Proverbs from Liberia* (1936).



## Two Chinese Folk-Tales

With Hsü Tsan Hwa

The following Chinese folk-tales were written down by my friend, Mr. Hsü Tsan Hwa, Secretary of the Chinese Consulate in Canada, and corrected by myself. Mr. Hsü heard them in his native Manchuria, and considers them very typical of the tales current among the folk. "Wang Pao Ch'uan" offers points of similarity to our own romantic tales. "Min Tzū Chien" is especially characteristic of the Chinese mentality. Filial piety has always been considered one of the cardinal virtues in China.

E.S.

### 1. WANG PAO CH'UAN

One thousand years ago, at the end of the Tang Dynasty, there lived in Shansi Province a beautiful maiden of good morals and of high ideals. She was the third daughter of a prime minister named Wang, and her own name was Wang Pao Ch'uan.

Lady Wang was a well-educated girl possessing good morals and great knowledge, and, besides, she was one of the most famous beauties in the capital city of the Tang Dynasty. When she was twenty years old, there arose the question of marriage. In regard to this there was a difference of opinion between the father and his daughter. The cruel father desired to have a powerful and noble relative to help him to maintain his political power, and intended to engage his daughter to any young man of noble birth, whether his daughter liked him or not. The wise girl despised those coxcombs, and desired to have a hero for her husband, whether he was rich or poor at the time. The dispute between the father and the daughter was settled by the mother, who suggested that her daughter should have full liberty to choose a husband. She was to throw a ball to her preferred boy among a crowd of suitors gathered in the private park.

A declaration was made. It was announced that on the second day of February Lady Wang was to choose a husband by throwing a ball

to her preferred boy from a high gallery, and that all unmarried young men who wished to try their luck might attend the meeting held in Minister Wang's private park.

Three days before the date set, a gallery in the private park was renewed and beautified, an embroidered ball was sewed, and everything prepared for the meeting. Meanwhile Miss Wang was very sad, because she could not know who among them was the future hero.

There was a poor young beggar whose parents had died without [24] leaving him anything. He was a tall, strong man, and took so much food at every meal that whoever employed him suffered a loss. So there was no work done by him anywhere. He could not help being a beggar. He begged food from house to house, and slept under the gate of any house that he came to. The day before the second of February the beggar came to Minister Wang's palace to beg for something to eat, and at night he fell asleep under the rear gate of the palace.

At midnight Lady Wang was surprised to see a bright light filling the window of her room. She opened this window, and saw a tiger in the air above the rear gate, light raying out from his whole body. It disappeared immediately. Lady Wang awakened her maid, and ordered her to go to the rear gate to see what was there. After a little while the maid came back, and said, "There is nothing but a beggar sound asleep outside of the gate." In ancient times the Chinese, as we know, generally believed that an emperor was the reincarnation of a dragon; the general of an army, of a tiger. When Lady Wang saw the soul of the beggar appearing in the shape of a tiger, she believed that he would be a general, and resolved to marry him. So she brought out thirty taels of silver, and went secretly to the beggar.

She awakened the beggar, and saw that he was a very tall, strong man, with a long, red face and big, bright eyes. She asked him, "What is your name? Why have you become a beggar when you are so strongly built?" The beggar answered, "My name is Hsüeh Ping Kuei. As I take too much food at a meal, none of my employers liked me. So I cannot help being a beggar."

Lady Wang said, "You do not look like a beggar. I believe you are destined to be a hero. I wish to be your wife. Will you marry me?"

The beggar was surprised to hear these words, because he had never dreamed that so beautiful a lady could wish to be a poor beggar's wife. He said, "If you are not deceiving me, what can I say to thank you?"

Lady Wang said, "I shall tell you. To-morrow I will choose a husband by throwing a ball to my choice among a crowd of suitors gathered in

my private park. Now, you are my only chosen one. Please come, and I will throw you the ball. Here are thirty taels of silver for you. Go to a shop to-morrow morning to get new clothes, so that you may get into my private park without hindrance."

The beggar, thanking her heartily, and unable to find words to express his gratitude, took the silver and went away.

On the day set, thousands of young men of noble family attended the meeting. As Lady Wang was one of the most famous beauties in the capital city, every young man wished to get the ball. They rivalled one another in wearing costly and beautiful garments, so as to indicate the official rank and financial condition of their families. [25]

After leaving Lady Wang, the beggar thought that food was more necessary to him than dress; so he kept the silver for food. He still wore his torn and dirty clothes, and went to the park. When he arrived at the door of the park, he was stopped by the porter.

"You are a frog thinking to get the flesh of a high-flying crane," said the porter, glancing at his dirty clothes.

The beggar replied, "Although I am poor, I may have good fortune. You cannot know what I shall be by my poor dress." The porter was moved by his words, and went to ask his master. The master said "No" as soon as he was informed. Fortunately, Lady Wang was there in the presence of her father. She opposed him strongly, and held that all young men, rich or poor, superior or inferior, were equal, and that she would choose her husband, not for wealth, but for his merit. The mother loved her daughter better than her husband, so she helped her daughter, and ordered the porter to permit the beggar to come in.

When the young men had ceased to arrive, Lady Wang with her two maids went up the gallery. She saw a very large crowd of young men. All of them were well dressed and handsome except the poor beggar, who could be easily found by his dirty face and torn clothes. But she paid no attention to those rich youths. She threw the ball down to the beggar. Many youths fought him for the ball; but he was so strong that none could conquer him, and he won the ball.

The beggar brought the ball and went to see his father-in-law and mother-in-law. As soon as Premier Wang learned that a beggar was chosen for his son-in-law, he was incensed at his daughter. He said to her, "Every other suitor was handsome, and richer than a beggar, but you prefer a beggar. Heaven destined you to be a beggar's wife! I do not want you in my noble house, and I would not see you again henceforth. Go away quickly to enjoy your beggar life!"



His daughter answered, "That is my wish. I shall never come to see you except when I have become noble and wealthy. I swear that I shall never beg you for food."

When both the daughter and the beggar were driven out of Premier Wang's house, they had no home. They lived in a deserted kiln. The thirty taels of silver kept by the husband were spent for food in a few days, and then they were beggars. Hsüeh Ping Kuei had a large appetite, so they could not get sufficient food to eat: they were always hungry.

During that time there was a baron in Kansu Province who had revolted and made himself a king. He called his country "Si-Liang." Si-Liang would send an army to fight against the Tang Emperor. There was in the Si-Liang army a famous horse named Hung-Chung-Ma ("Red-Hair-Horse"), which ran wonderfully fast and helped the [26] army to win every battle. The general of the Tang army informed his Emperor that they could never win the war unless they caught the horse of red hair. Then the Tang Emperor announced that the one who caught the wonderful horse was to be rewarded with the command of a rear army.

This announcement was spread throughout the Tang Kingdom. The beggar, Hsüeh Ping Kuei, thought it was time to show his ability. So he said good-by to his wife, and entered the army as a soldier. In one battle he caught the horse of red hair. The general reported this to the Emperor, and the Emperor appointed Hsüeh Ping Kuei commander of a rear army. We remember that Minister Wang was a cruel man. He hated both his daughter and Hsüeh Ping Kuei. When he learned that Hsüeh Ping Kuei had been made a commander for catching Red-Hair-Horse, he became jealous. He slandered the general before the Emperor, saying that there was no Red-Hair-Horse in the enemy's army, and that the general had lied for the purpose of getting a reward and promoting his relative. Then the angry Emperor discharged Hsüeh Ping Kuei, and sent him to the front army as a captain in order to give him an opportunity to win merit and have his punishment assessed.

As the army of Si-Liang was very strong, it was supposed by all soldiers of the Tang army that whoever fought in the front line would be killed. Hsüeh Ping Kuei, before starting out for the front line, went to the kiln to say good-by to his wife. Wang Pao Ch'uan did not wish her husband to run the danger, but Hsüeh Ping Kuei was confident that his strength was great enough to protect him from all danger. Then they departed.



In one battle Hsüeh Ping Kuei was caught by the Princess of Si-Liang, named Princess of Tai-Tsan. She was the bravest general of the Si-Liang army. The King of Si-Liang took a fancy to him, made him swear to be faithful to Si-Liang, and then married his daughter to him.

After many years the King of Si-Liang died. He had no son, and Hsüeh Ping Kuei was put on the throne.

Lady Wang was left alone to beg for food when her husband had gone to fight in the front line. She hoped for her husband's return day after day, but there was no news of him. There were many rumors which told of how Hsüeh Ping Kuei had been killed by the enemy. Lady Wang doubted this, and she made up her mind to wait for him. She begged for food from house to house, and dug wild vegetables herself.

One day her mother went to see her, and wanted her to come back to her house. Wang Pao Ch'uan refused, and said, "However hungry and cold I am, I shall never go back to your house except when I [27] have become rich and noble." Her mother replied, "If you do not come back, I shall live in the kiln with you."

Then Wang Pao Ch'uan pretended that she wished to go back, and let her mother go out of the kiln first. As soon as her mother had gone out, she shut the door, and said, "Mother, please go back! I wish to live in the kiln. Nobody can persuade me to go back. Thank you for your kindness."

Her mother had no way of getting her out, and threw her money through the window; but she threw it back to her mother. Her mother returned with great sorrow.

Wang Pao Ch'uan had a widowed brother-in-law named Wei Hu, her eldest sister's husband, who was desirous of marrying her. Wei Hu was a wicked official, and he made every attempt to tempt her. Wang Pao Ch'uan always refused.

Since her husband's leave-taking she had been alone for eighteen years. She had never received a single letter from him. Some one informed her that her husband had been made King of Si-Liang. But it was a long distance from the Tang Kingdom to Si-Liang, and Wang Pao Ch'uan could not get to him. Moreover, there was no communication between these two countries because of the war. No letter could be sent from one country to the other.

Wang Pao Ch'uan learned that her husband had become a king, but she was very sad that she could not reach him or write to him. One day, while she was digging roots near Wu Chia P'o, the village in which she lived, a wild goose flew down and cried to her, looking as though

it were hungry and were begging for the roots. Wang Pao Ch'uan said to the wild goose, "Wild goose, wild goose, you are hungry and beg me for the roots; but this is all I have to fill my empty stomach. But if you can fly to Si-Liang to carry a letter for me to the King, I will give you the wild roots to satisfy your hunger. If you understand what I ask and will do this, please cry three times." As soon as she had finished the words, the wild goose cried out to her three times as if it understood. Wang Pao Ch'uan repeated her words, and again the wild goose cried out three times. Then she believed that the goose could carry a letter to her husband, and fed her the roots. She tore off one piece of her dirty white skirt, bit her finger, and wrote on it a few words with blood. She tied the letter to the wild goose's leg, and it flew away.

One day Hsüeh Ping Kuei, the King of Si-Liang, was deliberating with his ministers, when he saw a wild goose fly down and light on a tree in front of his great parlor, crying loudly in a peculiar way. Hsüeh Ping Kuei thought it was a bird of ill omen, and shot it with an arrow. It fell from the tree. He found the letter that his wife had written with blood. He knew that she was still waiting for him. He escaped from the Princess of Tai-Tsan, and left for his home. [28]

No sooner did the princess learn that Hsüeh Ping Kuei had escaped, than she despatched many soldiers to pursue him. He was brought to the presence of the princess. She asked him, "Why did you escape? Are you returning to your country to do me harm?"

Hsüeh Ping Kuei replied, "I shall tell you the truth, my dear princess." Then he told her the story of Wang Pao Ch'uan, and said to the princess, "However displeased you may be, I would rather go home to Wang Pao Ch'uan than sit on the throne."

The Princess of Tai-Tsan, having heard the story of Wang Pao Ch'uan, was moved by her faithfulness, and said, "Wang Pao Ch'uan is such a wonderful lady, that you could not forget her unless you had lost your conscience. I will let you go to her. But I have been your wife for eighteen years. I am as fond of you as Wang Pao Ch'uan. How will you treat me?"

"After several years I shall come back to see you," answered Hsüeh Ping Kuei, having looked around for a while.

The princess said, "That is uncertain; and, even if you could do so, Wang Pao Ch'uan would again be left alone. That is not what I want. What I want is to send a strong army to ruin the Tang Dynasty and make you emperor, Wang Pao Ch'uan empress, and myself a future empress. Now go back, and do something to help me. When we capture

the Tang capital, we meet again." Then Hsüeh Ping Kuei bade her farewell and left for home.

When he came near to Wu Chia P'o, he saw a woman that looked like his wife, Wang Pao Ch'uan; but he was not sure, because he could not remember Wang Pao Ch'uan's face after the lapse of eighteen years. The woman was digging roots. Hsüeh Ping Kuei dismounted from his horse, bowed to the woman, and asked, "Do you know where is the house of Hsüeh Ping Kuei?" — "Yes, I know," answered Wang Pao Ch'uan, who did not recognize Hsüeh Ping Kuei. "What do you want with him?" Hsüeh Ping Kuei asked again. "Do you know Wang Pao Ch'uan?" She answered, "I am Wang Pao Ch'uan." — "Oh, yes! that is what I want to know," said Hsüeh Ping Kuei, intending to make a pleasantry with his wife. "I will tell you. I am Hsüeh's friend from Si-Liang with a letter from him for you."

Wang Pao Ch'uan was very glad to hear these words, and said, "Thank you for your service. Please let me see the letter at once." — "Wait a minute," said Hsüeh Ping Kuei insolently, as he went to embrace Wang Pao Ch'uan. She refused him. "I have something to talk over with you first. Your husband could not come back to bring you to Si-Liang. He trusted me to care for you. Will you come with me and live in my house?" Then, without waiting for her to answer, he pulled Wang Pao Ch'uan to him to compel her to ride on the horse's back. Wang Pao Ch'uan found that he was a bad man. [29] took up a handful of dust, and thrust it into his eyes. While he was blinded by the dust, she ran away.

Wiping his eyes, Hsüeh Ping Kuei followed Wang Pao Ch'uan to the kiln, but he was shut out. He knocked at the door, but she considered him no friend of hers. She did not answer him. Then Hsüeh Ping Kuei told her the truth, finding that his wife remained faithful to him. "My dear wife, I am Hsüeh Ping Kuei. I have lied to tease you."

Wang Pao Ch'uan, looking at Hsüeh Ping Kuei's face through a little hole in the door, said, "You are not Hsüeh Ping Kuei. Go away at once!"

Hsüeh Ping Kuei said, "Now let me tell you my whole story, then you will believe me. When you were twenty years old, you declared that you were to choose a husband by throwing a ball on the second day of February. At that time I was a beggar; but you liked me, and threw the ball to me. Your father was angered, and drove us out of his house. Then we lived in the kiln and begged for food. During that time Si-Liang sent an army to attack Tang; and, as I had caught the Red-Hair-



Horse. I was made the commander of the rear army. But your jealous father slandered me, and the Emperor of Tang dismissed me. I was sent to the front line, and in one battle I was caught by Tai-Tsan, Princess of Si-Liang. The King of Si-Liang took a fancy to me, and forced me to marry the Princess. After several years the King of Si-Liang died, and I was made his successor. One day I received from a wild goose your letter to me, and so I knew that you were still waiting for me. Then I left for home to see you. When I met you near the village, I made fun with you. Please excuse me, and let me come in!"

Wang Pao Ch'uan replied, "Hsüeh Ping Kuei has a little wart on his neck. Let me touch it." Then she touched his neck, and felt the wart. She opened the door at once, and told him her story with great happiness.

At that time Premier Wang had already killed the Emperor of Tang, and made himself Emperor in his place. Hsüeh Ping Kuei knew that most of the ministers and generals of Tang were not faithful to him because of his usurpation. So he sent a letter to the Princess of Si-Liang to advise her that it was time to ruin Tang, and to tell her that he would help her army as best he could.

Then the Princess of Si-Liang sent a strong army to invade Tang. As the soldiers of Tang hated the usurper and did not fight for him, Si-Liang's army easily captured the capital of Tang with the aid of Hsüeh Ping Kuei. Then Premier Wang was killed by the Princess, and Hsüeh Ping Kuei was made Emperor, and Wang Pao Ch'uan Empress. The princess herself was content to be but a future empress. [30]

## 2. MIN TZŪ CHIEN<sup>1</sup>

Two thousand years ago there was a son in Shantung Province who was famous for his filial piety. His name was Min Tzŭ Chien, and he was one of the seventy-two disciples of Confucius. His mother died when he was very young. His father married another woman, and two other sons were born to him. The step-mother loved her own sons, and used to give them the best of everything, but the worst to him. This was the evil custom all over China in ancient days.

In China the winter coat was generally made with a layer of cotton batting inside the lining. One winter his father bought enough cotton

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1. One of the twenty-four most famous Chinese stories of filial piety.



to make coats for his three sons, and handed it to her. But she put all the cotton in the garments of her own sons, and the dried flowers of rushes in Min Tzū Chien's coat.

Neither he nor his father knew this. He always felt cold without understanding why. One day, when there had been a great fall of snow, his father went out for a pleasure-drive with his son, who drove the car. He could not stand such cold weather when he had on but a poor coat of rush flowers. His body shook, and his hand was too cold to hold the reins. After a while the reins fell to the ground, and the horses ran on at a dangerous speed. His father thought that he was lazy, was angered, and took the whip from his hand and beat him with it. His coat was torn by the whip, and the rush flowers were seen by his father. So his father knew that his step-mother had made him a coat out of old cloth and the flowers of rushes. He wept, and said, "That is my mistake, I have made your life miserable by marrying a second wife."

Then Min Tzū Chien's father went home, intending to divorce his wife. Min Tzū Chien kneeled to the ground, and advised his father with a full heart. He said, "As we three brothers would need a mother to bring us up, you would marry another woman if you divorce her. Therefore there would be three sons cold; if you do not, there would be only one son cold. Which way is better?" His father believed his words, and did not divorce his wife. When the step-mother learned the words spoken by Min Tzū Chien, she was moved, and after this treated him as kindly as her own sons.

The people of his city learned that he was a wise and good man, and elected him magistrate of the city, but he declined. During that time the Premier of Li (a small country in Shantung Province) was planning to usurp the throne. If Min Tzū Chien became the magistrate, he would be compelled to help him. This was why he refused to be the magistrate of his city.

### Editorial Note

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# Humor of the Chinese Folk

With Hsü Tsan Hwa

My friend, Mr. Hsü Tsan Hwa, of Manchuria, desires to perfect himself in the use of our English tongue. I wish to learn something of the phonetic slant of Chinese. We get together Saturday evenings, and he makes me listen to Chinese tones. I say, "Write some English for me, something that the Chinese folk tell to while away the time, if there is time to while away." — "Well, we have thousands of tales and songs and proverbs of the folk, — things that are not written in books, but that travel down the generations from mouth to mouth."

Here are a few whimsies which Mr. Hsü has written for me. My task has been the humble one of trimming words and showing them their places. I suspect there is a great folk-Rabelais in China.

E.S.

## 1. TWO LIARS

In a city there were two liars. One was known as the "greater liar," and the other as the "lesser liar." One day the lesser liar called on the greater liar, and asked, "You are called the greater liar. I cannot see that you lie any better than I do. If you can make a tiger believe your words, I will pay respect to you and call you my teacher."

The greater liar replied, "It is very easy. If you do not believe me, I can go at once and look for a tiger, and fool him to convince you." Then they went to great mountains and looked for the tiger's den. When they reached a certain place, the lesser liar said to the greater liar, "This is the place where the tigers and the panthers pass through. You wait for the tiger here. I will go up to the summit of the mountain and see how you cheat the tiger." Then the greater liar sat down, leaning against a small tree. After a little while a big tiger came and roared very loudly. The greater liar pulled up the tree that he was leaning against, and lied to the tiger: —

"Just a little while ago I had devoured a panther, but my hunger was not satisfied yet. Then I ate a tiger besides. My teeth are filled with tough flesh of the old tiger. Now I am cleaning them with the little tree." Then he pretended to clean his teeth with the tree. As soon as the tiger heard these words, he ran back to his den as fast as he could.

When the tiger got home, he met a monkey, and said, "I have met a strong man who ate a panther and a tiger, and was cleaning his teeth with a tree. I was very much afraid of him, and ran home [32] with great speed." The monkey replied, "You are too cowardly. I want to go with you to see what kind of man he really is." The tiger said, "You are so cunning. I fear you may intend to betray me. If you really want to go to see him with me, I would tie you on my back." The monkey agreed. Then the tiger tied a rope around the monkey's neck, put her on his back, and twined the rope around his own body.

The monkey rode on the tiger's back, and came into the presence of the greater liar. As soon as he saw the monkey, he cried out, "Cunning monkey! You lied to me. Yesterday I caught you, and was to eat you as a kind of refreshment. You promised to give me this morning two tigers and two panthers for my breakfast. I released you. I find it an unlooked for thing that you, in order to deceive me, are presenting me with one thin cat when it is already afternoon."

As soon as the tiger heard these words, he thought that he had been betrayed by the monkey. So he ran away as fast as his legs were able to carry him. The monkey wanted to jump down from the tiger's back. Unfortunately her body was cut off from her head by the branch of a tree. Only the monkey's head was left on the tiger's back.

When the tiger had escaped to his den and taken a rest, he found that the monkey was gone. He looked for her, and saw only a monkey's head tied by a rope. Then he was surprised, and said, "Although I ran so fast, yet the lower part of the monkey was eaten by him as a refreshment."

## 2. MISTAKEN BOOTS

There was a man who went to a meeting with his servant. Walking on the street, he felt that one of his legs was shorter than the other. Then he looked upon his feet, and found that his boots were not of a pair. So he told his servant to return to the house and bring the right boot. The servant went back, and immediately returned to his master,



saying, "I think it is not necessary for you to change the boots, for the boots at home which I have seen are just as different from each other as the ones you have on."

### 3. A VILLAGE TEACHER

There was a country teacher who was very fond of drinking. Unfortunately every servant that he hired, one after the other, was fond of drinking too, and stole his wine. He was very sad, and resolved to hire a good servant who could not drink, so that his wine might not be stolen. Again he thought that all men could drink except those who did not know wine, so he resolved to hire a man [33] who did not know wine. One day his friend recommended a servant to him. He showed him the "Yellow Wine," and asked, "Do you know what this is?" The servant replied, "It is Yellow Wine." The teacher thought that knowing the name of the wine, for a certainty he could drink. He refused to take him as his servant.

Another day his friend recommended a servant. He showed the same kind of wine, and asked, "Do you know what this is?" The servant replied, "It is Chen San." The teacher thought that, knowing even the other name of "Yellow Wine," he drank for a certainty, and heavily. He refused him too.

His friend recommended another servant; and he showed him the same kind of wine, and asked, "Do you know what this is?" The servant did not know what it was. Then he showed him "Burning Wine." Again the servant did not know. The country teacher was very glad, thinking that this servant could not drink and would not steal his wine, so he hired him.

One day the teacher was about to go out, and left the servant alone to look after the house. He said to his servant, "There is a ham hung on the kitchen wall; there is a chicken in the garden. Both of these you should look after carefully. There are two bottles of poisonous drugs in my room; the white one is white arsenic, and the red one is red arsenic. Don't touch them! If you drink them, you will die." The teacher repeated his orders, and went out.

When the teacher had gone, the servant killed the chicken, boiled the ham, and drank the two bottles of wine. He fell drunk to the ground.

When the teacher returned, he saw his servant stretched on the ground, and the odor of wine filled his room. Moreover, he found that

both the ham and the chicken had disappeared. He became very angry, and gave several heavy kicks to the drunken servant. When the servant was awakened, he questioned him very strictly. The servant wept, and said, —

"After you left I watched everything carefully. Suddenly came a cat which carried away the ham, and a dog which drove the chicken to the neighboring house. I was so sad, that I did not want to remain alive to see you again. I remembered that the white and the red arsenic could make me dead; so I drank all of the white arsenic first, but it was useless. Then I drank all of the red too. The result is that I am in a condition of semi-consciousness."

The teacher said, "You are the most faithful servant I have ever had."

#### 4. A DEER AND A DREAM

In ancient days there was a wood-cutter who cut the wood in wild country. He met a frightened deer running out of a private park. [34] He killed it with his axe, and put plantain-leaves over its body in a large dried pond, so that he might keep it hidden. He was so glad that he hid the deer in a great hurry, and forgot after a little while where he had put it away. He looked for it carefully and patiently; but the pond was too large for every bit of it to be gone over, and at last he thought that it was all a dream. He went home.

As he was walking along the road, he murmured, "I dreamed that I killed a frightened deer, and that I hid it in the pond; but I cannot find it. Strange, strange!" Another one, walking behind him, heard his words, went to the pond, and found the deer.

This one went home, and said to his wife, "I met a wood-cutter who dreamed that he had killed a deer but could not find it. I followed his words, and got it. Is not what the wood-cutter dreamed a real thing?"

His wife answered, "I suppose there was no such wood-cutter, but that you dreamed him. However, you have really got a deer now. Therefore I think that what you dreamed is a real thing."

The husband said, "I did get the deer, and it is in my possession now. What is the need of finding out whether the wood-cutter dreamed or I?"

When the wood-cutter reached home, he was not satisfied that his deer was lost, and he thought again and again of what had happened. That night he dreamed where he had hidden it, and how another man

had got it. Next morning he went to find the man who had taken the deer according to his dream, and they disputed about it. They went to court.

The judge said to the wood-cutter, "In the beginning you really got a deer, but you thought that it was all a dream. Afterwards you really dreamed of the deer which you had got, but you think that what you dreamed is a real thing."

The judge said to the man who had the deer, "You really took the wood-cutter's deer; but you think that you dreamed of him, and that what you dreamed is a real thing. There is no way to distinguish a dream from reality," continued the judge, "so I cannot see who is to have possession of the deer. However, I shall divide it into two parts. Each of you shall have one of them. That is the just way to settle this dispute."

This case was brought to the notice of the King of Cheng. The King said, "Oh, there is no such thing! Did the judge not dream that he had divided a deer to settle a dispute?" the King asked the Premier. The Premier said, "I cannot distinguish a dream from reality. Only the Yellow Emperor and Confucius can distinguish them, but they died a long time ago." [35]

## 5. ONE WHO FOUND A GOLDEN HAIRPIN

A man found a lady's golden hairpin under his pillow when he got up in the morning. He showed it to his friend, and said, "Am I not lucky?" His friend answered, "It is either yours or your wife's. How, then, are you lucky?" He said, "But it is neither mine nor my wife's. That is why I am lucky."

## 6. ONE WHO SOLD A FLEA-DRUG

There was a druggist who sold a drug for killing fleas. Over his door he put a sign, "The best flea-killing drug." One man bought the drug, and asked him how to use it. The druggist repeated, "You have to catch the flea and put the drug in its mouth, and then it is surely killed."

## 7. ABSENT-MINDEDNESS

There were three men sleeping together in one bed. One of them felt an itching, and unconsciously scratched the leg of the second one. He still felt the itch, scratched with great strength, and tore the skin of the other's leg. The second one awakened, felt the blood on his leg, and thought that the third had wet the bed. Then he woke the third one, and told him to go outside. The third one got up and went outside. It was raining. As long as he heard the noise of the rain-drops, he thought that he had not finished with his water, and stood outside until the break of day.

## Editorial Note

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## Some Gweabo Proverbs

With Charles G. Blooah

In the eastern part of Liberia, both along the coast and for a considerable distance into the interior, is spoken the Gweabo language. The tribes that use it, with slight dialectic differences, live some distance west of the Cavally River, which is the dividing line between Liberia and the Ivory Coast, a French dependency, though some of the interior tribes extend also into French territory. These peoples are divided into five tribes: the Nyâbo (with six divisions), the NîWîê (English 'Nimiah', with three divisions), the Bolokwê (with three divisions), the Drâbo (English 'Tremble'), and the Gbwôlo, Gwlobo. These five tribes, collectively known as Gweabo, are generally, but incorrectly, classed as 'Grebo', which should be reserved for a coast tribe lying just east of the coast Gweabo and at the mouth of the Cavally. The true 'Grebo' are subdivided into six divisions and speak a language which is quite different from Gweabo, though closely related to it, being intermediate between it and Kru. The 'Grebo' are known as Gbwôbo by the Gweabo-speaking tribes. West of the Grebo proper are found the Kru, who are termed Měnăkwě by the Gweabo.

All three of these languages – Gweabo, Grebo, and Kru – belong to Maurice Delafosse's Group XV (Groupe éburnéo-libérien) of his *Langues du Soudan et de la Guinée*.<sup>1</sup> This group is said by Delafosse to comprise twenty-four languages, but it is doubtful if this can be taken literally without further research. It is clear that his list of languages is provisional at best, his 'Pla', for instance, being nothing but a division (*plabo*) of the Nyâbo, one of the five Gweabo tribes.

My information is derived from Charles G. Blooah, a Native of the NîWîê tribe. He is a son of the chief of one of the three main villages of this tribe, that of NîWîê ylowê, 'Nimiah sea-mouth'; his mother is a Grebo. He speaks both Gweabo and Grebo and, less perfectly, Kru. After receiving an elementary education from the American missionaries in Liberia, Mr. Blooah proceeded to the United States to complete his

1. See A. Meillet et M. Cohen, *Les Langues du Monde*, pp. 548–552.

education at the University of Chicago. With his help much insight has already been secured into the complicated phonetic structure and the morphology of Gweabo. Mr. Blooah is preparing a series of Gweabo texts, consisting of proverbs, tales, and narratives of ethnological interest. The proverbs published here are a selection from [184] a set which Mr. Blooah has recorded in native text, with interlinear and free translations and explanatory comments.

### PROVERBS

The Gweabo, like nearly all African Natives, possess a great store of proverbs which epitomize the wisdom of the folk. They are frequently used in daily life to point the moral of a situation and are frequently appealed to in court proceedings. The ability to quote and apply them makes up no inconsiderable share of the education of the young.

The form of the Gweabo proverb is fixed. Many of them have a definite poetic structure, and not a few of them use words or constructions that are not found in ordinary prose. Some of them refer by implication to a myth or tale which is current, and the applicability of the proverb to ordinary life can sometimes be appreciated only if the legendary background is clear to the hearer. Most of the proverbs which follow can be understood without further comment. Some of them require a word or two of explanation.

My eye goes there, my hand does not go there; my hand goes there, my hand scatters things.

'Scatters things' means 'offends'. One should see with one's eye, never with one's hand. If a Gweabo is caught stealing, this proverb may be quoted to him as an ethical reminder.

Silence took Indifference's canoe.

'Indifference' is represented as the owner of a stolen canoe, 'Silence' as the thief. One day Indifference and a friendly villager were sitting in the shade conversing, while the former's canoe was resting on the customary canoe forks to dry. During the conversation the friendly villager noticed that someone was stealing up to Indifference's canoe. 'He is taking your canoe!' he exclaimed, but 'Silence!' was all he got for his pains. He warned Indifference again and again, till the latter made a rush to the forks only to find his canoe gone and the thief at a safe distance on the water. The proverb is quoted to the self-complacent individuals who are always saying, 'We have plenty of time. Why worry?'

The palm-tree says, 'We do not know the child of wealth by his size'

It is not necessarily the large palm-trees that make the greatest yield. The appearance of a person is no clue to his wealth or importance.

In the instruction of the house-fly the bee learned her wisdom.

Once upon a time the bee and the house-fly were good friends. They played together and ate together. The house-fly was in very good circumstances but the bee was a poor child. After a while she lost her parents and would often live with the house-fly. The parents of the house-fly desired their daughter to be useful, so after meals they would teach her how to make honey from the forest. The bee listened to the teachings the parents of the house-fly gave (185) their daughter, but the young house-fly was careless and never tried to do the things her parents taught her. Each day the bee would gather honey from the flowers and park it away in the hollow of a tree. In the course of time the bee became an adept at the new art and the people rejoiced to gather honey from the forest, but the house-fly lost the opportunity of profiting by her parents' instruction. To-day she is a pest. Often to-day the Gweabo mother builds a tiny fire in her hut at the crow of the cock and awakens her children in order to give them instruction. If they are inattentive, she quotes the proverb.

Where we drink pus, there we drink oil.

'Pus' is a symbol of everything detestible or disagreeable. 'Oil' symbolizes what is pleasant. One cannot arrive at the serenity of success without much preliminary hardship.

The chicken says, 'A stranger's feet are small.'

As chickens are used for barter, they often find themselves in a strange village. Not feeling entirely at home with the local poultry, they step about warily. 'their feet are small'. If a stranger in a group acts as though he was too much at home, this proverb may serve to remind him of his true status.

The deer says, 'If you have fear, then your horns grow grey.'

This is equivalent to our 'Discretion is the better part of valour.'

Do not measure your house timbers in the forest.

One plunged in fear will say to a leopard, 'Well! greetings to you.'

A little rain each day will fill the rivers full.

If you are not able to mend a gourd, how can you expect to be able to repair an earthen platter?

The frog says, 'I possess nothing, but I have my jump.'

The person who waits for the monkey that is up in the tree has slain it already.

If I do not enter there, I must pass by.

The hen never took oath that she would give her chicks milk.

The dog goes into the blacksmith's house for his bells. But for what reason does the cat keep going there?

When crazy people dwell in the land, then the finding of slaves does not take long.

The man of poverty keeps rearing young children for the benefit of the rich.

The paddle which you find in the canoe is the one that will take you across.

Since the leopard was absent from the bush the bush-cat became king. Small palm-nuts are not slaves to the big palm-nuts.

A snake can run, but it is impossible for him to get ahead of his head. Your food is within reach of your stomach, but you had better put it in your mouth first.

It does not matter how brightly the moon may shine, it is dark in some land.

### Editorial Note

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Review of  
Melville J. Herskovits and  
Frances S. Herskovits, *Rebel Destiny*

*Rebel Destiny. Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana.* By Melville J. Herskovits and Frances S. Herskovits. New York: Whittlesey House, 1934.

The Bush Negroes of Guiana are a unique people. They are a conglomerate of uprooted African tribes who, brought to the New World as slaves, escaped not only from their Dutch masters but from the fate of their brothers in the rest of North and South America. These Negroes did not lose their cultural identity, they did not take their lowly place in a civilization that neither wanted them nor managed without them. Alone of the Negroes of our continent they managed to shake off the white man's yoke and to keep themselves permanently distinct as a completely self-supporting and self-respecting folk. The old African life is not preserved in its purity, to be sure, nor have the native languages survived as such, but the influence of both is abundantly manifest today and we have the intensely interesting spectacle of a well-adapted Africo-American people which roots solidly in the Old World and has taken on numerous white and Indian traits and grafted them on the persistent Negro base. There is no serious break here between African and American life, only a gradually changing culture between two continents, with an episode of slavery to give acceleration to the change. There are great differences between the relatively primitive life of the Bush Negroes of Guiana and the superficially more civilized ways of the Negroes of the Dutch capital, Paramaribo, but also an underlying unity of sentiment and belief. "The bush," as the authors of "Rebel Destiny" happily put it, "is Africa of the seventeenth century." It combines, therefore, in its present culture a greatly changed Africa with an Africa that is more conservative in many respects than the West Coast of that continent itself. This need not surprise us, for significant culture process can rarely be phrased in terms of simple change or conservatism. In some ways Bush Negro culture is reminiscent of the culture of French Canada.

Here too we find an apparently abrupt break with the Old World culture from which it stems, many local adaptations to the new environment, including a not inconsiderable Indian influence, and a strong undercurrent of provincial conservatism. It is to French Canada that one must go for the richest heritage of French folk song we still possess, it is to Negro Guiana that the ethnologist must turn for the reconstruction of the basic beliefs of the West Africa of the past, even though African culture flows on more abundantly and intricately in its proper home than in its offshoot overseas.

The book which Melville and Frances Herskovits offer us out of the fulness of their prolonged experience with Negro cultures, both American and African, is not a scientific record of their field work in the summers of 1928 and 1929 among the Saramacca Negroes of Dutch Guiana. That field work, it is to be expected, will be presented in technical form to the more limited anthropological public later on. Meanwhile the less technically minded reader will turn to "Rebel Destiny" with joy and supreme satisfaction. The writers have done a difficult and delicate task with taste, with an unfailing sense of the relative strategy of incident and description in building up a picture of the daily life of the Negroes, with a truly remarkable blend of the objective and the participating attitudes. Or rather, to speak more accurately, the book is objective throughout — coolly and delightfully so — but the writers attain their objectivity not through a studied aloofness and pretense at non-participation in the life about them, but through a joyous awareness of what was going on, both toward themselves and aside from themselves. The method that they use — for it is indeed a method, however unobtrusively so — is that of a tangential or unwitting accumulation of significant cultural insights through the accidents of personal experience. Nothing is insisted upon as important, nothing is dismissed as trivial. The unflagging enthusiasm of the writers does not exploit themselves or the objects of their study, it burns itself out in the process of observation, and leaves them free to take themselves and their readers into the heart of a culture that is as exotic as you wish and as reassuringly day-to-day as home itself.

This book, then, is neither a formal monograph nor an ordinary book of travel. It has nothing of the grimness of either type of earnestness. And — thank God — it comes back with no steamily subjective news from over there of how to learn to be happy though civilized.

Editorial Note

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## Review of Melville J. Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian Valley*

*Life in a Haitian Valley*. By Melville J. Herskovits. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1932.

Haiti has suffered from those who have attempted its description for the simple reason that they have not sincerely sought the normal and universal, the inevitable core of humanity, in its dark inhabitants but rather some mysterious essence of spookiness. The traditional job of Haiti has been the disquieting of our nerves. [854] Dr. Herskovits is to be warmly thanked for delivering us from the Haitian myth.

As one turns over these pleasant pages, interspersed with a run of completely reassuring photographs, one makes the acquaintance of a mildly primitive folk. They go about their mundane pursuits in good peasant fashion, with use of good and bad magic in interestingly diversified forms but with hardly more of it than becomes a reasonably rich peasant culture. The frenzied character of Haitian ritual, as might have been suspected, turns out to be a matter of rule and precedent, and once again we marvel at the docility of socialized man.

This account of the Negroes of Haiti places them accurately with reference to their African background. There are no sinister remarks about this background, merely an informative chapter about the customs and beliefs of the natives of West Africa, from whom the Haitians are descended. Inasmuch as Dr. Herskovits and his wife have actually collected this information in the course of a personal visit — an “anthropological field trip” — to West Africa, the Haitian background seems eminently reasonable and acceptable. The old culture was never completely destroyed. It lingered on, in ever weakening forms, in New World slave culture. What we have now is the expected blend of African and European elements. There is still strife, however, between the two strata of belief. The African gods and spirits have not, as yet, found it possible to deliquesce into Catholic ritual, and the somewhat distracted native, wishing to miss no points of cosmic mystery or truth, genuflects in more than one direction. Dr. Herskovits speaks of a “socialized

ambivalence," but one wonders if this term is much more than a recognition of the conceptual irreconcilability of certain historic strands in Haitian culture. One needs far more evidence of a solidly psychiatric sort than is actually adduced to convince one that "socialized ambivalence" in Haiti is of greater moment than in any American community of today.

### Editorial Note

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Section Five  
Anthropological Program of the  
Dominion Government of Canada,  
1910 – 1925





## Introduction

Edward Sapir served as Chief Ethnologist of the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada (and later of the Victoria Memorial Museum) from 1910 to 1925.<sup>1</sup>

The Canadian government had been working gradually toward the establishment of a national research program in anthropology for some time when Sapir was appointed in 1910, on the recommendation of Franz Boas. In 1908 the Dominion Government had hired Vilhjalmur Stefansson to conduct ethnological and zoological studies in the territory of the Copper and Mackenzie Eskimo. There was considerable sentiment, among Canadian intellectuals at least, that the lifeways of the native peoples had to be recorded before they were irretrievably absorbed by the culture introduced by European traders and settlers. Stefansson's expedition fell under the aegis of the Geological Survey of Canada, and his reports were included in the Annual Report of that institution in 1909.

In 1910, the Canadian government officially established the Anthropological Division to carry out systematic researches among all Canadian native peoples. The Canadian Arctic Expedition, under Stefansson, was immediately transferred to Sapir's jurisdiction, although Sapir never exercised any direct authority over the project he had inherited. He later made the decision not to maintain Stefansson's contract in his own organization.

Sapir's annual report for the Anthropological Division began with a brief two-page account in 1910, describing his own research program already begun among the Nootka of Vancouver Island. For the first time, Sapir was able to set his own priorities for fieldwork. In 1911, the annual report expanded to 14 pages and covered the work of several new staff members. The report reached its maximum length of 59 pages in 1912. After that, the reports decreased in size annually, leveling off at six to eight pages in 1922 through 1925. No individual reports for the several Divisions of the Geological Survey were issued between 1917 and 1919, because of the financial restrictions of the First World War. The brief synopses of the Divisional Reports, contained in the Director's

Report for each annual report, continued to be published, however, during these years, and those for the Anthropological Division are included in this volume, in lieu of the usual full reports. When the Division reports resumed in 1921 (for the government's new fiscal year period beginning April 1), the work on French-Canadian folklore carried out by C. Marius Barbeau as part of the section on Ethnology and Linguistics was assigned its own section.<sup>2</sup>

This volume includes all material written or prepared by Edward Sapir himself, including his summary reports of the over-all activities of the Division and, specifically, the work of the Section on Ethnology and Linguistics, which he himself headed. The following categories of materials have been omitted. (1) Separate reports on their own activities written by other staff members of the section on Ethnology and Linguistics, as well as separate reports by part-time "contract field workers" hired by the Division on an annual basis — such reports appeared in 1911, 1912, and 1913. (2) Separate reports on the Canadian Arctic Expedition, prepared by its chief, Vilhjalmur S. Stefansson, or by the expedition's chief ethnologist, Diamond Jenness, who became a member of the Anthropological Division in 1913 and succeeded Sapir as Chief of the Division in 1925. These two categories of reports are listed in each annual report as they occur, by title, author, and page numbers. (3) Reports by staff members on the work of the other sections of the Division: Archaeology (Harlan I. Smith and W. J. Wintemberg, 1911 — 1925), Physical Anthropology (F. W. S. Knowles, 1914 — 1918), and Folk-Lore (C. Marius Barbeau, from fiscal year 1920 — 21 on). Sapir happily delegated full responsibility for these three sections to their chiefs: in 1912 and 1913 he was required to prepare two brief reports on Physical Anthropology for the ailing Knowles, but these reports are not reprinted here. (4) Finally, lists of accessions (ethnological specimens, photographs, phonograph records, etc.) and lists of publications (manuscripts received, manuscripts submitted for publication, and publications printed) are omitted, except for those directly or indirectly related to the work of Edward Sapir.

The work of the Division was a team effort. Much of Sapir's time during his fifteen years in Ottawa was devoted to developing and administering the overall program: recruiting staff and overseeing their fieldwork, and supervising growing collections of artifacts and specimens, photographs, musical recordings, and native language texts.

Although considerable data had already been amassed on Canadian aborigines by 1910, Sapir had the remarkable opportunity to create a

research team and program which would establish the discipline of anthropology on a professional basis in the far-flung Canadian nation. Sapir took the challenge in stride. A model for government-sponsored science existed in the Bureau of American Ethnology in the United States, founded in 1879. To this model Sapir added his determination that the Anthropological Division would practice modern anthropology – Boasian in theoretical stance and professional in training and outlook. His paper in the *Queen's Quarterly* (1912b) clearly presents his long-range vision for Canadian anthropology; one of the most important priorities would be to establish university training programs for anthropologists.<sup>3</sup> Not everyone was pleased with Sapir's attitude toward the amateur anthropology then existing in Canada. Charles Hill-Tout of British Columbia led the challenge, insisting on the usefulness of amateur work given the magnitude of the task and defending provincial autonomy in research. But professionalization was under way in all of the sciences in Canada, and Sapir's program easily set the standards for anthropology at the national level. No local institution had the resources to compete with the Division's program.

Sapir's first task was to assemble a research team. Given his emphasis on professional training, he had to go outside Canada to do so. Marius Barbeau and Diamond Jenness were both 1910 graduates of Oxford, who shared with Sapir the responsibility for the Division's ethnological work. Harlan I. Smith, a Boas-trained archaeologist, took over that portion of the Division's work. Francis Knowles was hired in physical anthropology, although ill health caused his early resignation in 1918, and a replacement was never appointed. In addition, Sapir hired various fellow Boasians on part-time contracts: Alexander Goldenweiser, Paul Radin, and his own former students from the University of Pennsylvania, John Alden Mason and William Meehling. He also established a long-term collaboration with James Teit on West Coast ethnography. With the exception of Teit, these men were all professionally trained anthropologists who together covered the full scope of the discipline as Boas had defined it. All were dedicated to fieldwork.

Much of Sapir's responsibility as Chief Ethnologist involved museum specimens, which he and the rest of his staff diligently collected in all their fieldwork. Many of the accession lists and detailed descriptions of objects are written in Sapir's own hand. For the purpose of arranging exhibits, Sapir divided the Canadian native peoples into five culture areas: Eastern Woodlands, Arctic or Eskimo, Plains, Plateau and Mackenzie Valley, and West Coast. Although there was no museum staff to



carry out this work, by 1911 an ethnological hall was opened to the public at the Victoria Memorial Museum.<sup>4</sup> Sapir's museum work is discussed in detail by Darnell (1984) and Fenton (1986).

Sapir complained bitterly in his correspondence about the onus of museum work. As a linguist and ethnologist, his primary interests were not in material culture. Fieldwork and theoretical writing were his personal priorities, but support for his program depended on the visibility of his museum exhibits and on public lectures. More significant to Sapir was the publication of academic papers and monographs by him and his associates, established early in the Division's program and confirming its professional reputation.

By 1916, however, the bright promise of the Ottawa position began to disintegrate because of wartime cutbacks in all scientific activity. The Museum was closed to the public in the same year after a fire destroyed the Parliament building and that body moved to the Museum premises. Support for fieldwork and publication decreased dramatically. After the war, the program never recovered its lost momentum, and its faltering progress intensified Sapir's desire to return to the United States and to an academic position.

In his later years at Ottawa, Sapir's career turned away from ethnology. He began to write on aesthetics, psychology, and culture and personality; he published his only general book, *Language*, in 1921, the same year his six-unit classification of North and Central American Indian languages appeared. Although Sapir might have become disenchanted with museum anthropology in Ottawa in any case, the decline in resources available to the Anthropological Division undoubtedly increased his eagerness to change his professional situation. For him, the possibilities of the position had been exhausted. In spite of his enthusiasm for fieldwork and writing up linguistic and ethnological results, Sapir longed for interaction with fellow professionals and students. When he went to the University of Chicago in 1925, he was succeeded in Ottawa by his long-time colleague, Diamond Jenness. Sapir maintained ties with the program in Ottawa, particularly in the form of providing fieldwork experience for his students, even after he moved to Yale University in 1931.

The Editorial Note following each annual report in this section gives the page numbers of the portions which were written by Sapir himself and which are reprinted here. As head of the Anthropological Division, however, Sapir compiled and edited its entire report; as an aid to readers



more broadly interested in the Division's activities, the citations of the annual reports in the References give inclusive page numbers for the full reports (unlike the citations in Mandelbaum 1949).

## Notes

1. The offices and exhibits of the Anthropological Division, together with the Biological Division, were located in the Victoria Memorial Museum, from 1910 (when the Museum opened) to 1989, when they were moved to the newly built Museum of Civilization, in Hull, Quebec. Administratively, they were parts of the Geological Survey in the Department of Mines. Starting in 1921, when the Government adopted a new fiscal year, the Memorial Museum was made a separate administrative entity from the Geological Survey; both were still part of the Department of Mines.

2. The songs were collected and analyzed by Barbeau as part of his responsibilities within the Division. Sapir and Barbeau's preface to *Folk Songs of French Canada* (Barbeau and Sapir 1925), a volume of songs collected by Barbeau with translations by Sapir, appears in Volume III in the section "Aesthetics."

3. Sapir's failure to achieve this was a major reason for his move to Chicago in 1925. The first Canadian degree program in anthropology was established in 1925 at the University of Toronto under the direction of Thomas McIlwraith.

4. The museum was renamed the National Museum of Canada in 1926, after Sapir's departure; it later became the National Museum of Man, and is now known as the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The museum, with the entire collection of anthropological specimens from the Victoria Memorial Museum, is housed in a new building in Hull, Quebec, across the Ottawa River from Ottawa.



## An Anthropological Survey of Canada

A step forward in the development of anthropological studies in America was taken September 1, 1910, by the establishment of a division of anthropology under the Geological Survey of Canada. This gives anthropology a government status in Canada similar to that which it enjoys in the United States, where the Bureau of American Ethnology is recognized as the most important body undertaking the study of aboriginal America. The establishment of the Canadian Division of Anthropology was due primarily to the activity of a committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, on the Ethnographical Survey of Canada. This committee, of which Rev. Dr. G. Bryce was chairman, was appointed in 1909 at the Winnipeg meeting of the Association<sup>1</sup> and recommended to the Dominion Government the establishment of a systematic anthropological survey of Canada in connection with the opening of the new national museum. The recommendations of this committee were supported by delegations of the Archaeological Institute of America and the Royal Society of Canada.<sup>2</sup> Though the actual governmental recognition of anthropological work in Canada is thus to be immediately credited to the efforts of these scientific societies, in a larger sense the anthropological division is the outcome of many years work on the part of Dr. G. M. Dawson, formerly the director of the Geological Survey, and Dr. Franz Boas. These may be said to have started the ball rolling, the former by the work on the natives of British Columbia that he did in connection with his geological surveys, the latter by the more systematic undertaking of ethnologic, physical anthropologic, and linguistic studies in the same part of Canada in the eighties and nineties under the auspices of the British Association. The present affiliation of the division of anthropology with the Geological Survey is in a large measure due to the personality of Dr. Dawson.

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1. See Report of the 79th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Winnipeg, 1909). London, 1910, p. cxxxviii. See also Professor J. L. Myers's address to Section H, *ibid.*, pp. 616, 617.

2. See Report of the 80th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Sheffield, 1910). London, 1911, pp. 265, 266.

to whose earlier efforts, at last analysis, is mainly due the recognition by the Canadian government of the importance of anthropological work. The ethnological and archaeological collections of the national museum have their nucleus in collections either obtained by Dawson himself or through his efforts. It is interesting in passing to note that the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington began by affiliation with the United States Geological Survey, the connecting personality in that case being J. W. Powell.

At the present time the anthropological division [790] consists of a scientific staff of three — the writer, who was put in charge as ethnologist and anthropologist on the date already given; Mr. C. M. Barbeau, whose appointment as assistant in anthropology began with January 1, 1911; and Mr. Harlan I. Smith, formerly of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, whose appointment as archeologist took place on June 15 of the same year. The appointment of three men to the scientific staff within a year is not to be taken as mere mushroom growth, but primarily as an evidence of the clear insight on the part of the Canadian government into the needs of anthropology; it was understood at the very beginning that the various scientific interests involved in the term anthropology could not well be successfully undertaken by one man. As it is, the services of a physical anthropologist are badly needed, and it is hoped that before a great lapse of time this important branch of anthropological work will also be adequately provided for.

The work being undertaken by the division is naturally confined in the first instance to Canada itself. However, it is clear that to draw a hard and fast line between Canada and Alaska, Greenland, and the United States is in many respects artificial. Owing to the necessity of including Alaska and Greenland in a general study of the Eskimos, it goes without saying that these territories will at least to a certain extent have to be included in the work of the division. In the case of tribes which, like the Ojibwa and Iroquois, are found within the borders of both Canada and the United States, it is clear that the division will be called upon from time to time to pass the boundary. In some cases, as in that of the Ottawas and Wyandots of Oklahoma, what were formerly Canadian tribes have moved far south well within the bounds of the United States; also in these cases "trespassing" is logically necessary.

So much for the geographical limits set. The subject matter of the work undertaken may be conveniently classed under the heads of ethnology, archeology, physical anthropology, for which, as already noted, there is at present no adequate provision, and linguistics. While it is



perfectly clear that cultural, physical and linguistic units do not need to, and in numerous instances actually do not, coincide. It should be emphasized that all three classes of units are to a large extent interwoven; not infrequently slim evidence for a point of reconstructed culture-history obtained from the study of one of these may be strengthened and even reduced to certainty by evidence derived from a study of one of the others. It is no mere accident that the Eskimos form a clearly established unit as regards culture, physical type and language. It is thus clear at the outset that any thoroughgoing attempt to attack the problems of aboriginal America must make use of all three units of classification.

To many it will seem that much has already been done in the study of Canadian ethnology. Relatively to other parts of the world that might be named this is true. The results of the Jesup North Pacific expedition have done much to clear up the cultural problems of the West Coast; the culture of the Eskimos in its main outlines and, in certain cases, even in detail can be said to be well ascertained through the researches undertaken, among others, by the Bureau of American Ethnology and the American Museum of Natural History; finally, the Plains and Eastern Woodlands cultures have been studied to a limited degree by Wissler and Hoffman, to mention but two of the ethnologists who have concerned themselves with these areas.<sup>3</sup> Relatively, however, to the standard that must be set for ethnological work both in completeness and thoroughness, the work already accomplished represents but a small fraction of what students of primitive cultures would like to see done. Each of the five culture areas into which it is customary to divide Canada (Eastern Woodlands, Arctic or Eskimo, Plains, Plateau-Mackenzie and West Coast) still presents problems of great importance; in [791] some cases it may even be said that the satisfactory proof of the existence of the culture area as a definite unit in contrast to other areas still remains to be proved. This is particularly true of the Eastern Woodlands and Plateau-Mackenzie regions, both of which are perhaps more negatively than positively characterized by contrast to neighboring cultures that have a more definite individuality of their own. It is yet to be demonstrated whether there is really enough of fundamental importance in common to such widely differing tribes as the Nascopie, Iroquois and Ojibwa to warrant their inclusion in a single Eastern

3. The late Dr. William Jones is known to have obtained a mass of valuable ethnological and linguistic data on the Ojibwa, but his results are as yet inaccessible to students.

Woodlands culture area. This reservation may turn out to be justified also in the case of the Athabaskan tribes of the Mackenzie River region as compared with the Kootenay and Salish tribes of the plateau to the west.

Naturally, before these wider problems can be intelligently discussed, more explicit data than are now available must be obtained on such tribes. Outside of the work already referred to of Hoffman on the Ojibwa and Menominee, work moreover which concerns itself with tribes located within the borders of the United States, there is almost nothing published of great merit on the aboriginal cultures of the Eastern Woodlands. Nascopie, Montagnais, Malecite, Micmac, Abenaki, Algonkin, Ottawa, Cree are names frequently enough met with in ethnological literature, yet concerning which, when all is said and done, little enough is known. Even the Iroquois have been neglected to a most astonishing extent. Morgan's Iroquois work, as pioneer work, was invaluable and still commands high respect, yet, as is becoming increasingly evident, needs careful revision. Moreover, the scale on which he worked was much too small to satisfy the requirements of ethnological students today. Many problems of interest in the Eastern Woodlands await solution. Some of these are: The extent of influence of the Eskimos, if any, in the lower St. Lawrence region; the extent and characteristics of the birch-bark industry in this culture area; the establishment of the range of the various types of houses used; the clear understanding of the distribution and development of the different types of social organization, from the apparently amorphous bands of the Crees to the complex organization of the Iroquois; the possibly intrusive character of the Iroquois culture itself in this area; the development of a distinctive maritime culture among the Micmacs.

The Eskimo, though, as already noted, already satisfactorily investigated, still present many problems of interest. Several of the less easily accessible tribes are as yet practically unknown. Until these have been investigated it will be difficult to undertake a satisfactory analysis of Eskimo culture as a whole, and, consequently, of its relations to the neighboring cultures.

In the Plains region the Sarcee and Western Cree are as yet hardly more than mere names. The Assiniboine have not yet been exhaustively treated, while Dr. Wissler's study of the Blackfeet, though promising from what he has already published to be eminently satisfactory, will doubtless leave something to be desired owing to the fact that his

material was not obtained with the help of linguistic study.<sup>4</sup> Naturally the religious, social and other problems of the Plains region can not be discussed without reference to the Plains tribes of the United States, yet at least two problems peculiar to the Canadian Plains may be pointed out. Both of them are studies of Plains influence exerted on an originally Woodlands tribe. Reference is had to the culture of the Plains Cree and to that of the *Saulteaux* or Plains Ojibwa.

The Plateau-Mackenzie area is known least satisfactorily of all. Tet's work on the interior Salish tribes of southern British Columbia [792] constitutes a model of ethnological research, but the tribes that he describes have been so much influenced by the West Coast and Plains cultures that they are presumably far less typical of the culture area than the Athabaskan tribes of the Mackenzie Valley. A thorough investigation of these tribes (*Chippewyan*, *Slaves*, *Yellow Knives*, *Dog Ribs*, *Hare* and *Loucheux*) is probably the greatest single need of ethnological research in Canada. Among these tribes, if anywhere in the dominion, we may expect to find the simplest and most fundamental forms of aboriginal American culture, granted that there is such a thing as a fundamental American culture substratum. The Athabaskan tribes to the west, including the various tribes of the interior of Alaska known as *Kutchin*, are also important in this connection. Similarities in culture which are likely to turn up between the Plateau-Mackenzie and Eastern Woodlands regions (one may instance the similarity in technic between the birch-bark basketry of the east and that in the west of Athabaskan and Interior Salish tribes) may be explained as due either to the persistence of fundamental American traits in both regions—we would be here dealing with Dr. Boas's "marginal" theory—or to the secondary spread of such features from one region to the other.

In the West Coast area many cultural problems likewise await investigation. Only of the *Kwakiutl* can it be said that we have a really exhaustive series of studies, due to Dr. Boas's many years of research, accessible to the student. For the *Haida* and *Tlingit* much of fundamental value has been already published, notably by Dr. Swanton, yet here our knowledge is less complete. Of other important tribes of the

4. It may be said incidentally that all investigation of native mythology, rituals, songs and allied subjects, undertaken without the help of linguistic study, must fail to result in a complete understanding of the native concepts involved. We would not think much, for instance, of a student of the history of the Roman Catholic church that knew no Latin, or of a discussion of German folk songs, even in their purely musical aspect, not based on some familiarity with German itself.



area (Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Tsimshian, Coast Salish and Nootka) we are relatively uninformed, except in regard to particular points here and there. Further research on these latter tribes will not only serve to give us a more complete picture of the distinctive culture of this region, but may cause us to modify somewhat our idea of certain fundamental elements of the culture. It may be pointed out, for instance, that the Nootka do not illustrate a pure system of paternal descent, for the writer found that all sorts of privileges, even of such purely masculine interest as rights to whaling secrets and rituals, could be inherited through the female as well as male line of descent.

Of scientific work in Canadian archeology there is doubtless even less at the disposal of students than of ethnology. If we except the work of Mr. Harlan I. Smith on the coast and interior of southern British Columbia, and some rather scattering work done by Boyle and others connected with him in Ontario, there is almost nothing to record that is worthy of serious consideration. An archeological survey of Canada must be of the greatest possible assistance to the student of Canadian aboriginal culture in estimating what elements of material culture are truly characteristic of any particular culture area and what on the other hand are due to secondary influence. It is to be expected that many problems touching the movements of population in early times and the centers of the dispersion of cultural elements will receive great aid from archeological methods.

Our knowledge of the native languages of Canada is far from complete, even where considerable masses of grammatical and text material are at our disposal. The quality of the work is not generally all that can be desired. Of Kwakiutl, Tsimshian and Haida we have a reasonably satisfactory knowledge, of the other languages of Canada we are in many cases already informed of the fundamental traits of structure and in some cases, as in that of the Ojibwa, we even possess extensive dictionaries, yet a poor phonetical groundwork and a failure to grasp the traits of morphology from a purely objective standpoint vitiate the value of much of this material. Adopting a reasonably high standard of linguistic work, such as one might now adopt in discussing works dealing with Indogermanic or Semitic linguistics, we can safely say that, so far as represented in Canada, none of the Athabaskan,<sup>5</sup> [793] Salish, Kootenay, Eskimo,<sup>6</sup> Algonkin or Iroquois languages have as yet been

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5. Yet Father Morice's grasp of Carrier phonetics seems excellent.

6. Except for Kleinschmidt's and Thalbitzer's work on Greenland Eskimo.



adequately dealt with. The time is at hand when purely descriptive linguistic study in America will have to be supplemented by comparative and reconstructive work; it is becoming increasingly evident that such research requires the most minute attention to phonetic detail.

The physical anthropology of aboriginal Canada needs to be put on a sounder and wider basis than heretofore. Outside of Dr. Boas's work on the physical types of the West Coast and interior regions adjoining the coast, practically nothing has been accomplished in Canada with strict regard to scientific method. As a result all present attempts to classify the native physical types of the dominion must be merely approximate.

It can hardly be hoped that the newly established division of anthropology will be able unaided to make the ideally complete survey that has been outlined. The cooperation of other institutions and individuals interested in anthropological problems is not only welcome but necessary. Complaints are sometimes heard as to the duplication of field work among natives. Rightly considered such duplication should always be welcomed, for the personal equation in the investigation of social sciences is a feature which, though often tacitly ignored, must always be reckoned with.

The ethnological work already undertaken by the division embraces three distinct lines of inquiry. The first of these was undertaken by the writer among the Nootka, and resulted in the amassing of much material of linguistic and ethnological interest. It is intended to carry forward this work from year to year. The second line of inquiry is the analysis of the culture of the Iroquois, including under this term the Huron-Wyandots, who were never included in the league. This work was undertaken for the Huron-Wyandots by Mr. Barbeau, who, beginning with the Hurons of Lorette and the few Wyandots still left in western Ontario, took up an intensive study of the most conservative group of Wyandots, those of Oklahoma. The study of the Iroquois proper, particularly from the point of view of social organization, was entrusted to Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser, of Columbia University, who has amassed much of value at Grand River Reserve. The third point of attack was the culture of the eastern Algonkin tribes. Here a beginning was made by Dr. Cyrus MacMillan, of McGill, among the Micmac, and by Mr. W. H. Mechling among the Malecite. It is hoped to begin systematic work among the Cree, Ojibwa, Plains tribes and tribes of the Plateau-Mackenzie region as soon as opportunity will permit. So far the archeological work of the division has been confined to a preliminary

reconnaissance, by Mr. Smith, of the field in eastern Canada. Hand in hand with research and publication, which must naturally form the main activity of an anthropological survey of Canada, is the building up of an anthropological section of the national museum at Ottawa. At present the museum is relatively rich in West Coast ethnological and Ontario archeological material to the neglect of other fields. Persistent efforts are now being made to round out the resources of the museum.

The Canadian government is to be congratulated on having established a systematic survey of aboriginal Canada. Now or never is the time in which to collect from the natives what is still available for study. In some cases a tribe has already practically given up its aboriginal culture and what can be obtained is merely that which the older men still remember and care to impart. With the increasing material prosperity and industrial development of Canada the demoralization or civilization of the Indians will be going on at an ever increasing rate. No shortsighted policy of economy should be allowed to interfere with the thorough and rapid prosecution of the anthropological problems of the dominion. What is lost now will never be recovered again.

### Editorial Note

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## The Work of the Division of Anthropology of the Dominion Government of Canada

Comparatively recently anthropological work has been constituted into an integral portion of the scientific work of the Canadian Government. This was accomplished in the fall of 1910 by the appointment of myself as ethnologist of the Geological Survey of Canada, to the staff of which were also added in the following year Mr. H. L. Smith as archaeologist and Mr. C. M. Barbeau as assistant in anthropology. There had been, it is true, various sporadic efforts directed by the government in the past, particularly under the lead of the late Dr. G. M. Dawson, to work among the native tribes of Canada, but these efforts resulted primarily in the collection of a notable mass of museum material rather than in systematic anthropological research, although, it should be added, a few papers of importance of an ethnological character were published by Dr. Dawson and other Survey men.

On the organization of the Department of Mines in 1907, specific provision was made in the Geology and Mines Act for anthropological work, but the government was not at once prepared to undertake it. In 1908, as an "entering wedge," arrangements were made by Mr. R. W. Brock, the Director of the Geological Survey, with the American Museum of Natural History to help Mr. V. Stefansson in his field researches among the Eskimo of the region between the Mackenzie and Hudson's Bay, and thus the way was paved for entering upon systematic work. The necessity for such a division was pointed out to the government by the Director in the Summary Report of the Survey for 1908 and also 1909. The approaching completion of the Victoria Memorial Museum rendered necessary a staff to take charge of the Anthropological Division of the museum.

Fortunately, at this psychological moment a committee was appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science at its Winnipeg meeting in 1909, which, seconded by the Canadian Branch of the Archaeological Institute of America and the Royal Society of Canada, waited upon the Premier and the Hon. Minister of Mines to urge the necessity of systematic [61] research and museum collection among the



aborigines while there was yet time to secure more than fragmentary data. With the enlightened support of such influential bodies, success attended the efforts of the Department to enlist the active interest of the government authorities in the proposed creation of an anthropological staff, intended in its activities to combine for Canada the research work of the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington and the museum exhibition undertaken by the National Museum of the same city.

A scientific staff of three is naturally altogether too small a body to undertake unaided the intensive research work required for anything like an adequate survey of the native tribes of [the] Dominion, and care and preparation for scientific exhibits of anthropological material in charge of the division, not to speak of a certain amount of unavoidable administrative work connected with any organization. Hence additions to the permanent staff of the division are a logical necessity, and there is reason to hope that such additions will be made in the not too remote future. Meanwhile, it has been found both necessary and practical to secure the help of a number of men, only temporarily under the employ of the division, for the prosecution of special lines of research.

Before sketching the progress already made by this new division, it will not be amiss to point out briefly the purpose and scope of the anthropological work that has been entered upon. The science of anthropology, as the etymology of its name implies, is concerned with the study of man. This interpretation of the scope of the science must not be taken too literally, however, as it would commit us to an exhaustive study of all the endless forms of human thought and endeavor, would make the term, in fact, synonymous with the sum total of all study of a social or historical character as contrasted with the natural sciences; not even all that would naturally be included under the latter head would be excluded, for the specific natural history of man, both as related to the rest of the animal world and in regard to his racial varieties, would find a necessary place. Practically, therefore, the scope of anthropology has always been limited, on the one hand, to the study of the most fundamental problems of the history of man, on the other, to the more detailed consideration of those members [62] of the human species as have been supposed, rightly or wrongly, to come nearest to the state in which we may imagine primitive man to have lived. The former aspect of anthropology concerns itself with the descriptive and, so far as possible, genetic study of the physical varieties of mankind, and is thus linked in its aims and methods with human anatomy and



physiology; it enters also upon problems of the reconstructed origin and development of man's social and psychic activities and is linked under this aspect with sociology and psychology. We thus have to deal with physical anthropology and with ethnology in its broadest sense. The specific study of relatively primitive groups of men often goes under the name of ethnography, though in actual usage the terms ethnology and ethnography are not as sharply delimited as is here implied. Formerly more often than now, and in England more sharply than in America, has the line been drawn between the generalized history of culture (ethnology) and the specific monographic study of tribes or peoples (ethnography). However, it is becoming daily more evident that the reconstruction of the social and psychic history of man is not as readily accomplished as the Spencers, Frazers, and Westermarcks might have us believe, that we can put reliance only in such historical reconstruction as follows from a close study of the complex ethnographic data of a given time and place. Hence, though the classification of anthropology above suggested may be considered theoretically warranted, practically it seems best to deal with physical anthropology on the one hand, and ethnology, as including both ethnology in the narrower sense and ethnography, on the other. Archaeology, it may be noted in passing, in contrast to ethnology proper, arrives at its results not by the direct study of the culture of living peoples but by the study of remains which have been left behind by the builders of an extinct culture or of a culture representing an earlier historical stage than its present lineal descendant. The problems attacked by archaeology are, at last analysis, identical with those of ethnology, the difference being one simply of method determined by the nature of its data. To sum up, we may say that the aim of anthropology in its various aspects is to systematize data bearing on the physical and cultural history of man. It will be seen at once that no extended apology [63] is needed to assign anthropology its definite place among the sciences. It is instructive to note in this connection that anthropological material has been employed to a great (in some cases even to an alarming) extent by allied sciences. Thus no less a psychologist than Wundt himself has endeavored in his "Völkerpsychologie" to correlate the general data of anthropology with fundamental principles of psychology. The constant use made of anthropological material by sociologists will also occur to everyone.

In research among the natives of Canada anthropologists have already gleaned much of great value, but a far greater proportion of material remains to be gathered and made accessible. The aborigines of Canada

were and are spread over the whole of the Dominion; thus their study forms the necessary background of any comprehensive history of Canada. It is for this general reason that it has been thought wise by the Dominion government to put the study of its wards in the hands of a government body. Moreover, the increasingly rapid disappearance and, more than this, cultural absorption of the Indians makes it imperative that research work among the various tribes be instituted "hammer and tongs." In a comparatively new country like Canada, where private enterprise must almost entirely be concentrated on "practical" endeavor and where the universities are able as yet to devote but a modest share of attention to field and museum work, it devolves upon the government to organize the various lines of anthropological activity. These activities include, first and foremost, field research and publication, secondly, museum work. Special research must be undertaken in physical anthropology, ethnology, Indian languages, and archaeology. Linguistic study among the tribes of Canada seems necessary both on account of its intrinsic value for the science of language, and because the most satisfactory sort of ethnological work can only be done in connection with the procuring of texts dictated by the Indians themselves. It is aimed to set a reasonably high standard in both quality and completeness for the research work of the division. In the reports which are to be published from time to time it will be sought to give more than mere outline sketches of the tribes or culture areas studied. It is felt that to make the work of the division of lasting scientific [64] value the problems must be studied intensively. Thus extensive bodies of myths, songs, personal and clan names, religious beliefs, decorative designs, and a host of other cultural elements are to be collected and systematized.

In connection with field work, as well as by purchase or gift, specimens illustrative of all sides of Indian life and thought are to be obtained, cared for, exhibited in part, and in part accessibly stored, so as to be available for special study. Space has been set aside for these purposes in the Victoria Memorial Museum at Ottawa. In making collections and exhibits the primary aim will not be to secure merely striking or aesthetically effective objects, but to provide the concrete material illustrating the aboriginal culture of each tribe and area. The ideal tribal museum exhibit is not necessarily the one containing a large number of particularly beautiful specimens, but one in which a place is found for every aspect of native culture, where the crude awl or skin scraper is deemed as worthy of attention as the richly ornamented basket or Chilcat blanket. As forming properly part of the museum side of



anthropological work may be considered the amassing of photographs bearing on the physical types and cultures of the natives. This material is valuable as forming a body of supplementary concrete data.

Though the Division of Anthropology can not be to any extent designed to conduct public lectures, it is planned in affiliation with scientific societies and universities to provide for lectures dealing with anthropological topics. Indeed, the members of the staff have already been called upon at various times to help along in this way. To provide illustrative material for such lectures the division is making it a point to assemble lantern slides that deal with the various phases of Canadian anthropology.

A rapid review will now be given of the research work which has been undertaken by the permanent staff and temporary agents of the Division of Anthropology. The larger share of field work has been devoted to ethnology. The first field work coming under this head was carried on by myself in the fall of 1910 among two Nootka tribes of Alberni Canal, a deep inlet of the west coast of Vancouver Island. To lay a solid foundation for future work in this region, special attention [65] was paid to the grammatical study (phonetics and morphology) of the Nootka language. A fair amount of Nootka text, chiefly of a mythological character, was taken down; it is hoped as time goes on to add verily materially to this body of Nootka text. Considerable information was obtained on Nootka social organization and religious ideas, particularly in regard to various rituals.

In the following year, ethnological field work was diligently prosecuted. Owing to the rapid disintegration of the eastern tribes of Canada and their comparative neglect hitherto on the part of American field ethnologists, it was thought profitable to take up work among these as soon as possible. Accordingly research was begun on the Hurons and Wyandots, the remnants of the once powerful Hurons of southern Ontario, so well known in early Canadian history for their hostility to the kindred Five Nations. Mr. C. M. Barbeau, who was intrusted with this task, has succeeded in rescuing much of ethnological value from the Hurons of Lorette, the Wyandots of Anderdon, near Windsor, Ontario, and the emigrant Wyandots of Oklahoma. The last mentioned proves to be by far the most conservative branch of the tribe, and it was among them that Mr. Barbeau secured the most complete information on the more fundamental aspects of aboriginal culture, such as social organization and religion. Nevertheless, the more northern branches of the tribe still residing in Canada yielded a good deal from

the point of view of technology. A valuable feature of Mr. Barbeau's work is the series of several hundred Indian songs that he has taken down on the phonograph in connection with his work on rituals. The Iroquois proper, well known in history as the Five Nations (later Six Nations), are being studied by Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser, Lecturer in Anthropology of Columbia University, while the material culture of the same tribe has been made the object of investigation by Mr. F. W. Waugh, of Toronto. Both Dr. Goldenweiser and Mr. Waugh have made considerable progress in their respective fields. So far Dr. Goldenweiser has concentrated to a large extent on the structure of aboriginal Iroquois society, and has amassed for this purpose extensive data on personal names, ordered according to their clans, and genealogies. Full information has been obtained by Mr. Waugh on most aspects of material culture of [66] the Iroquois, particularly as regards foods and medicines. Of the Algonkin tribes of eastern Canada, the Malecite and Micmac Indians of New Brunswick formed the object of enquiry of field work undertaken by Mr. W. H. Mechling, of the University of Pennsylvania, while the Micmacs of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island have been worked up by Dr. C. MacMillan of McGill University, special attention in the latter case being paid to folk-lore. The work of Mr. V. Stefansson among the Eskimo of Coronation Gulf and Coppermine River, undertaken, as already noted, under the combined auspices of the American Museum of Natural History and the Geological Survey of Canada, should also be mentioned here. Mr. Stefansson has sent in from the field, jointly to these two institutions, several interesting reports of progress. Field work among the many bands of Ojibwa Indians in Canada was begun this year by Dr. Paul Radin of Columbia University. Ethnological work among the tribes referred to is being continued this year, while later on in the year Mr. J. A. Teit of Spences Bridge, B.C., is to begin on an ethnological survey of the Athabaskan or D  n   tribes of western Canada. It will be observed that the most remote Algonkin tribes, such as the Cree, and the Nascopie of Labrador, the tribes of the Plains region, and the tribes of the Mackenzie valley have not as yet been provided for by the division. It is hoped that a start will be made with these as soon as opportunity permits.

The archaeological activities of the Division of Anthropology have been put, as already noted, in the hands of Mr. Harlan I. Smith, formerly of the American Museum of Natural History. Most of his energies hitherto have been devoted to the systematizing of the archaeological material in the museum and to a preliminary reconnaissance in the field.



With the assistance of Mr. W. J. Wintenberg of Toronto, he expects before long to take up the exhaustive study of one or more archaeological sites in eastern Canada. The physical anthropology of the Indians of Canada has always been somewhat neglected by anthropologists, unless, indeed, we except the work of Dr. Franz Boas among the natives of British Columbia. It is to be hoped that in the near future special provision will be made for this important branch of anthropology in the shape of a permanent appointment to the staff. For the present, [67] Mr. F. H. S. Knowles of Oxford University is collecting anthropometric data among the Iroquois of Six Nations Reserve, Ontario. This is meant to be the beginning of a thorough study of the physical type of the Iroquois, to be followed, as opportunity will allow, by similar studies among other tribes of the Dominion. It may be suggested in passing that anthropometric work among the non-aboriginal inhabitants may well come within the province of the activities of a physical anthropologist, and it may not be too rash to hope that much practical work on immigration and other problems may be attacked before many years.

Detailed reports dealing with the results of the various lines of field work enumerated are in course of preparation, and will be published from time to time as each is ready.

A considerable amount of attention has been and is being paid to the museum material of the division. The collections already possessed by the Geological Survey at the time the Division of Anthropology began its operations formed an excellent foundation for an anthropological museum, proving particularly rich in West Coast material (more particularly Haida, Tsimshian, and Kwakiutl). If we except a considerable amount of Eskimo (chiefly Alaskan) ethnological specimens, and archaeological material (chiefly pottery and stone implements) from southern Ontario, the resources for exhibition and study purposes of the Survey collections were found to be strictly limited for other parts of Canada. Persistent efforts have been made to supply this want, and much new material, particularly from some of the eastern tribes of the Dominion, has been recently obtained. It can not be said that we have yet reached the stage where thoroughly satisfactory museum exhibits illustrating the culture of all parts of Canada can be made, but there is every reason to hope that within a few years representative material will be forthcoming from practically all the tribes of the Dominion.

I should like, before closing this brief sketch of the activities of the newly-established division, to call attention to the logical necessity of

university instruction in anthropology in Canada. Several of the most important American universities (Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Chicago, California) have regular departments of anthropology or prehistoric [68] archaeology, and in some cases are publishing important series of monographs and papers dealing with American Indian cultures and languages. It is obvious that there is no better way by which a new science can be made to take firm root in a country than to have instruction given in it, if possible, with opportunities also for research, at its universities. The courses already given in our universities in anatomy and physiology may be expected to pave the way for instruction and laboratory work in anthropometry, while the long establishment of historical, sociological, and philological studies should make welcome the addition of a science of human culture that is kindred in spirit. The intrinsic importance of anthropological researches in connection with all studies of folk psychology and of origin and development of numerous elements in our higher levels of culture demands the inclusion of our science in any well rounded scheme of university instruction and research. One of the great aims of a university, as I understand it, is to broaden one's intellectual horizon, to put one in touch with other forms of thought than those which are presented by one's immediate social and economic environment, and thus to implant in one a critical spirit that has the courage to see, or at least to try to see, things as they really are, at the risk, it may be, of demolishing cherished prejudices. Anthropology, putting one as it does in touch with other methods of solving the problems of existence than our own, is eminently qualified to assist in this function of a university. Any one that has occupied himself to any extent with the data of anthropology has gained, or should have gained, a firmer foothold wherewith to approach in a critical manner many of our own problems, academic and practical — of society, law, religion, art, and language. There is here a fruitful field opened up for discussion, but we must content ourselves with a mere indication of the possibilities of anthropology as helping to afford the cultured man a training in criticism.

From the point of view of the interests of the Division of Anthropology itself, it is clear that it would be more than desirable to have the universities of Canada provide for courses in anthropology. As it is, many of the men that are to carry on the work of the division must be recruited from other countries, where systematic attention has been given this science. [69] Canadians can not long brook to see, nor should they, a specifically Canadian scientific survey unsupported by men that

have received adequate university training in anthropology in Canada itself. To make science a matter of nationality is, of course, the height of absurdity, but it is natural for a people to want to do its share of the scientific work being carried on within its own territories. It also needs no argument to prove that a healthy interest in the anthropological researches of the Canadian Government must, to a large extent, be conditioned by the presence in Canada of men and women who have had some aspects of the science presented to them in the course of their university training. Let us hope, then, that at no distant time the universities of Canada will provide for the establishment of departments of anthropology or, to begin with, at any rate, for the inclusion of anthropological work in other departments, and that in this way they will second the efforts of the government Division of Anthropology.

### Editorial Note

Originally published in *Queen's Quarterly* 20, 60-69 (1912).



# Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Geological Survey of Canada, 1910

## Report of Field Work, Sept.—Dec., 1910.

The plan of the anthropological division of the Geological Survey includes field work among the native tribes of Canada for the purpose of gathering extensive and reliable information on their ethnology and linguistics; archaeological field work; publication of results obtained in these investigations; and exhibitions in the museum of specimens illustrative of Indian life and thought. All of these lines of work are important, but perhaps none is so pressing as that first mentioned.

It is planned to make an ethnological and linguistic survey of several of the tribes of Canada. A beginning was made in the fall of 1910, among the Nootka Indians of the west coast of Vancouver island. The ethnology and linguistics of the northwest coast are comparatively well known through the researches of Boas, Swanton, and others; within this area, however, the Nootka have been but little studied.

The time spent in actual work among these Indians was from Sept. 20. to Dec. 6, 1910. Owing to the fact that the complexity of Nootka life and thought makes it difficult to get an adequate idea of the tribe — or rather, group of tribes — by visiting many villages within a short time, it was decided to concentrate work on one point of the Nootka territory. For this purpose the Nootka Indians living in the neighbourhood of Alberni, B.C., were selected. They embrace two tribes, the Tsishya'ath and the Hopach'as'ath, the former claiming the Broken Group islands of Barkley sound as their original home, while the latter were localized in the region of Somass river and Sproat and Great Central lakes. Though these two tribes have intermarried to a great extent, and carry on their ceremonies in common, each still keeps up its tribal individuality.

A good deal of time was spent on the Nootka language, one of considerable phonetic difficulty and complexity of structure. The linguistic work comprised not only direct inquiries into grammatical form, but also, and indeed mainly, collection of mythological and ethnological texts. These were taken down in strictly phonetic form and were then



carefully interpreted word for word, supplementary grammatical material being often obtained in connexion with text forms. It is believed that such texts are valuable not only from a linguistic standpoint, as they illustrate native speech in actual idiomatic use, but also from a strictly ethnological standpoint, expressing, as they do, the native point of view in matters of custom and belief. The most valuable of the texts are a long and rather detailed legend of the chief's family of the Ts'ishya'ath, beginning with the creation of man and the deluge and ending with the recent genealogy of the present chief, and an equally long origin myth of the wolf ritual or Tlokwana, the most important religious ceremonial of the Nootka Indians. As one of the results of the linguistic inquiry may be noted the amassing of new data bearing on the problem of the linguistic relationship of Kwakiutl and Nootka.

The ethnological work consisted in collecting data on various topics of importance; witnessing several ceremonies that were performed during the time spent in the field; and collecting museum specimens: in connexion with the two latter further ethnological data were collected. Among the topics that were investigated with some detail are the native geography of Barkley sound and Alberni canal, personal names, inheritance of family privileges, secret rituals for the attainment of power in hunting and fishing, the wolf ritual, the *ts'ayeq* or doctoring ritual, and [285] potlatches. A set of 67 songs was taken down on the phonograph. These were sung by various Indians, and include different types of songs, among them songs for success in whaling, lullabies, potlatch songs, announcement songs, gambling songs, wolf ritual songs, doctoring ritual songs, and others. The songs have been put into the hands of Mr. J. D. Sapir for transcription into notes. Among the ceremonies witnessed were four girl's puberty rituals, all of which ceremonies offered distinct traits of interest; a potlatch to which the Ho'al'ath Indians of Numukamis bay had been invited; and the wolf ritual, which lasted eight days. The whole of the last ceremony was seen and careful notes taken; during part of the performance I was the only white man allowed to be present. A large number of face paintings used in the wolf ritual was secured from one of the older Indians; they are done in crayon colours.

The museum specimens obtained are not very many in number (upwards of 90) but illustrate many sides of the material and ceremonial life of the Nootkas. They embrace such objects as whaling harpoons and lanyards, whaling spear, sea-lion harpoons and lanyards, fish spear, native boxes, club of bone of whale, cedar-bark shredders, fish clubbers,

bows, cedar-bark garments and ornaments, deerskin leggings and moccasins, snowshoes, wedges, ear and nose ornaments, masks, ceremonial whistles, and others. Leggings, moccasins, and snowshoes, all of which were peculiar to the Hopach'as'ath, practically an inland tribe, have not yet, so far as known, been observed in ethnological literature as found among any of the Nootka tribes.

It is believed that a satisfactory beginning was made of a scientific study of the Nootka Indians. So rich and complex is the field, however, that several years of field work are necessary before anything like a complete account of these Indians can be presented.

### Work among the Arctic Eskimos

Letters from V. Stefansson, who for several years has been living with the Eskimos of the Arctic, engaged in anthropological studies for the American Museum of Natural History and the Canadian Geological Survey, were received before the close of the year. The last one, under date of April 26, was carried from Cape Lyon by an Eskimo. Mr. Stefansson was then on his way to Coronation gulf. He reports a hard and unfortunate winter. On account of the failure of the hunt, he and his Eskimo companions were at times forced to subsist on snowshoe lashings, skins, and bed-skins. During one period of privation, the Eskimos consumed all of the mammalian zoological specimens that had been collected. Parts of the outfit had to be abandoned, but all records and instruments were preserved. Dr. Anderson and one Eskimo had pneumonia, and ten of the eighteen dogs died. At the time of writing, a good game country had been reached, and no further trouble with regard to food was anticipated. Regarding plans for the summer, he writes:

"We expect to spend the summer with the Coronation Gulf Eskimos, if we find them, and may try to visit Southern Victorialand, if we learn it is inhabited. No systematic mapping of the coast will be tried, for we find Dr. Richardson's work satisfactory in general. He is not to blame for "River la Roncière," which clearly is non-existent. We have spent a month hunting caribou in its supposed delta and have travelled by sled every mile of coast from the tip of Cape Bathurst to the tip of Cape Parry (as well as most of that distance by skin boats, etc., in summer), and can testify that no stream over 20 miles long other than Horton

river (of Franklin's second journey) enters the sea between the two capes.

'The unlikeliness of the delivery of this letter to you causes me to make it brief. I will only add that both Dr. R. M. Anderson and myself hope to get home in the autumn of 1911; we shall then have been three and a half years on the present undertaking.'

### Editorial Notes

Originally published in *Summary Report of the Geological Survey, Department of Mines, for the Calendar Year 1910*, 284–285 (Ottawa, 1911).

The Canadian Arctic Expedition was initiated in 1908 by the Canadian Geological Survey and the American Museum of Natural History, headed by Vilhjalmur S. Stefánsson. Stefánsson submitted his first report, entitled "A Preliminary Report of an Ethnological Investigation of the Mackenzie Delta," in 1909, and it was published in the *Summary Report of the Geological Branch of the Department of Mines* in 1910 (pp. 190–202).



# Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Geological Survey of Canada, 1911

## Museum

All the ethnological material of the Victoria Memorial Museum has been unpacked and carefully sorted out according to culture areas and tribes. Owing to the fact that a large percentage of this material had remained unnumbered, and owing further to the fact that the enumeration of the part already numbered had proceeded on no definite principle of classification, it was decided to renumber the whole collection according to a definitely established scheme. The ethnological material has been divided into five main groups corresponding to as many culture areas of Canada. These are: Eastern Woodlands ethnology labelled III; Arctic or Eskimo ethnology (labelled IV); Plains ethnology (labelled V); Plateau and Mackenzie Valley ethnology (labelled VI); and West Coast ethnology (labelled VII). I and II have been reserved for materials coming under the head of physical anthropology, while VIII-XII have been reserved for archaeological material. Capital letters are used as means of sub-classification by tribes; thus V.B. refers to material obtained from the Blackfeet, one of the Plains tribes. By following out this method it is possible to assign any numbered specimen to its proper culture area and tribe without the irksome necessity of looking up a catalogue. The labelling and cataloguing of ethnological specimens is now practically completed, and, after a certain amount of sorting for purposes of exhibition is done, they will be ready to go into cases when these arrive. A set of lantern slides illustrating Canadian ethnology is being prepared as the beginning of a stock for lecture purposes.

An inventory of ethnological material now owned by the Victoria Memorial Museum would show that it is relatively rich in West Coast (particularly Haida, Tsimshian, and Kwakiutl) material, to a less extent also in Eskimo (particularly Alaskan Eskimo) material, but not at all well represented as yet in other ethnological regions of Canada. During the last year, however, systematic efforts have been made to fill this lack for eastern Canada. Iroquois, Huron-Wyandot, Micmac, Malecite, and Montagnais material has been purchased, partly by members of



the staff and partly by others conducting ethnological research in eastern Canada under the auspices of the Geological Survey. A standing order has been left with Chief John Gibson of the Senecas for Iroquois material from Grand River reserve; much Iroquois material of value has thus come into the Museum in addition to that already secured by Dr. Goldenweiser and myself, as well as by purchase from Mr. M. R. Harrington. Dr. D. D. Cairnes of the geological staff of the Survey has been helpful in securing museum material from the somewhat inaccessible Athabaskan tribes of the region of Tagish lake, Yukon. Valuable Tsimshian material was purchased from C. C. Perry, of Metlakalita, B.C.

### Field Work

Systematic research among various tribes of Canada was undertaken during the year. Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser, lecturer in anthropology of Columbia University, [380] New York, spent part of the summer in studying the social organization of the Iroquois of Grand River reserve. Mr. C. M. Barbeau of the permanent staff made three research trips (Lorette, Province of Quebec; neighbourhood of Amherstburg, Ont., and Quapaw agency, Oklahoma) for the purpose of studying the Huron-Wyandots; Mr. William H. Mechling, of Philadelphia, spent the summer in ethnologic and linguistic research among the Micmac and Malecite Indians of New Brunswick; Dr. Cyrus MacMillan, of the Department of English, McGill University, spent five months in research, particularly in order to obtain folk-lore material, among the Micmaes of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island; the month of August was spent by myself in a reconnaissance of various Iroquois and Algonkin reserves in Ontario and Quebec. Reports of these field trips are appended.

### Work in Iroquois and Algonkin Reservations of Ontario and Quebec, 1911.

I spent the month of August, 1911, in a reconnaissance of several of the more readily accessible Iroquois and Algonkin reserves of Ontario and Quebec. The first of these reserves to be visited was Grand River reservation near Brantford. The main purpose of this visit was to secure an Iroquois museum collection, as the resources of the Victoria Me-

morial Museum were extremely limited for the Iroquois tribes. I was fortunate enough to secure a fairly large and representative group of objects, including such comparatively uncommon specimens as gourd rattles, blow-guns, and feather head-dresses. Moreover, arrangements were made with Chief John Gibson for the forwarding of further Iroquois material to the Museum. The balance of the six days spent at this reserve was taken up in Seneca and Mohawk linguistic work. The chief object of this and other linguistic researches made during the trip was not so much to investigate the structures of the languages concerned, as this would evidently be quite impossible in the time consumed, as to get a clear phonetic insight into them. Great care was taken in the matter of phonetic accuracy, and it soon became apparent that most, if not all, attempts at recording Iroquois had been notably lacking in this regard.

An afternoon was also spent at Smoohtown in the southern part of the reserve in order to obtain linguistic data on Delaware. The material obtained shows Delaware to be a phonetically quite specialized Algonkin language. In pronunciation it is peculiarly lifeless, and it abounds not merely in voiceless final vowels, like several other Algonkin languages, but in voiceless final syllables or groups of syllables. Peculiar to Delaware is also the presence of voiceless vowels in other than final positions, a phonetic trait that I had not met with before except in certain Shoshonean languages of Utah and Arizona.

The next reserve visited was Caughnawaga, opposite Montreal, which is occupied by thoroughly Catholicized Iroquois of Mohawk speech. There is comparatively little of value to be obtained here in the way of museum specimens, most of the native industries catering primarily to the white trade. Linguistic material obtained here, supplementary to the Mohawk material obtained at Grand River, shows conclusively that the Mohawk of these two places is dialectically distinct.

At the Abenaki reserve of Saint Thomas Pierreville conditions similar to those prevailing at Caughnawaga were found, except that while the Caughnawaga Indians rely chiefly on the making of beaded moccasins, the Abenaki do more basketry for purposes of sale. Linguistic material obtained at Pierreville shows Abenaki to be a somewhat specialized Algonkin language. Phonetically it impresses one as being rather lazy in utterance and it makes much use of weakly nasalized vowels. At Rivière du Loup, which was next visited, material obtained on Malecite showed this to be phonetically rather a difficult Algonkin language; there are several phonetic [381] peculiarities to be noted, such as musical

cadence (which, however, is perhaps of no etymological significance) and the presence of consonants that are so weakly articulated as to be practically inaudible. A side trip taken to Cacouna resulted in the securing of some Malecite museum material and linguistic material on Micmac. Micmac was found to be far less difficult phonetically than either Malecite or Abenaki.

The last part of the trip was spent at Pointe Bleue, on the west shore of Lac St. Jean. Some valuable Montagnais material was here obtained including several pieces that were said to have come from the region of Lake Mistassini. It is highly desirable that ethnological work be done among these Montagnais, as well as those of Bermis and Escoumains, but this work should be undertaken by one thoroughly familiar with spoken French. Linguistic material was obtained on both Montagnais and Cree, the latter from a woman belonging originally to Rupert House, James bay. It is quite clear that Montagnais and Cree are dialects of one language; this means that what is a single language, all the dialects of which are mutually intelligible, is spoken from the Gulf of St. Lawrence west of the Yellowhead pass of the Rockies. Montagnais seems to be somewhat more specialized phonetically than Cree, yet not enough material was obtained of either to make this statement certain. Cree and Montagnais are evidently more archaic Algonkin dialects than any of the others from which material was obtained; at the same time they offer less phonetic difficulties than Delaware, Abenaki, or Malecite.

[Also published in this report were the following: "On Huron Work, 1911," C. M. Barbeau, pp. 381–386; "On Iroquois Work, 1911," A. A. Goldenweiser, pp. 386–387; "On Micmac Work, 1911," C. MacMillan, pp. 387–388; "On Micmac and Malecite Work, 1911," W. H. Mechling, pp. 388–389; and "Work Among the Arctic Eskimos," V. S. Stefánsson, pp. 389–390.]

### Editorial Note

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# Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Geological Survey of Canada, 1912

## Ethnology and Linguistics

### Museum

In the course of the year the exhibition hall of the Division of Anthropology has been provided with glass cases for exhibition purposes. Of these, thirty cases of 6 foot unit length (eighteen upright cases and twelve table cases) and five upright cases of double length have been set aside for exhibition of ethnological material, while eight table cases of unit length are to be utilized for the exhibition of archaeological objects. Four wall cases and two upright cases intended to be placed in the corner alcoves of the hall have been ordered, but are still outstanding. In planning the selection of specimens that are to make up the regular ethnological exhibit, it soon became evident that the space allotted was too small for the adequate representation of the five main aboriginal culture areas of Canada, and it was decided to limit the hall to three of these ethnological areas (Eastern Woodlands, Eskimo, and West Coast), besides a synoptic survey of the archaeology of the Dominion. The need for another exhibition hall to be devoted to the uses of the Division of Anthropology is urgent, as provision should be made for an exhibit of representation collections from the Plains and Plateau-Mackenzie areas, material from which it is expected will be coming in in increasing quantities. The first step taken in the preparing of a public exhibit was the suspending of the long Haida war canoe from the ceiling of the anthropological hall. It is intended, in the course of the next calendar year, to suspend in a similar manner the heavier of the smaller canoes, which are to be placed near the walls of the hall. The exhibits representing the three culture areas referred to will be installed in the course of the year 1913 and systematic labels will be prepared to accompany them. Of the three large totem poles now owned by the museum, two (from Bellakula and from Massett, Queen Charlotte islands) have been placed at the entrance to the building; the third, a particularly high one from Skidegate, Queen Charlotte islands, has not yet been placed, and



would be best provided for in a high hall which might at the same time provide for exhibits of Plains and Plateau-Mackenzie material.

Thus far the museum work of the scientific staff of the Division of Anthropology has been seriously hampered by the lack of a regular preparator or technical assistant, as the purely scientific and office work of the staff makes it difficult for them to do full justice to the proper care of museum material. The necessity for an anthropological preparator, whose duty it would be to treat (clean, fumigate, and poison), sort out, number, catalogue, store, and keep in constant good care the ever increasing anthropological collections of the museum, is imperative. Provision might also well be made for a skilful mechanic for the division, who could be employed to repair or reconstruct material in poor or fragmentary condition, prepare models and groups illustrating various phases in the life of the natives, and do such other technical work as might be required.

*Museum Specimens.* — Over 1,500 ethnological objects have been added in the course of the year to the collections of the museum. These were obtained either by gift, by purchase in the course of regular field work for the division, by members of the Geological Survey not connected with the Division of Anthropology, and by purchase of material not directly obtained in connexion with field work.

Material was obtained in the course of regular field work for the survey as follows: By E. Sapir, 26 Algonquin specimens from Maniwaki, Que.

The greater part of the ethnological museum material obtained is from the Iroquoian (Iroquois proper, Wyandot, Huron) and Algonkian (Montagnais, Ojibwa, Algonquin, Abenaki, Penobscot) tribes of the Eastern Woodlands area. The parts of Canada that at present most sadly need representation in the Anthropological Division of the museum are the Plains, Western Plateaus, and Mackenzie Valley. Part of the Eskimo material recently acquired by Mr. Stefánsson from the Eskimo of Coronation gulf and adjoining regions is designed to be turned over to the museum, but the material has not yet been received.

*Photographic Work.* — Photographs of ethnological interest have been received by the Division of Anthropology during the course of the year, partly by gift, and partly as a result of field work undertaken by the division. A complete set of prints is filed with the Anthropological Division.

[A number of] ethnological photographs [were] taken by members of the anthropological staff in the field or at the museum, and by the

Photographic Division of the Geological Survey...From these photographs seven lantern slides have been made and added to the stock kept by the division for lecture purposes.

*Phonograph Records.* The recording of aboriginal music, begun from the very start of the research work of the division, has been continued throughout the year. The following records have been made by members of the permanent and field staffs and deposited in the museum. By E. Sapir: 3 records from Chief John Gibson, Seneca of Six Nations Reserve, Ont., taken in Ottawa, embracing 6 songs; 2 Ojibwa language records, taken in Ottawa from Edwin Maness, Ojibwa of Sarnia Reserve, Ont. Of [the] phonographic material, Mr. Barbeau's 231 Iroquois songs and 6 Shawnee songs have been transcribed into notes by J. D. Sapir, and are thus better available for study in connexion with ethnological research.

### Field Work and Research

Ethnological research work in the field has been diligently prosecuted during the year. Besides the field research undertaken by Mr. C. M. Barbeau, of the permanent staff, the services were procured also of Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser, Mr. F. W. Waugh, Mr. W. H. Mechling, Dr. P. Radin, and Mr. J. A. Teit. Mr. Barbeau spent about four months in Oklahoma and at Amherstburg, Ontario, in continuation of his Wyandot ethnological and linguistic work of the preceding year. Dr. Goldenweiser continued his field research on Iroquois social organization and religion, spending about three and a half months at Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, for this purpose. Mr. Waugh undertook an elaborate investigation of the material culture of the Iroquois Indians, visiting Six Nations Reserve and Oneidatown in Ontario, Caughnawaga in Quebec, and Tonawanda and Onondaga Castle in New York state, and devoting an aggregate of nearly eight months in the field. Mr. Mechling continued ethnological research among the Malecite of New Brunswick, devoting an aggregate of two months in the field to the work. Dr. Radin undertook the study of the Canadian Ojibwa on the side of social organization, mythology, religion, and language, visiting several reserves in Ontario, and spending five months in the field. Mr. Teit began what is expected to be a thorough reconnaissance of the comparatively little known Athabaskan tribes of the Western Plateaus by spending a little over two months among the Tahltan Indians of the Upper Stikine region, B.C.

In the early part of the year Mr. Teit visited Ottawa as spokesman of a delegation of Interior Salish chiefs who had come on administrative business. The opportunity was taken by Mr. Barbeau to secure photographs and phonograph records from a number of these, and to make a study of a special phase of the social and religious life of the Thompson River and Lillooet Indians. Mr. V. Stefansson returned during the year from his four years' exploratory and ethnological trip in the Arctic north: a general account of the ethnological results of the expedition is appended. A short trip for the purpose of collecting Algonquin museum material was made by myself among the Algonquin Indians living near Maniwaki, Quebec.

*Manuscripts.* Manuscript material of ethnological interest was obtained during the year, partly by gift, partly by purchase.

Though not strictly applying to this year, mention should be made of the gift in 1911 by Dr. F. Boas, of Columbia University, of valuable manuscript material on the Nootka Indians. This material embraces linguistic notes collected by Dr. Boas years ago for the British Association for the Advancement of Science and only in part published in their reports; 5 pages of data on the Nootka Whaling Ritual, obtained for Dr. Boas by George Hunt; and, most important of all, 333 pages of mythological manuscript obtained by George Hunt from the Nootka Indians of Nootka sound. It is intended to prepare these Nootka myths for publication by the Survey.

A paper on 'Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting among the Ojibwa,' based on the results of his Ojibwa field work, has been submitted by Dr. Radin, and will be published in one of the numbers of the Museum Bulletin.

[Also published in this report were the following: "On Iroquoian Field-Work, 1912," C. M. Barbeau, pp. 454-460; "On Interior Salish Work, 1912," C. M. Barbeau, pp. 461-463; "On Iroquois Work, 1912," A. A. Goldenweiser, pp. 464-475; "On Work on Material Culture of the Iroquois, 1912," F. W. Waugh, pp. 476-480; "On Malecite and Micmac Work, 1912," W. H. Mechling, p. 481; "On Ojibwa Work in Southeastern Ontario, 1912," P. Radin, pp. 482-483; "On Tahltan (Athabaskan) Work, 1912," J. A. Teit, pp. 484-487; and "On Eskimo Work, 1908-1912," V. Stefansson, pp. 488-496.]



## Editorial Note

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# Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Geological Survey of Canada, 1913

## Ethnology and Linguistics

### Staff

Three new appointments have been made in the course of the year to the permanent staff of the Division of Anthropology. Mr. J. Wintemberg, who had previously done temporary work in the laboratory, field, and office, received permanent appointment on April 1 as preparator in archaeology of the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey. Mr. F. W. Waugh, who had previously been engaged in field research among the Iroquois for the division, received a similar appointment as preparator in ethnology on July 1. Miss Ariel McConnell received an appointment as stenographer on July 1.

The Division of Anthropology at present numbers a scientific staff of five and a clerical staff of two. The organization of the division is as follows:

E. Sapir, head of Division of Anthropology, and ethnologist in charge of section of ethnology and linguistics.

H. I. Smith, archaeologist in charge of section of archaeology.

C. M. Barbeau, assistant anthropologist.

W. J. Wintemberg, preparator in section of archaeology.

F. W. Waugh, preparator in section of ethnology.

Miss E. Bleakney, stenographer in section of ethnology and linguistics.

Miss A. McConnell, stenographer in section of archaeology.

### Museum

*Exhibits.* — In the course of the year the Hall of Canadian Anthropology has been thrown open to the public. A general statement in regard to the exhibition cases of the hall has been already given in the Summary Report for 1912. During the year 1913, these cases have been provided with ethnological and archaeological exhibits, in accordance

with the general plan already outlined. Eight of the table cases are devoted to Canadian archaeology, and are described in part III of this report. The remaining cases are divided into two main groups, those on the right of the hall as one enters being devoted to exhibits illustrating the culture of the West Coast Indians, while those on the left contain the exhibits of the Eskimo and Eastern Woodlands tribes. As already stated in the Summary Report of the preceding year, the ethnological material from the plains and from the Mackenzie valley and western plateaus has had to be stored for want of adequate exhibition room. This applies also to certain of the tribes of the Eastern Woodlands area, namely the Cree, Algonquin, and Ojibwa. The Division of Anthropology needs at least one other hall for the proper exhibition of the material in its hands. The table and upright cases have been so grouped as to bring ethnological exhibits of the same tribe that have been divided between the two types of case as close together as practicable.

The exhibits for the various West Coast tribes are distributed as follows: three halves of the upright cases deal with the culture of the Nootka Indians, of which one deals with the fishing and hunting implements of these Indians, the second with the basketry and clothing, the third with ceremonial objects. Two halves of table cases have also been assigned to the Nootka Indians, one of these taking up ornaments and games, the other various implements used by men and women. The Coast Salish are represented by a half and a quarter of an upright case, and by a half of a table case. Our collections from these Indians are not as fully representative as might be wished. A quarter of an upright case is devoted to the ceremonial objects of the Bella Coola Indians, half a table case to similar objects of their neighbours, the Bella Bellas. A fairly full collection of the Kwakiutl Indians is on exhibition, embracing two complete and four halves of upright cases, besides two halves of table cases. In the upright cases are exhibited basketry, weapons, implements of various kinds, and ceremonial objects, while the table cases make provision for games, ornaments, carvings of various sorts, and men's and women's implements. Two full upright cases and two halves and one-quarter of the table cases have been employed to exhibit the Tsimshian material, which is grouped into baskets, boxes, grease dishes, and ladles; implements; masks and other ceremonial objects; spoons, charms, and ornaments; smaller masks and musical instruments; and games. Four and one-half of the upright cases and three halves of the table cases take up the Haida material, this tribe being the best represented of the West Coast Indians in the collections

of the museum. The material is grouped into boxes, various men's and women's implements; matting and basketry; fishing tackle; canoes and weapons; grease dishes and musical instruments, masks; games and ornaments; carvings of various sorts; ceremonial objects [357] other than those already enumerated; and spoons and other implements. Half an upright case and one-quarter of a table case provide for the exhibited material of the Tlingit Indians of southern Alaska, which consists chiefly of decorated basketry.

The left side of the hall is taken up entirely with material from the Eskimo and tribes of the Eastern Woodlands. Among the latter, chief stress is laid on the Iroquoian tribes. The Iroquois proper are dealt with in five half and one-quarter upright cases, and two halves of table cases. The Iroquois collection, which is believed to be one of the fullest to be found in any American museum, consists of masks, other ceremonial objects, and musical instruments; clothing; basketry; household utensils and articles of transportation; games and weapons; implements and medicinal articles; and ornaments, wampum, and beadwork. Five further groups of Iroquois specimens have been exhibited in temporary table cases. These exhibits consist of samples of native corn and beans; implements connected with fire-making; war clubs, stirring paddles, spoons, and ladles; and models of various types of traps. Two halves and one-quarter of the upright cases and half a table case are taken up with exhibits of the Huron and Wyandot, also members of the Iroquoian stock. The grouping of exhibits is into household utensils, weapons, and musical instruments; clothing and basketry; articles of transportation, house models and food implements; ornaments, silver-work, bead-work and moose-hair embroidery; and various implements connected with basket-making and other industries. A series of Huron trap models is exhibited in one of the temporary table cases. The remainder of the space allotted to the Eastern Woodlands tribes is taken up with Algonkian exhibits. A half and one-quarter of the upright cases and one-quarter of a table case provide for the Micmac exhibits; the greater part of half an upright case and one-eighth of a table case for their neighbours, the Malecite; the remainder of the upright and table cases last referred to for the Abenaki, and one-quarter of an upright case and a table case, respectively, for the Penobscot of Maine. The Montagnais and Mistassini exhibit is distributed between two halves of upright cases and half a table case, the objects shown being grouped into clothing, various objects of bark and wood, bead-work and games, and men's and women's implements.



The other half of the left wing of the ethnological exhibits is taken up with cases devoted to the Eskimo of Canada and Greenland, and the Eskimo and Aleut of Alaska. The Alaskan Eskimo material is placed in two halves of upright cases and three halves of table cases. The material is divided into hunting implements and articles of transportation; masks, basketry, and men's utensils; women's implements, fire-making implements, and knives of various types; smaller objects connected with hunting and fishing; and pipes, ornaments, and other decorated objects. The Aleut material, consisting chiefly of basketry and matting, is exhibited in one-half of an upright case. The collection from the Mackenzie Eskimo is small and miscellaneous in character, and takes up part of an upright and part of a table case. The Copper Eskimo of the region of Coronation gulf and Coppermine river are represented by exhibits of clothing and various utensils, which take up the greater part of an upright case and a small part of a table case. The Central Eskimo of the region of Hudson bay are represented by a fairly large collection, which is distributed between two upright cases and a half and two quarters of the table cases. The material embraces harpoons and other implements connected with hunting; spear points of various types, snow-knives, snow-goggles, and various smaller implements; men's and women's knives, pipes, and ornaments; clothing; lamps, pots, bows and arrows, and articles of transportation. Half an upright case and one-quarter of a table case provide for the Labrador Eskimo: the material on exhibition for this tribe is grouped into games, ornaments, and other smaller objects of ivory and stone; clothing, articles of transportation, and bows and arrows. A rather representative collection of the Greenland Eskimo is also on exhibition, and takes up somewhat more than two halves of the [358] upright cases. Two half cases are devoted to a special exhibit of various types of harpoon, spear, and lance, also canoe models and paddles, from various Eskimo tribes.

Besides the space available within the cases, the tops of the cases have, to some extent, been utilized for the exhibition of larger objects, the chief of these being two Eskimo kayaks, a Malecite canoe, an Iroquois fish trap, four models of Iroquois and Wyandot bark houses, two Malecite house models, three fish spears of the Eastern Algonkin tribes, and two Nootka shafts of whaling spears. A series of Indian busts, which the museum owes to the courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, have been put on top of the appropriate cases. They embrace busts of a Tlingit woman, Haida woman, Coast Salish man, Nootka man and woman, and Bella Bella woman. The wall



space of the museum has not yet been utilized to any considerable extent. For the present, three Kwakiutl house posts, two larger models of Bella Coola totem poles, a Nootka house post, and a cast of a rock carving from the east coast of Vancouver island have been placed against the walls. The Bella Coola and Haida totem poles referred to in the Summary Report of the preceding year have been provided with pedestals and now stand at the entrance to the museum. A large Haida totem pole from Skidegate still awaits installation.

A special feature of the anthropological hall is the exhibit of full-sized Indian canoes, all of which, except the Eskimo and Malecite canoes already referred to, are suspended from the ceiling. They include a long Haida war canoe which forms the central object of the hall, a smaller Haida dugout, a Kwakiutl dugout, a Kootenay bark canoe, an Iroquois dugout and elm-bark canoe, and two Ojibwa, one Algonquin, two Montagnais, and one Micmac birch-bark canoes.

No attempt has been made to crowd all of the anthropological material owned by the Survey into the limited exhibition space at its command. The Division of Anthropology has contented itself with selecting such material as seemed most calculated to give the public a general idea of the culture of the more important tribes of Canada, and of the range of implements and other objects in use among the natives. The balance of the material has been carefully stored in the cabinets and alcoves of the hall. The latter, however, will be eventually needed for exhibition; storage in these, as well as in the work-room in the basement, where the skeletal material is now housed, must be considered as only a temporary way out of a real difficulty, namely, that of providing in the building adequate provision for the accessible storage, for research and other purposes, of such anthropological material as is not put on exhibition.

The task of labelling the various objects in the hall has been only begun. A set of tribal labels has been installed, but explicit specimen labels, on which such scientific knowledge is to be imparted as would seem to be of interest to both the general public and the special student, have yet to be added. Such labels are already in course of preparation for the Iroquois exhibits, and will be begun for the other tribes at the earliest opportunity.

A special anthropological exhibit was arranged for the Seventh International Geological Congress, which visited Ottawa in the early part of August, 1913. The archaeological part of this exhibit will be referred to in part III of this report; the ethnological part of the exhibit consisted

of a number of snowshoes from various tribes of the Dominion, illustrating the great diversity of types in use among the natives, a set of photographs selected from the photographic files of the Division, which were intended to show how the Canadian Indians solved the problem of transportation, and a map showing the progress that had been made by the Geological Survey up to that date in anthropological research.

### Additions to the Ethnological Collections during 1913

Over one thousand three hundred (1,300) ethnological objects, obtained either by gift, by purchase in the course of regular field work by the division, or by purchase of material not directly obtained in connexion with field work, have been added in the course of the year to the collections of the museum

*Collected in Course of Regular Field Work.* The bulk of Dr. Mason's Athabaskan material, though obtained in the course of 1913, will not be received until the following year. This applies also to Dr. Sapir's Nootka collection, the greater part of which was obtained in 1913.

*Photographic Work.* The division has continued adding to its stock of photographs of anthropological interest. These have proved useful as an aid to certain types of research and as supplementary exhibition material. In several cases the Survey has been of direct assistance to various individuals in providing them with prints of ethnological photographs required for various purposes. [361]

*Phonograph Records.* There have been purchased in the course of the year from A. B. Reagan, Nett Lake, Minn., 54 Bois Fort Ojibwa records of Midewiwin or Medicine Lodge songs.

A large number of Northern Athabaskan and other songs obtained by J. A. Mason in the course of his field trip to the region of Great Slave lake. These, as well as a large number of Thompson River records collected for the Survey by J. A. Teit, of Spences Bridge, B.C., and a set of Nootka songs collected by E. Sapir, have not yet been received and will be reported on in the Summary Report for 1914.

### Field Work and Research

The ethnological field research undertaken by the permanent staff included a short visit by Mr. F. W. Waugh to the Iroquois of Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, and a trip of a little over five months to the Nootka

Indians of Vancouver island, undertaken by Dr. E. Sapir in continuation of work begun among these Indians in 1910. As the latter trip included two months of 1914, the report on the results of the field research is reserved for the Summary Report for 1914.

In continuation of his researches on the social organization of the Iroquois, Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser spent about two and a half months among the Iroquois of Six Nations Reserve, Ontario. The work previously begun by Mr. W. H. Meehling and Dr. Paul Radin among the Malecite and Micmac Indians of New Brunswick, and the Ojibwa of southeastern Ontario respectively, was continued during the year. Dr. Radin visited the Ojibwa of Minnesota and Wisconsin in order to gain a basis of comparison with the results that were obtained in the previous year [362] from the Canadian Ojibwa. As a counterpart to the Athabaskan researches begun the previous year by Mr. J. A. Teit among the Tahltan Indians of British Columbia, Dr. J. A. Mason undertook a preliminary reconnaissance, during the open summer season, of some of the easterly representatives of this stock, the Chipewyan, Slavey, Yellowknife, and Dogrib, of the upper Mackenzie valley. This trip met with gratifying results, particularly in linguistic respects and in the obtaining of valuable collections of museum specimens and phonograph records.

In the course of the year the permanent members of the staff were engaged in various lines of research work based on material collected in the field. Dr. E. Sapir made progress on the systematizing of linguistic and ethnological data collected among the Nootka and Comox in 1910. A final report, intended to embrace the Nootka mythological texts collected, was begun. Mr. C. M. Barbeau devoted special attention to the analysis of Wyandot verb forms, particularly from the point of view of comparison with corresponding forms in Mohawk and Oneida. The material on the mythology and folklore of the Hurons and Wyandots was systematized and considerable progress made on the preparation of the final report on these phases of the culture of the Wyandots.

*Manuscripts Received.* A considerable number of manuscripts of ethnological interest were obtained during the year as gifts. Several papers were turned in to the division by field men not on the permanent staff. These were based on field work accomplished under the auspices of the Geological Survey.

*Papers Submitted for Publication.* In the course of the year the Division of Anthropology has submitted to the Director of the Survey nine papers dealing with various subjects of ethnological and linguistic in-



terest. All of these, except [an] Alaskan Eskimo paper by E. W. Hawkes, were based entirely or primarily on field research undertaken by the Geological Survey. The papers include E. Sapir, "Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka," and "Noun Reduplication in Comox, a Salish Language of Vancouver Island."

### Anthropology in the Canadian Arctic Expedition

The Canadian Arctic expedition, which has been put under the head of Mr. V. Stefansson, is described elsewhere in the general Summary Report for 1913 of the Geological Survey of Canada. Here it will suffice to state that the scientific staff of the expedition includes two anthropologists. Mr. D. Jenness, of Wellington, New Zealand, who has had considerable anthropological experience in Papua under the auspices of Exeter College, Oxford, Eng., and M. Henri Beuchat, of Paris, well known for his researches on various phases of American ethnology, archaeology, and linguistics. Mr. Jenness and M. Beuchat are to undertake between them the thorough scientific study of the Eskimo of Victorialand and the mainland opposite. The study of the language, religion, social organization, and other phases of the non-material life of the natives is to be the special task of M. Beuchat, while Mr. Jenness is to devote particular attention to physical anthropology and technology.

No full reports of progress have as yet been received from either Mr. Jenness or M. Beuchat. Since leaving Port Clarence, Alaska, M. Beuchat has addressed a communication to the Division from on board the *Karluk* near Point Barrow, dated August 3, 1913. Among other things he states, "Jenness and I have made excavations in an ancient cemetery near Teller's Reindeer Mission (not far from Port Clarence), and have found there about ten skulls, two skeletons all but complete, and a certain number of scattered bones. We are sending this to the Division from Point Barrow, along with 200 ethnographic objects bought by Mr. Stefansson at Vigeray, an Eskimo camp at Point Hope."

Letters have also been received from Mr. Jenness. The first of these since leaving Port Clarence is from Cape Smythe, Alaska, near Point Barrow, and is dated August 6, 1913. In this he speaks of the archaeological digging referred to by M. Beuchat, as follows: "We remained at Port Clarence a week, waiting for Mr. Stefansson to join us. During the last two days we found an old burial ground, which from the rotten



condition of the timber must date from something like half a century back. Clearing away the timber and turf we recovered several skulls and portions of the skeletons, but very little in the way of objects buried with them; probably the graves had been rifled already. We tried to keep separate the contents of each grave, but were only partly successful."

A letter received from Mr. Jenness from Cape Smythe, Alaska, dated October 26, 1913, speaks of the unfortunate fatality by which Mr. Stefansson, Mr. Jenness, and two others of the staff became disconnected with the rest of the party on the *Karluk*. The following is quoted from this letter: "The *Karluk* passed here about August 5 on her way eastward, but was jammed in the ice about ten miles northeast of Flaxman island. For a month she drifted westward until she was in longitude 149° 45' or thereabouts. Once when not far from Flaxman island, Mr. Stefansson sent Beuchat and myself away on an attempt to reach the shore and travel to Herschel island, but the ice was too rotten to bear the weight of the sleds and 2 miles from the ship we had to turn back. About September 12 she reached the above longitude and there remained for a week without any change in her position. The ice which carried her had grounded in ten fathoms of water. Gradually every lead closed over and it seemed that we were destined to remain there for the winter. On September 20, Mr. Stefansson, McConnell, Wilkins, myself, and two Eskimos, with two sleds and small tents, left the ship for a week's caribou hunting on the mainland, to obtain fresh meat for the *Karluk*. The first night we slept on the ice, the second on a low sandy islet, the westernmost of the Jones or Thetis group. The third day we tried to cross to the mainland, but the ice was too thin, so we had to camp on another island. A strong east wind which arose that night opened up the ice and kept us imprisoned on the island for a week. In the meantime the *Karluk* either steamed away in some lead which opened up, or was carried away by the ice; in either case she disappeared. September 28 we were able to cross to the mainland, and spent the next three days in a vain search for caribou. Our provisions were running low, despite the fact that we had shot a large seal on the island, so we had to move either east or west. We came eastward and reached Cape Smythe October 12, where we have remained as Mr. Brower's guests ever since.

"We came away very ill-provided for a long sled trip, and of course without winter clothing of any kind. However, we have been outfitting here. The *Alaska* and *Mary Sachs* got as far as Collison point, we learned here, and it was proposed to draw them up for the winter. We

leave to join them. Wilkins, myself, and two Eskimo, to-morrow. Mr. Stefansson and McConnell come later; we wait for them at Cape Halkett. With them a half-caste boy from here, Alfred Hobson, is coming, and he and I are to spend the winter with the Eskimo at Cape Halkett, while the others go on to join the *Alaska*. The boy is about fifteen and speaks both Eskimo and English, so he is to be my interpreter, but spend most of his time fox-trapping.

"There are left on the *Karluk*, Malloch, Mamen, Mackay, Murray, McKinlay, and Beuchat. All were well. Beuchat was working at Eskimo grammar with the aid of Petitot's and Thalbitzer's works. He had also compiled a short vocabulary from the Eskimo on board. The *Karluk* tied up to a cake of ice one day off Cross island and we went ashore. In some Eskimo ruins there we found one or two interesting articles which we took on board. Beuchat has a brief report written out. I myself have collected a number of cat-cradle figures, and am working at the language, besides making notes of everything of interest.

"The skulls, etc., which were sent from Point Barrow through Mr. Brower were placed on the schooner *Transit*, which was driven ashore 5 miles south of here. Mr. Brower recovered the cases and they will be sent down next summer."

The last heard from Mr. Jenness was from Cape Halkett, in northern Alaska, under date of December 2, 1913. He writes in part: "I am living with two Eskimo families here about 80 miles east of Point Barrow. When I wrote last I was on the point of leaving with the cinematographer, Wilkins, for a small fishing lake, four hours' journey from here. It was October 27 when we left Barrow, and we did not reach the lake until November 8, being caught in a blizzard in the middle of Smith bay, and, after one night in a tent on the ice, being compelled to shelter in an Eskimo house for three days. Mr. Stefansson had told us that he would leave very soon after us and probably reach the lake about November 7. Two Eskimo families were living at the lake when we arrived, but one left the following morning, and the other a few days later. We waited at the lake until November 21, when Mr. Stefansson arrived just before midnight with McConnell and Alfred Hobson, the half-caste boy of fifteen from Point Barrow, whom we had engaged as my interpreter. Mr. Stefansson, with McConnell, Wilkins, and two Eskimo, left this place on November 24 to go east to the *Alaska* and *Mary Sachs*. Since then I have heard nothing, for there are no Eskimo along their route — at least not until they reach Flaxman island.

"The two families with whom I am staying are inland Eskimo from the Colville River region, and have come less into contact with the whites than most of the Eskimo here. One of them, Aluk, was reputed to be well acquainted with the old songs and traditions, but is said likewise to be unwilling to talk about them. He is certainly an expert at cats'-cradles and has already taught me a number, with three or four songs that accompany them.

"Our home is a one-roomed house made of driftwood, about 12 feet by 15 feet, with a slightly gabled roof and a passage of snow blocks laid over a frame-work of sticks. There are two Eskimo with their wives and five children, besides Asecaq, A. Hobson, and myself. In consequence there is not much spare room. They are very kind to me and I am feeling very comfortable. Mr. Stefansson left me a sled and six dogs, and some three hundred pounds of food. Most of this is cached at a place a day's journey away, where our nearest neighbours live, and a stranded whale will furnish dog-meat. A sled is to come from the *Alaska* and bring me a further supply of food and some other things as soon as possible. I expect it some time in January. If all goes well I shall stay among the Eskimo until June or the early part of July, and then join the ships in time to go eastward to Coronation gulf.

"While writing this, it has been arranged that we go to-morrow to bring in my stores with some belonging to my hosts. The place is about 20 miles away and it is said that a woman living there is to go to Point Barrow at Christmas. I am taking this letter to send by her...

"Nothing has been heard of the *Karluk* as yet."

[Also included in this report were the following: "On Iroquois Work, 1913," F. W. Waugh, p. 364; "On Iroquois Work, 1913-1914," A. A. Goldenweiser, pp. 365-372; "On Malecite and Miemac Work, 1913," W. H. Mechling, p. 373; "On Ojibwa Work, 1913," P. Radin, p. 374; and "On Work among Northern Athabaskan Tribes, 1913," J. A. Mason, pp. 375-376.]

### Editorial Note

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# Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Geological Survey of Canada, 1914

## Ethnology and Linguistics

### Staff

In the course of the year Mr. F. H. S. Knowles received a permanent Civil Service appointment as physical anthropologist of the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey. The Anthropological Division as at present constituted thus consists of three sections: Ethnology and Linguistics in charge of E. Sapir, Archaeology in charge of H. I. Smith, and Physical Anthropology in charge of F. H. S. Knowles.

### Museum

*Exhibits.* Owing to the lack of facilities for exhibition it has been impossible to add extensively to the exhibits as reported on for 1913, although there is more than enough museum material available for at least one other anthropological hall. Two temporary cases containing Montagnais specimens have been added to the Anthropological Hall. A number of striking objects of ethnological interest have been placed on top of the cases in addition to those already enumerated for 1913. These embrace a Labrador Eskimo kayak, a large double-face Nootka mask, a Haida image of an eagle, and a Haida house model. The Iroquois exhibit has been completely labelled. A special British Columbia basketry exhibit, chiefly from the Thompson River Indians, has been installed in the entrance hall of the museum.

*Accessions of Ethnological Specimens.* Nearly 1,700 ethnological objects obtained either by gift, by purchase in the course of regular field work of the Division, or by purchase of material not directly obtained in connexion with field work, have been added in the course of the year to the collections of the museum.

The ethnological specimens obtained in the course of regular field work for the Survey [include the following obtained] by E. Sapir: 83



Nootka specimens from Alberni, B.C.: 1 Coast Salish specimen from Alberni, B.C.; 1 Thompson Salish specimen from Spences Bridge, B.C.

Ethnological material purchased otherwise than in course of field work embraces [the following obtained through E. Sapir]: from Frank Williams, Alberni, B.C., 7 Nootka specimens.

*Photographic Work.* A considerable number of photographs of ethnological interest have been added to the files of the Division. The gifts [include the following obtained through E. Sapir]: from C. F. Newcombe, Victoria, B.C., 18 Nootka photographs; and from J. A. Cox, Alberni, B.C., 4 Nootka photographs.

The ethnological photographs taken by members of the anthropological staff and by the Photographic Department of the Museum [include the following] by E. Sapir: 47 Nootka photographs from Alberni, B.C. [172]

*Phonograph Records.* Phonograph records received in the course of the year as a result of ethnological field work undertaken by the Survey [include the following] by E. Sapir: 25 Nootka records from Alberni, B.C.; 2 Nootka phonograph records purchased from Frank Williams, Alberni, B.C.

### Field Work and Research

In January and February, E. Sapir concluded a period of five months of field work, begun in the autumn of 1913, among the Nootka Indians of the west coast of Vancouver island. This was in continuation of field work carried on among the same Indians in 1910 (see Summary Report for 1910). The same tribes were investigated as in the previous field trip, namely the Ts'ish'a'ath and the Hopach'as'ath, at present living within a short distance of Alberni. Further material was obtained on the Nootka language, and a large series of Nootka texts dealing with mythology and various ethnologic topics was recorded. This text material, with the supplementary texts referred to below, covers about 1,250 pages of manuscript. Considerable information was obtained on social organization (types and inheritance of privileges, names, potlatches, seating at potlatches, and many other aspects of this subject), on religion (secret rituals, supernatural beings, religious beliefs), and on other ethnological matters. A number of ceremonies were witnessed and careful notes taken during their performance, the most interesting of these being a doctoring ceremony, known as Ts'ayek, that had not been

performed among these Indians for many years past. A series of face paintings and other drawings were made by Indian informants, and valuable information on religion and ceremonials obtained in connexion with them. The Division now possesses over 200 distinct Nootka face paintings. Several phonograph records were made, chiefly in connexion with songs occurring in legends, and an ethnological collection made, chiefly of ceremonial objects. Instruction was given two of the more intelligent interpreters, Alex. Thomas and Frank Williams, in the phonetic recording of their own language. This proved of inestimable value, as in this way supplementary text material could be obtained from the Nootka Indians in the absence of the investigator. The nature of the supplementary material of this sort already received, will be indicated below. Mr. Sapir undertook in the course of the year a special investigation of the possible linguistic affiliation between the Athabaskan, Haida, and Tlingit languages, hitherto generally considered as forming independent stocks. The result of this investigation was the demonstration of the genetic unity of these three groups of languages. A paper on the "Na-dene Languages," embodying the results of this research, is well under way.

C. M. Barbeau took a brief trip to the Huron Indians of Lorette, whom he had visited several times in the past, for the purpose of obtaining a series of French Canadian tales current among these Indians. This was done primarily for the purpose of ascertaining what influence, if any, European folk-lore has exerted on the content and form of native mythology. Further ethnological collections were obtained at the same time. The greater part of the year was taken up in preparing for publication an extended paper on "Huron and Wyandot Mythology." This monograph is now completed. [173]

F. W. Waugh spent a short period of time among the Iroquois Indians of Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, the work done in 1914 being an amplification of material previously obtained. Most of the time was taken up with medicine and ideas relating thereto, also with general Iroquois medical ideas and folk-lore. Some additional information was also obtained regarding goods and food preparation, games, tanning, and other handicrafts. A number of specimens were collected, some of them very old. A special feature of the trip was the taking of two Iroquois face masks, and three Iroquois head and shoulder casts, all on the living.

P. Radin continued his work among the Ojibwa of various parts of Ontario and adjoining regions of the United States, about a month

being spent among the Northern Saulteaux of Ontario. The work among the Ojibwa during 1914 was limited in the main to translating the syllabic texts on mythology and ethnology obtained in the previous year and in the early part of 1914. Part of the time was also spent in obtaining additional grammatical data. The greater part of the year was taken up by Mr. Radin in working up for publication by the Survey a number of monographs based on material obtained for the Survey. These papers embrace: "Literary Aspects of North American Mythology," which is almost finished; a paper on "The Ethnology of the Ojibwa of south-eastern Ontario," which is well under way; and a second set of "Ojibwa Myths," on which considerable work has been done. A special paper on "Ojibwa Religion" and a series of "Ojibwa Texts" have also been started.

A. A. Goldenweiser spent a period of about two and one-half months among the Iroquois Indians of New York State. Part of this time was taken up with the Seneca and Onondaga Reservations. The greater part of the season, however, was spent among the Tuscarora at Lewiston, New York. The list of Tuscarora names previously obtained was amplified, and a good start made on their translation. The total number of Tuscarora individual names now recorded approaches 500, about half of which are translated. Data on the social system of the Tuscarora were obtained, including a genealogy embracing with marriages some 800 individuals. The terms of relationship were recorded and the system, somewhat different from that of the five other League tribes, was carefully studied. Some interesting data were collected on clan origins. Miscellaneous data on medicines and magic were secured, and several historic traditions and myths were recorded in English.

Toward the last of May, E. W. Hawkes left for field work among the Eskimo of Labrador. While the northern coasts were blocked with ice, a thorough exploration of Hamilton inlet and Sandwich bay was undertaken to ascertain definitely the present southern limit of Eskimo culture, and considerable ethnological material was obtained. Later the east coast was carefully surveyed to Cape Chidley, and further ethnological specimens obtained; but particular attention was paid to archaeological remains of the ancient Eskimo and Tornit cultures. On August 2, Mr. Hawkes joined the Carnegie Magnetic expedition from Washington, D.C., and was then able to extend operations to Hudson strait and bay. Both sides of the strait and bay were visited, including the little-known east coast of Hudson bay as far south as Cape Dufferin, Coast island, and southern Baffin island. Interesting specimens were



obtained from this district and Chesterfield inlet. As a result, the Museum has a complete ethnological and archaeological Labrador Eskimo collection, with interesting comparative specimens from neighbouring tribes.

W. D. Wallis spent nearly four months in southern Manitoba, studying the Dakota (Sioux) tribe. Two reservations were visited, that at Portage-la-Prairie, and that at Griswold. A number of specimens were collected for the Museum, principally of leather and bead work, and a number of photographs were secured. The Dakota were found to be a conservative people, rich in ethnological data and in material culture. Attention was given mainly to the dance and ceremonial organizations, and of several of these a long and fully representative account was obtained, though owing rather to lack of opportunity than of procurable data, no account was obtained of some [174] five or six such associations. A fairly complete description of the Sun Dance and of the Medicine Society was procured. Several medicine bags were collected, and songs describing the uses pertaining to each were obtained. Incomplete notes were taken down on various phases of the social organization, such as birth and death rights, naming customs, war honours, and others. Many myths and stories were recorded in translation, including the complete cycle of Spider myths, and information on religious concepts and practices was procured as far as this was possible. Over fifty songs were recorded and taken in text.

Since last reported on, three letters have been received from D. Jenness, ethnologist of the Canadian Arctic expedition. These are dated February 27, 1914, from Point Barrow, Alaska, May 30, 1914, from Barter island, and July 30, 1914, from the *Mary Sachs*. A report of progress, covering the period from September, 1913, to July, 1914, has also been received. Anthropological work was undertaken at this time under exceptionally difficult circumstances, one of the most serious handicaps being the loss of anthropometric instruments and of many anthropological books on the *Karluk*. However, encouraging progress was made on several phases of ethnological work at Harrison bay, Collinson point, and at the Alaska-Canada boundary line. Considerable attention was paid to Eskimo linguistics. A close study was also made both among the Barrow natives and among the Eskimos to the eastward of the game of cat's cradle, more than one hundred different figures being recorded, many of these being accompanied by chants. Some variants from Eskimo of different regions were also obtained, for by happy coincidence there was a woman at Collinson point from Cape



Prince of Wales, and a number of Siberian natives from the steam whaler *Belvedere*, jammed in the ice off Manning point. It is hoped that these and further researches in the same direction will help to throw some light on the problem of the diffusion of the different branches of the Eskimo race. A set of ethnological notes sent to the Survey by Mr. Jenness have been received by the Division. Probably the most important anthropological work done by Mr. Jenness during the summer was the careful archaeological study of the remains on Barter island. There were formerly two settlements on Barter island, one on the western sandspit, the other and larger on the eastern. Of the sixteen ruins on the former, five were excavated independently by an Eskimo who had in previous years dug sporadically at various places along the coast and sold his specimens to stray white collectors; on this occasion Mr. Jenness purchased almost all the objects that had been unearthed. The remaining eleven sites were excavated by Mr. Jenness, one only being left unfinished because the floor, though it had lain exposed for a week, still remained frozen. On the eastern sandspit thirty-seven ruins were completely excavated. In ten others the floor was reached, while about fifteen remained untouched. Further, a large settlement was investigated on a sandspit some 3 miles west of Barter island. Here many of the ruins had been ransacked by the Eskimo themselves, but Mr. Jenness excavated about twelve either wholly or in part in order to discover their relation to the ruins on Barter island. Detailed notes were made of the principal objects discovered in each ruin, with rough plans of the settlements themselves and of the individual ruins. An attempt was made to keep the remains separate with a view to ascertaining whether the sandspits had been occupied at different periods or not. The large archaeological collection thus obtained by Mr. Jenness was shipped by him to the Survey and has been received by the Division.

The disastrous outcome of that part of the Canadian Arctic expedition which drifted on the *Karluk* involved the death in the earlier part of the year of Henri Beuchat, one of the two anthropologists on the expedition. In M. Beuchat, the scientific world has lost one of its foremost Americanists.

## Publications

*Manuscripts Received.* A number of manuscripts of ethnological interest were obtained during the year as gifts.

Several manuscripts have been turned in to the Division as a result of research work undertaken under the auspices of the Geological Survey.

*Ethnological Manuscripts Purchased in the Course of the Year.* From Frank Williams, Alberni, B.C.: "Raven and Snipe," Nootka text, manuscript of 3 pages (MS. 53). From Alex Thomas, Alberni, B.C.: Names of Nootka months, manuscript of 1 page (MS. 50); "Speech of Thanks to Kyuquot Indians," Nootka text, manuscript of 5 pages (MS. 50a); "Adventures of Sixnate," Nootka text, manuscript of 10 pages (MS. 50b); "Capture of Whale during Famine, and Whaling Customs," Nootka text, manuscript of 21 pages (MS. 50c); Invitation speech, Nootka text, manuscript of 12 pages (MS. 50d); "Marriage of Mink," Nootka text, manuscript of 8 pages (MS. 50e); "Fight about Hunting Grounds between Chiefs of Lice People and Wolf People," Nootka Text, manuscript of 7 pages (MS. 50f); Speech given by Tlutasi's, Nootka text, manuscript of 3 pages (MS. 50g); "Myth of Stealing of Children," Nootka text, manuscript of 22 pages (MS. 50h); "Ucluelet Bands and Seating," manuscript of 10 pages (MS. 50k); "Ucluelet War Story," Nootka text, manuscript of 148 pages (MS. 50l); "War Waged by Ucluelets and Clayoquots against Hach'a'ath," Nootka text, manuscript of 24 pages (MS. 50m); "War between Ucluelets and Uchucklesits," Nootka text, manuscript of 50 pages (MS. 50n); Invitation speech, Nootka text, manuscript of 2 pages (MS. 50o). From Alex Thomas and Douglas Thomas, Alberni, B.C.: 16 pages of Nootka Indian face paintings with 68 accompanying pages in explanation of these (MS. 50i).

## Editorial Note

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# Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Geological Survey of Canada, 1915

## Ethnology and Linguistics

### Museum

*Exhibits.* Owing to continued lack of facilities for exhibition, the museum exhibits in anthropology have remained practically unchanged throughout the year. The most striking ethnological additions are a Chipewyan birch-bark canoe, an Athabaskan skin canoe from Yukon Territory, and a Tsimshian house model, which have been placed above three of the cases; a small Kwakiutl totem-pole, a small Tsimshian totem-pole, and five fragments of Tsimshian painted house boards, which have been placed on one of the walls of the hall; and a large Tsimshian oulachen net, which has been suspended from the ceiling. A special collection of native types of snowshoe (embracing fifteen pairs from different tribes of the Dominion) has also been installed on another of the walls.

The Montagnais collection has been labelled in part. A Canadian Sioux painted tipi with porcupine-quill ornaments has been placed on exhibition in the tower hall on the same floor.

*Accessions of Ethnological Specimens.* Over eleven hundred ethnological objects obtained either by gift, by purchase in the course of regular field work of the division, or by purchase of material not directly obtained in connexion with field work, have been added in the course of the year to the collections of the Museum. This represents a falling off in comparison with previous years, a falling off due primarily to the necessity induced by the European war of economizing in expenditures. However, the large collection of J. A. Teit (Athabaskan tribes of British Columbia), obtained for the Survey in the course of the year, has not yet arrived at the time of writing. There is also due a large ethnological collection made for the Survey among the Copper Eskimo by D. Jenness, of the Canadian Arctic expedition. [266]

Ethnological specimens purchased otherwise than in course of field work [included the following] from Frank Williams, Alberni, B.C.: 1 Nootka mask from Alberni, B.C.



*Photographic Work.* [267] The ethnological photographs taken or purchased for the Survey by members of the anthropological staff and by the photographic department [include the following] by E. Sapir: 25 Alaskan Eskimo photographs (purchased); 1 Siberian Eskimo photograph (purchased); 4 Tlingit photographs (purchased).

[268] Forty-three lantern slides of West Coast Indians and specimens.

## Field Work and Research

In the course of the year E. Sapir continued work on his monograph "The Na-dene Languages," referred to in the Summary Report for 1914. As this work has grown under his hands and will eventually form a rather large memoir, it was deemed advisable to present a preliminary report, embodying the main results of the work, to the American Anthropologist. "The Na-dene Languages, A Preliminary Report" was accordingly published in that journal (N.S., Vol. XVII, pp. 534—558). During February a number of chiefs from Nass River, British Columbia, visited Ottawa on government business. Opportunity presented itself to obtain valuable information on Nass River social organization from the best informed of these Indians, information which has been embodied in the form of a bulletin on "The Social Organization of the Nass River Indians," published during the year. In connexion with the meeting of the American Anthropological Association at San Francisco, to which Mr. Sapir was appointed as delegate of the Geological Survey, an important methodological problem presented itself in regard to the chronological reconstruction of aboriginal American culture. The problem turned out to be a fruitful one, and has been worked up by Mr. Sapir in the form of a memoir entitled "Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, a Study in Method," which will be published in the near future. A beginning was made on the preparation for publication of those Nootka texts that refer to legendary family history. These, with translations and editorial comments will make up an extensive memoir. The large body of other Nootka texts, including miscellaneous tales and such as refer to ethnological matters, will be worked up for publication as separate sets.

C. M. Barbeau spent a period of three months in the early part of the year at Port Simpson, B.C., on Tsimshian field work. An intensive study of the social organization in its static aspect was undertaken of nine or ten Tsimshian tribes formerly living along the Skeena river and



on the adjacent coast. As complete a survey as possible was made of the details of organization of these tribes, a considerable number of legends bearing on the crests being collected in the course of the work. Considerable attention was paid to the artistic representation among these Indians of their crests. Mr. Barbeau also collected a large number of museum specimens and photographs bearing on the culture of the Tsimshian Indians. On the return to Ottawa the material in the Provincial museum at Victoria, B.C., and the Field Museum of Natural History at Chicago, Ill., that is of interest for a study of the Tsimshian, was carefully examined and in part photographed. During the summer, Mr. Barbeau spent three weeks in the collection of folk-tales among the French Canadians of Kamouraska county, Quebec. Over sixty folk-tales were collected, in addition to those already obtained in 1914. The field thus opened up proved unexpectedly rich and valuable and is obviously destined to throw considerable light on the interrelations of European and aboriginal folk-lore. As a first instalment towards the scientific study by Mr. Barbeau of French Canadian folk-lore, he has prepared a memoir of French Canadian folk-tales to be published by the American Folk-Lore Society. By request of the Dominion Parks Commission, the Division of Anthropology undertook to prepare a popular guide-book to the study of the Indians formerly inhabiting the region now occupied by the Rocky Mountains parks in Alberta and British Columbia. Mr. Barbeau undertook the actual writing of the guide-book, which is to be published by the commission.

F. W. Waugh spent a period of two months in field work among the Iroquois of Six Nations reserve, Ontario. A portion of the time was spent in prosecuting inquiries along a number of lines suggested by the work of previous seasons. The greater part of the time, however, was taken up with the collection of [270] Iroquois folk-lore and mythology. About one hundred and thirty mythological and other tales were collected. This material is also of ethnological interest, as many references to witchcraft, medicine, divination, hunting, burial and other ceremonial customs, games, food preparation, and older handicrafts are found in it. This collection of folk-lore, like sets previously obtained by the division for other eastern tribes, will eventually help in throwing much light on the relation between European and aboriginal folk-lore. A number of valuable museum specimens was also obtained by Mr. Waugh in the course of the summer.

P. Radin continued to work up his manuscript on Ojibwa material, for publication by the Survey. The general paper on Ojibwa ethnology,

referred to in the report for 1914, is now completed, also the second set of Ojibwa myths there mentioned. Further progress was made on the special paper devoted to Ojibwa religion and on the series of Ojibwa texts.

J. A. Teit spent a period of four months during the summer and autumn in continuing his ethnological reconnaissances among the Athabaskan tribes of British Columbia and Yukon Territory. A good deal of intensive work was done among the Kaska Indians, inhabiting the Dease River country between Dease lake and Liard river. The ethnological results include data on tribal divisions, material culture, social organization, and mythology. The division of the tribe into two exogamous phratries, Ravens and Wolves, was current among the Kaska as well as among the Tahltan, though not as much emphasized as among the latter. The latter part of the trip was spent in continuing researches among the Tahltan of Telegraph creek, a good deal of new information being obtained on the social organization of this tribe. A large series of phonograph records of songs, photographs, and ethnological specimens was obtained in the course of the trip.

*Canadian Arctic Expedition.* A letter dated January 5, 1915, from Bernard harbour, Coronation gulf, has been received from D. Jenness, the anthropologist of the Canadian Arctic expedition. It speaks of further progress in ethnological activity. A later report as to the work of the southern party, however, has come from Dr. R. M. Anderson, its executive head. This report is dated July 29, 1915, also from Bernard harbour. The portions of this that relate to anthropological work are here quoted:

"Ethnologically, D. Jenness has been able to accomplish a great deal of work among the hitherto little known groups of Eskimos in this region, including numbers of Akuliakattagmiut, Haneragmiut, Uallirmiut, Puibirmiut, Pallirmiut, and Kogluktogmiut. He finds that these groups are not as definite as was formerly supposed, in fact the groups are pretty thoroughly mixed, both by intermarriages and by families shifting from one group to another, nearly every group containing individuals from other groups more and less remote. He has made good progress in linguistic work and vocabularies, made fifty or more gramophone records of various Eskimo songs and spoken words which he has had repeatedly reproduced before the natives so that he could get the text letter-perfect and translated for comparison with other Eskimo dialects. A considerable number of photographs of Eskimo people with their life and customs, have also been made by Mr. Jenness and other



members of the party. Mr. Jenness' facility in learning the Eskimo dialects and the customs of the people has been of great service to the expedition in many ways. He made many trips in the winter, to the islands in the strait and to Victoria island, and in addition to his ethnographical work, usually obtained and brought home to the station on each trip, a quantity of fish, caribou, or seal meat, as well as engaging with natives to bring more meat over. While at the station Mr. Jenness acted practically all the time as interpreter and [271] purchasing agent of the party in trading with the natives for fresh and dried meat, fish, skins, and clothing. In doing this work he collected a large number of specimens of Eskimo tools, weapons, and other implements, clothing of all kinds, stone lamps, and pots, a collection which is very complete for this region, and a large series of duplicates of many things.

"In the early spring, arrangements were made for Mr. Jenness to spend the summer with the Eskimos in the heart of Victoria island. He had a good quantity of provisions hauled across Dolphin and Union strait in early April and cached on the south side of Victoria island for his use if necessary in the autumn. He engaged a middle-aged Eskimo named Ikpukkuaq (who had been in that part of Victoria island before) together with his family, to accompany him and help him during the summer. Mr. Jenness supplying the man with a rifle and ammunition, which together with a tent and other things are to be given him if he serves Mr. Jenness faithfully and returns with him in the autumn. Mr. Jenness started on April 13, 1915, for Victoria island, with this family of Eskimos, and a few others who were thinking more or less seriously about joining the party. They started about the time the barren ground caribou began to migrate across to Victoria island in numbers, planning to follow the caribou migration north across the Wollaston peninsula, then go up to the head of Prince Albert sound, ascend a large river to a large lake called Tahieryuak, in the interior or west central part of Victoria island. When the snow disappeared they intended to cache their sleds, either at the head of Prince Albert sound or at the lake, and continue their journeys during the summer with pack dogs. That region is the summer hunting and fishing ground of a large number of the Kanghirmiut (Eskimo of Prince Albert sound) and Mr. Jenness hopes to gather much new and valuable ethnological material concerning this hitherto little known group of Eskimos. Mr. Jenness expects to live with these Eskimos all the coming summer, and return to the south side of Victoria island in the autumn, following the caribou to the southward

again, and return to the station at Bernard harbour as soon as the ice is strong enough to cross Dolphin and Union strait in the autumn.

"Mr. Wilkins brought a cinematograph outfit with him from the northern party's base on Banks island, and exposed about 2,000 feet of cinematograph film, principally views of the local Eskimos. He also obtained a small collection of Eskimo clothing, weapons, and instruments to send out for advertising purposes. Mr. Wilkins has made a very good series of portrait studies of most of the local Eskimos, men, women, and children, in full view and in profile, for Mr. Jenness' ethnographical work."

### Manuscripts and Publications

*Manuscripts Received.* A number of manuscripts of ethnological interest were obtained during the year as gifts.

Manuscripts turned in to the division as a result of field work undertaken under the auspices of the Geological Survey include E. Sapir, "A Sketch of the Social Organization of the Nass River Indians," manuscript of 40 pages (MS. 67a).

Ethnological manuscripts purchased in the course of the year [include]: From Alex Thomas, Alberni, B.C., "Ucluelet legend," Nootka text, manuscript of 105 pages (MS. 50p); "'owimhl'ni as a whaler," Nootka text, manuscript of 8 pages (MS. 50q); "Tom's Wolf ritual," Nootka text, manuscript of 211 pages (MS. 50r). From Frank Williams, Alberni, B.C.: "Story of how Kwatiyat went for a walk," Nootka text, manuscript of 4 pages (MS. 70); "Story of a young man who got married and became angry," Nootka text, manuscript of 2 pages (MS. 70a).

*Manuscripts Submitted for Publication.* In the course of the year papers submitted to the Deputy Minister of Mines for publication by the Division [include] E. Sapir, "A Sketch of the social organization of the Nass River Indians" (bulletin).

*Anthropological Publications.* The bulletins published in 1915 [include] E. Sapir, "A sketch of the social organization of the Nass River Indians" (Bulletin 19, Anthropological Series No. 7).

The memoirs published in 1915 [include] E. Sapir, "Abnormal types of speech in Nootka" (Memoir 62, Anthropological Series No. 5), and [274] "Noun reduplication in Comox, a Salish language of Vancouver Island" (Memoir 63, Anthropological Series No. 6).



### Editorial Note

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# Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Geological Survey of Canada, 1916

## Ethnology and Linguistics

*Exhibits.* Owing to the occupation of the Victoria Memorial Museum building by the Dominion Legislature, the hall of Canadian anthropology has had to be closed to the general public. There is, therefore, nothing further to report in regard to anthropological exhibits.

*Accessions of Ethnological Specimens.* The economy enforced by war conditions has made it necessary for the Geological Survey to restrict itself to the purchase of a relatively small number of ethnological objects. Aside from D. Jenness' Eskimo material, the total number of ethnological specimens obtained either by gift, by purchase in the course of regular field work of the division, or by purchase of material not obtained directly in connexion with field work, barely exceeds one hundred. A large shipment was obtained, in the course of the year, of ethnological and archaeological material, resulting from the Canadian Arctic expedition, D. Jenness, the anthropologist of the expedition, being the collector. This Eskimo collection is a very extensive one and illustrates every aspect of the life and customs of the natives of Coronation gulf and neighbouring regions. As the material has not yet been completely catalogued, it is impossible to state the precise number of museum specimens that it includes, but a preliminary survey points to about 2,500 ethnological objects.

[390]

## Field Work and Research

*Anthropological Data Obtained from a Deputation of Indian Chiefs Visiting Ottawa.* In April and May, 1916, a deputation of two Nass River chiefs, one from Ayansh, the other from Kincolith, as well as a deputation of chiefs of some of the interior tribes of British Columbia (three Shuswap, one Upper Lillooet, one Lower Lillooet, one Thompson River, one Okanagan, and one Kootenay), under the care of J. A. Teit,

of Spence Bridge, B.C., visited Ottawa on government business. The opportunity was taken by the anthropological division to obtain such anthropological information as the time at the disposal of the Indian chiefs made feasible. The results were gratifying.

Rather full data on relationship terms were obtained from six of the chiefs by E. Sapir. The tribes investigated were Thompson River, Lillooet, Shuswap, Okanagan, Kootenay, and Nass River.

The presence of two well-informed Nass River chiefs from distinct villages proved a good opportunity for C. M. Barbeau to supplement the intensive study of Tsimshian social organization that he had already undertaken in the field. The information obtained on three of the Nass River tribes includes plans of their villages; lists, arranged according to rank, of the families and of their subdivision into houses; lists of crests belonging to each; the origin and relationship, where possible, of each family with foreign tribes; and the mapping of their hunting, fishing, and fruit-gathering lands. In a few cases lists of individual names were also taken down. Mr. Barbeau also secured some special information from the Thompson River chief on the subject of tribal and individual property.

F. W. Waugh obtained detailed descriptions of several Nass River games, including lehal, and collected several interesting Lillooet, Kootenay, Okanagan, and Thompson River string figures. He also recorded a number of lehal songs.

The visit of the Indians was also fruitful for physical anthropology. A detailed series of physical measurements was taken on nine of the chiefs by F. H. S. Knowles. Front, three-quarters, and profile views were taken of each individual, and special photographs of the Thompson River, Kootenay, and Nass River chiefs in full tribal costume. Of the Thompson River and Kootenay chiefs, also, colour plates were taken. Finally, face masks were made of the three Shuswap chiefs and the Lower Lillooet delegate, while head and shoulder casts were taken of the Kootenay and Thompson River Indians.

### Field and Office Work

In the course of the year E. Sapir continued work, begun in the past, on the large collection of Nootka family and origin legends obtained during the field trips of 1910 and 1913 and as manuscripts forwarded by Alex Thomas. It is intended to publish this large body of material

as a set of annotated texts with [391] free translations. At least one of the longer legends will also be given with interlinear translation for the benefit of linguistic students. The legendary texts, not including free translations, which have been prepared only in small part, cover about 950 typewritten pages. Following the legends there will be other text collections dealing with mythological tales, that do not refer to specific families or ceremonies, and with a large number of topics of ethnological interest, such as rituals, potlatching, and marriage. These text collections are intended to serve as a solid basis for the systematic discussion of various aspects of Nootka culture, to follow in the form of special memoirs. The memoirs are to be based partly on the texts themselves and partly on the extensive ethnological notes taken in the field trips already referred to. The notes relating to Nootka religion have been classified and a preliminary paper on Nootka religion, giving a brief bird's eye view of the subject, has been begun. Mr. Sapir also devoted a considerable amount of time to work on various problems of American Indian linguistics.

C. M. Barbeau spent about three months of the summer season on the north shore of the St. Lawrence river (Charlevoix and Chicoutimi counties) in the continuance of researches previously begun on French Canadian folk-lore. This trip was an unusually successful one, 128 folk tales being added to his already extensive collection. A special feature of the trip was a collection of French Canadian folk songs, about 500 of these being recorded in text, in most cases also on the phonograph. In the office Mr. Barbeau devoted a considerable share of his attention to the preparation of French Canadian folk-lore for publication. Two volumes were gotten ready for press. One of these has already been published in the course of the year by the American Folk-Lore Society in their quarterly journal; the second is to be published in one of the 1917 numbers of the same journal. Mr. Barbeau has also been engaged in the preparation of an extensive study of the property rights and potlatch transactions among the natives of British Columbia, on the basis of his own manuscript Tsimshian data, Mr. Sapir's manuscript Nootka data, and all other available information on the west coast Indians. So far Mr. Barbeau's work has been compilation and classification: the actual writing of the text of this report is to begin at the earliest opportunity.

F. W. Waugh undertook a summer field trip of about three months among the Ojibwa of northern Ontario, the first point visited being Long lake, in Thunder Bay district. Interesting information was obtained



there on material culture, folk-lore, and medicine. From sixteen to eighteen folk or mythological tales were incidentally recorded. A special study was made of working methods in connexion with various handicrafts, photographs being taken whenever practicable. A particularly complete series of the latter represent canoe making, snow-shoe making, food preparation, and tanning. At lake Helen (Nipigon river) work along various lines, such as games, medicine, and folk-lore was conducted; also at Manitoulin island, which was visited next. This locality was found to be an excellent field for many kinds of information, though deficient in some, such as social organization and religion. A number of very good specimens were obtained at the various points visited.

P. Radin continued to work up his manuscript on Ojibwa data for publication in the Survey series. Most of the time was taken up with the writing out of the large body of Ojibwa mythological texts previously obtained. Work was also continued on a special monograph on Ojibwa religion, previously begun, and preparatory work was further undertaken for the preparation of a general study of the religion of the North American Indians, which is to be eventually presented as a memoir by the division.

J. A. Teit's survey activities for the year consisted largely in the preparation of his extensive series of Tahltan and Kaska mythological tales. These are [392] liberally annotated and are practically ready for publication. Mr. Teit has also continued taking photographs of ethnological interest whenever opportunity presented itself. Under Mr. Knowles' direction he has also taken anthropometric measurements among a number of tribes in British Columbia.

The general scientific results of the Canadian Arctic expedition, insofar as they refer to anthropology, are outlined in Mr. Jenness' report [which followed in the Summary Report]. Since his return from the field, Mr. Jenness has begun to prepare his anthropological report on the Eskimos of northern Alaska and on the Copper Eskimo of Coronation gulf and environs. He has already finished the preparation of the folk-lore, part of which is in text. The report on the physical anthropology of the Eskimo has made good headway. It is Mr. Jenness' plan to write a general paper on the culture of the Eskimos that he has studied; the introductory chapter on the physiography of the Eskimo habitat is already completed.

## Manuscripts

E. Sapir submitted to the division for publication "Time perspective in aboriginal American culture, a study in method," manuscript of 115 pages (MS. 74), which was published as Memoir 90, Anthropological Series No. 13.

Ethnological manuscripts purchased in the course of the year embrace: From Alex Thomas, Alberni, B.C. [Sapir's informant], "Origin of the Wolf Ritual," Nootka text, manuscript of 155 pages (MS. 50t); drawing book No. III, with ethnological notes, 26 pages (MS. 50u); "The power of a whaler's hi'talukcitł'yak spell," Nootka text, manuscript of 292 pages (MS. 50v); "Ha-yu-teictu-ł, chief of T'ci-qtlis'ath, challenges Ci-nolqa'ya, chief of Qa-yu-k'wath," Nootka text, manuscript of 26 pages (MS. 50w); "Whaling 'o-simtc secrets of K!wats!litaqsul of ɥo-teuqtli's'ath," Nootka text, manuscript of 101 pages (MS. 50x).

[Also published in this report was "Ethnological Results of the Canadian Arctic Expedition," by D. Jenness, pp. 392—394.]

## Editorial Note

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## Annual Reports, Anthropological Division, Geological Survey of Canada, 1917, 1918, and 1919

[Because of government economies necessitated by World War I, annual summary reports by the various Division chiefs were omitted from the annual Summary Reports of the Geological Survey for the three years 1917–1919. However, the annual synopses of the activities of the several Divisions of the Geological Survey continued to be prepared by the Director of the Survey, and were published. The synopses for the Anthropological Division, undoubtedly based on reports from the Chief of the Division, Edward Sapir, are given below.]

### Summary Report, 1917, Part A: Anthropological Division, Ethnology and Linguistics

Owing to economies enforced by the war no field work was undertaken by the division during 1917. The hall of Canadian anthropology in the Victoria Memorial Museum had again to be closed to the general public since the building was still occupied by the Dominion Legislature. A special exhibit of Indian handicrafts was, however, provided for the Central Canada Exhibition.

E. Sapir, C. M. Barbeau, and F. W. Waugh carried on research work and have published or have made arrangements for the publication of much of the results of their work in various journals and other publications of other institutions and societies. J. A. Teit could devote only part of his time during 1917 to the service of the Survey, but has contributed much anthropological and ethnological information relating chiefly to Indian tribes of southern British Columbia. D. Jenness prior to leaving for military service overseas was able to complete in finished form a substantial portion of the manuscript data collected among the Alaskan and Copper Eskimo.

### Summary Report, 1918, Part A: Anthropological Division, Ethnology and Linguistics

Owing to the economies enforced by the war, the field work undertaken during 1918 was less than in normal years. The hall of Canadian anthropology in the Victoria Memorial Museum remained closed to the general public. A special exhibit of Indian handicrafts was provided in collaboration with the Department of Indian Affairs, for the Central Canada Exhibition.

E. Sapir was engaged chiefly in research work in connexion with materials previously collected. C. M. Barbeau conducted a folklore and ethnographic survey of certain groups of French peasants in Temiscouta and Gaspé counties, Quebec. E. Z. Massicotte carried on folklore research in the Montreal district. F. W. Waugh carried on scientific researches among the Iroquois Indians at Grand River reserve, Ontario. J. A. Teit could devote only part of his time in 1918 to the services of the Survey.

### Summary Report, 1919, Part A: Anthropological Division

E. Sapir, Chief of the Anthropological Division, reports that until the Victoria Museum, now occupied by Parliament, is restored to the Geological Survey, the Anthropological Division is greatly handicapped by lack of space; that C. M. Barbeau has made a trip to Lorette, Que., to secure information relating to the Huron Indians; that F. W. Waugh made inquiries into the ethnology of the Ojibwa of lac Seul, Kenora district, Ont.; and that Harlan I. Smith initiated work near Massett, Queen Charlotte islands, which is expected to throw light on the history of the West Coast culture. Dr. Sapir himself spent the greater part of the year in linguistic researches.

*Physical Anthropology.* The division lost the services of F. H. S. Knowles, who resigned. A successor has not yet been appointed. [The program in Physical Anthropology was never thereafter reactivated.]

### Editorial Note

Originally published in Sessional Paper No. 26, Summary Report of the Geological Survey, Department of Mines, 1917, Part A: Report of the Directing Geologist, 8A-9A (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau,



1919); Sessional Paper No. 26, Summary Report of the Geological Survey, Department of Mines, 1918, Part A: Report of the Directing Geologist, 11A (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1919); and Sessional Paper No. 26, Summary Report of the Geological Survey, Department of Mines, 1919, Part A: Report of the Director, 8A (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1921).

## Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Victoria Memorial Museum, Canada, 1920-21

### Ethnology and Linguistics

E. Sapir, Chief of the Division, reports that the Victoria Memorial Museum building, though no longer occupied by Parliament, has not been in such shape throughout the greater part of the year as to warrant its being formally thrown open to the public. However, visitors to the Anthropological hall have been rather numerous and always welcome. The hall adjoining this has been assigned to the Division of Anthropology for further exhibits. Lack of suitable cases makes it impossible for the present to install a permanent ethnological exhibit in this new hall, but the division is utilizing an old stock of small table-cases for a temporary exhibit of ethnological material from tribes of the plains and the western plateaus, two regions that had been hitherto unrepresented in our public collections. The archaeologist of the division, H. I. Smith, took charge of the supplementary exhibit and is preparing a popular guide-book to serve as a general introduction to the life of our Canadian aborigines, particularly from the point of view of their arts and handicrafts.

Acknowledgments are due to the following for donations of specimens or photographs to the Museum: W. B. Anderson, Iver Fougner, A. J. Matheson, Captain Mills, Geo. P. Phillips, R. Sutherland.

Four anthropological field trips undertaken during the summer evidence progress towards the restoration of pre-war conditions in the Division of Anthropology. Of these one was a combined archaeological and ethnological trip to Bellakula, B.C., undertaken by H. I. Smith. A second was an extensive archaeological field research in southwestern Ontario by W. J. Wintemberg. This trip, as well as the archaeological [19] part of Mr. Smith's field work, are reported on under "Archaeology." C. M. Barbeau undertook an elaborate field reconnaissance of the social organization of the Tsimshian Indians of Upper Skeena river, B.C., continuing work carried out during a previous field trip among the Tsimshian tribes at Sipson. Finally, F. W. Waugh spent another summer among the Ojibwa of lac Seul, Ont.

E. Sapir spent the greater part of the year in linguistic researches. The large body of Nootka text material is being put in final shape for publication. Considerable progress was made on the grammatical analysis of the Nootka language. A review of Nootka ethnology for the general public was prepared in the form of an ethnological narrative centring about the life of a single individual. This paper, entitled "The life of a Nootka Indian," was read in part before the Royal Society of Canada (May, 1920), and has been published in "Queen's Quarterly." In the course of the preceding year Dr. J. G. Wolf, interned at Kapuskasing, Ont., working under Dr. F. Boas' direction, had prepared on slips a preliminary dictionary of Wishram, based on Mr. Sapir's "Wishram texts" and on manuscript notes put at his disposal. These slips are carefully revised and supplemented by Mr. Sapir. Full dictionaries of the Chinookan dialects (Chinook, Kathlamet, Wishram) are likely now to be of more than ordinary interest in view of the surprising linguistic status of Chinookan revealed by Mr. Sapir's comparative researches, Chinookan proving to be a member of the Penutian group that extends in a broken line from southern California to British Columbia. Following up previous work on Indian kinship systems (Yana, Kootenay, Nass River), Mr. Sapir undertook a linguistic-sociological review of the kinship systems of Algonkin, Wiyot, and Yurok. The linguistic portion of this paper is completed and confirms Mr. Sapir's hypothesis of the Algonkin affinity of Yurok and Wiyot, two languages spoken in north-western California. The sociological portion will throw light on a number of kinship developments within the enlarged Algonkin group. The paper on "Nass River terms of relationship" was published in the *American Anthropologist* (N.S., vol. 22, 1920, pp. 261-271). Two papers on the Yana language of California were prepared in the course of the year: "The fundamental elements of northern Yana" and "Text analysis of three Yana dialects." These are to appear in the University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. Mr. Sapir has begun a general reconnaissance of the Indian linguistic groups ("stocks") north of Mexico to ascertain what reduction of the more than fifty stocks generally recognized is possible to do and what light may be thrown by the restored groupings on the earliest aboriginal movements of population. As a preliminary result he finds that it is possible to do with but six main morphologic-genetic groups, which may ultimately be somewhat further reduced. Five of these groups are represented in Canada. One of them, the Nadene (consisting of Haida, Tlingit, and Athabaskan), stands out very distinctly from all the rest



and may represent a relatively late wedge from the Asiatic continent into an earlier American distribution of languages. Mr. Sapir is now planning to resume the intensive comparative study, undertaken some years ago, of the Nadene languages, and has made considerable progress towards the composition of a comparative Athabaskan dictionary, a necessary first step in the larger task. It is probable that both the general study of Indian stocks and the more detailed study of Nadene will result in new, and even unexpected, points of view on the linguistic affiliations and early history of the American Indian. A preliminary report on the classification of American languages was given in December, 1920, at the Chicago meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Section H. It was entitled "A bird's-eye view of American languages north of Mexico" and was illustrated by a coloured map.

Harlan I. Smith spent the period of June 2 to September at Bellakula, B.C., partly on an archaeological reconnaissance but mainly in order to study the material culture of the Bella Coola Indians, one of the most important of the West Coast tribes, but concerning whom relatively little has yet been published. Mr. Smith obtained [20] very full information on the industrial life of the tribe. A considerable mass of information was also obtained on the material culture of the Carrier band dwelling near the Bella Coola reserves. Mr. Smith's researches were supplemented by a set of ethnological photographs and a valuable collection of ethnological objects.

C. M. Barbeau undertook a seven months' investigation in the field — from June, 1920, to January, 1921 — of the ethnography of the Gitksan tribes of British Columbia. The five tribes to which he confined his researches are those of the headwaters of Skeena river, from Hazelton to the Groundhog district and Bear lake, a distance of about 200 miles. Two of these tribes, Qaldo and Anlagasemdekh, have now ceased to exist independently, and their members have scattered among their kinsmen of the more easily accessible villages of Kispayaks, Glen Vowell (a modern settlement), and Gitenmaks (Hazelton). The Kiskagas tribe, situated near the junction of Babine and Skeena rivers, is also dwindling in numbers, owing to the same general tendency to renounce isolation and old-time customs. Though his headquarters remained at Gitenmaks (Hazelton), he visited all the other tribes, with the exception of Qaldo. Kiskagas and Anlagasemdekh being situated about 50 miles above Hazelton, on a trail, it was necessary to organize and equip a part for an expedition of about two weeks. A series of potlatches given at Hagwelgate — a Carrier village situated 4 miles from Hazelton, on the



Bulkley river – were observed and subsequently analysed with the help of participants; and photographs were taken both of a potlatch display and of a secret society (*galuhlim*) dance. Several other points in the ethnography of those tribes received attention.

D. Jenness, the anthropologist of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, spent the year working up the Eskimo data he had obtained. Two of his reports are now ready for publication, "The life of the Copper Eskimos," a manuscript of 500 pages, and "String figures of the Eskimos," a manuscript of 200 pages. A third report, on Eskimo folk-lore, with texts in the native language, is nearing completion. Mr. Jenness is at present chiefly engaged in working out his grammatical material from Barrow, the Mackenzie delta, and Coronation gulf. The two completed papers have been put into the hands of the Arctic Board, and their publication may be expected in the near future.

F. W. Waugh continued work on his monograph dealing with the folk-lore of the Iroquois. This volume will consist of a large series of folk-tales from the various tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy and of a discussion of such beliefs and practices as come under the general rubric of "folk-lore." During the summer Mr. Waugh spent about two and a half months among the Ojibwa of lac Seul in northwestern Ontario in continuation of work in the same region undertaken during the preceding season.

No anthropological publications have appeared in the course of the year. This failure to continue the Anthropological Series of memoirs and bulletins that was well under way before the war is due not to lack of material but to the present policy of rigid economy in publication expenditures. This policy, if continued in its present form, threatens to render all but useless the work of the Division of Anthropology except insofar as the department allows its anthropological manuscripts to be published by other institutions.

### Editorial Notes

Originally published in *Report of the Department of Mines for the Fiscal Year Ending March 31, 1921*. Victoria Memorial Museum, 18-20 (Ottawa, 1921).

In 1920, the Victoria Memorial Museum, previously a part of the Geological Survey, was given separate administrative status within the Department of Mines, and both the Anthropological Division and the

newly named Biological Division were transferred to it. The annual reports of the Anthropological Division, previously a part of the "Summary Report of the Geological Branch of the Department of Mines," were now a part of the annual report of the Victoria Memorial Museum, within the annual "Report of the Department of Mines." Also, starting in 1920, the Dominion Government changed from a calendar-year to a fiscal-year basis, April 1-March 31, for its activities. The first report following the 1919 annual report therefore covers the period January 1, 1920 to March 31, 1921.

# Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Victoria Memorial Museum, Canada, 1921 – 22

## Ethnology and Linguistics

### Exhibits

E. Sapir, Chief of the Division, reports that the anthropological exhibits in the Victoria Memorial Museum have remained almost unchanged and fully accessible to the public during the year. The lack of both sufficient space and suitable cases is keenly felt.

Acknowledgments are due to the following for donations of specimens of photographs to the Museum: F. Macnamara, E. Z. Massicotte, Miss Parmelee, and Father Turquetil.

## Field Work and Research

Five anthropological field trips, undertaken during the summer, evince progress towards the restoration of pre-war conditions in the Division of Anthropology. Of these trips one was a combined archaeological and ethnological trip to Bella Coola, B.C., undertaken by H. I. Smith. A second was an intensive archaeological field research in a village site near London, Ont., of a culture different from those hitherto intensively studied. This trip, as well as the archaeological part of Mr. Smith's field work, are reported under "Archaeology." D. Jenness spent two months investigating the social organization and history of the Sarcee Indians of Alberta. F. W. Waugh left Ottawa in May to investigate the Nascopi Indians of northern Quebec, and continued the work throughout the year. T. F. Mcllwraith began an investigation of the social organization, religion, and allied topics of the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia.

E. Sapir continued to work on the large body of Nootka text material obtained in the field and from Indian interpreters. This material is far too bulky to be published in the form of a single volume but should appear as a series of text volumes. The first volume is nearing completion. It consists of a set of Nootka tales and of a larger set of selected

texts intended to illustrate various phases of Nootka ethnology. The texts are being carefully edited, annotated, and translated; a limited proportion of the material is provided with an interlinear translation for the use of the linguistic student. In later volumes it is planned to include other ethnological texts and the large set of family legends and origin myths on file in the division. The linguistic-sociological review of the kinship system of Algonkin, Wiyot, and Yurok, previously reported on, is now completed and will, it is hoped, be published in the near future. A Paiute dictionary was prepared which will, in all likelihood, be published by the University of Pennsylvania. The general American Indian linguistic researches previously referred to were continued. The following [23] papers resulting from these researches were published: "The Hokan and Coahuiltecan Languages" (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, I, 1917-20, pp. 280-90); "A Note on the First Person Plural in Chimariko" (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, I, 1917-20, pp. 291-94); "A Bird's-eye View of American Languages North of Mexico" (*Science*, N.S., October 28, 1921, p. 408). As first instalments in a series of Nadene studies, were prepared "An Athabaskan Type of Relative" and "The Phonetics of Haida." In the course of the year Harcourt, Brace and Co. (New York) published a general work by Mr. Sapir entitled "Language, an Introduction to the Study of Speech"; this is mentioned here because it embodies a certain amount of material based on Canadian linguistic researches.

H. I. Smith spent about three months in the Bella Coola Indian area of British Columbia, continuing the work which he began last year. This research was devoted partly to archaeological reconnaissance, but mainly to a study of the material culture of the Bella Coola Indians. Mr. Smith's researches were supplemented by a collection of ethnological objects, some of which were from Carrier Indians who were visiting Bella Coola. He also secured skeletal remains, a plaster of Paris life mask, and photographs of Bella Coola technology and Carrier types.

D. Jenness has been continuing his work on the Eskimo reports in the Canadian Arctic Expedition series. His first memoir, "The Life of the Copper Eskimos," a volume of 277 closely printed pages, was published in January, 1922, by the Department of the Naval Service. This work was very highly reviewed by the London *Times*. Two memoirs, "Myths and Traditions from Alaska, the Mackenzie Delta, and Coronation Gulf," and "String Figures of the Eskimos" are now ready for the press; a fourth memoir, "The Songs of the Copper Eskimos," undertaken in collaboration with Miss Helen H. Roberts of New York,



is nearing completion, and considerable progress has been made with two others. Mr. Jenness has also published during the past year two articles on Eskimo subjects: one, "The Cultural Transformation of the Copper Eskimos," appeared in the *Geographical Review*, October, 1921, the other "The 'Blond' Eskimos," in the *American Anthropologist*, October-December, 1921. In addition to this work Mr. Jenness spent the two months of July and August, 1921, among the Saree Indians of Alberta, gathering information relating to their earlier organization and history. This important tribe had been greatly neglected hitherto, and was represented in the Museum by only four specimens; as a result of Mr. Jenness' visit, however, the Museum now possesses a large and fairly representative collection.

F. W. Waugh, who left Ottawa in May to investigate the Nascopi Indians of northern Quebec, went into the interior from Nain. When last heard from he had done a considerable amount of work on the material culture of the Nascopi. As they were greatly reduced in numbers during the winter of 1918-1919, there is little likelihood that information can be obtained from them unless it is secured soon. Mr. Waugh has also had an opportunity to investigate the material culture of the Eskimo of the Labrador coast.

### Manuscripts

The following manuscripts have been completed during the year [by E. Sapir] and await publication: "An Athabaskan Type of Relative" and "The Phonetics of Haida." In addition, six manuscripts relating to the Nootka Indians, five of them consisting of texts, have been received from Alex Thomas.

### Editorial Note

Originally published in *Report of the Department of Mines for the Fiscal Year Ending March 31, 1922*. Victoria Memorial Museum, 22-25. (Ottawa, 1922).

# Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Victoria Memorial Museum, Canada, 1922—23

## Ethnology and Linguistics

### Exhibits and Research

E. Sapir, Chief of the Division, reports:

The anthropological exhibits in the Victoria Memorial Museum have been added to and to some degree rearranged and relabelled. The need of adequate space for exhibits and of cases for their proper installation, is still greatly felt.

Six scientific field trips were undertaken in the course of the year: a trip by E. Sapir among the Sarcee Indians of Alberta, mainly for linguistic research; another by H. I. Smith, archaeological and ethnological, among the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia; one by C. M. Barbeau for research in French folk-lore, in Gaspé and Bonaventure counties, Quebec; the latter part of F. W. Waugh's trip to the Nascopi Indians of northern Quebec and the Eskimo of the Labrador coast; the continuation of W. J. Wintemberg's archaeological exploration of a site near London, Ontario; and the latter part of an ethnological trip by T. F. McIlwraith to the Bella Coola Indians, British Columbia.

E. Sapir spent two months at Sarcee Reserve, near Calgary, Alberta, in a detailed study of the language of the Sarcee Indians, which belongs to the Athabaskan (or Déné) group of languages. A series of mythological and ethnological texts was obtained, also a large body of explanatory grammatical data. A certain amount of ethnological work proper was also done, notably on kinship terms, personal names, and design symbolism. Upwards of two hundred Sarcee and other Plains Indian specimens and a number of photographs supplement similar material obtained by Mr. Jenness during the preceding year. In the office Mr. Sapir continued work on the "Nootka Texts (Tales and Ethnological Narratives)," previously reported on; this volume is now almost complete. A volume of "Tales of the Sarcee Indians (Texts and Translations)," is also being prepared; this will probably be published by the American Ethnological Society. Much work was done on Nootka

and Sarcee grammar. In connexion with the latter a paper was read on "Pitch Accent in Sarcee, an Athabaskan Language," before the annual December meeting of the American Anthropological Association, at Cambridge, Mass. Linguistic and ethnologic papers published during the year embrace: "The Fundamental Elements of Northern Yana" (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 13, pp. 215-234); "A Characteristic Penutian Form of Stem" (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 2, pp. 58-67); "A Supplementary Note on Salinan and Washo" (*ibid.*, pp. 68-72); and "Vancouver Island Indians" (sketch of Nootka religion in James Hastings' "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics," vol. XII). Two papers of more general cultural interest, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious" and "Culture in New Countries," appeared in The Dalhousie Review for July and October, 1922. A number of linguistic and ethnological papers, to be published by the University of California, the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, and the International Journal of American Linguistics, were seen through the press.

H. I. Smith spent the summer season in a third visit to the Bella Coola Indian area, continuing the combined archaeological and technological work of his previous trips. Supplementary Bella Coola and Carrier specimens were obtained and numerous photographs taken. In the office Mr. Smith continued [29] work on his reports upon the material culture, past and present, of the Bella Coola and Carrier Indians.

C. M. Barbeau spent four months in investigating the French folklore of Gaspé and Bonaventure counties, Quebec. This trip was followed up by library research in New York and Washington for the purpose of finding European parallels to the French folk-songs of Canada. In the course of the year Mr. Barbeau prepared a report on the potlatch among the natives of British Columbia: this was for the use of the Department of Indian Affairs.

D. Jenness spent the summer of 1922 in preparing a second report on the ethnological results obtained by him when serving as ethnologist on the Canadian Arctic Expedition. This report, entitled "The Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimos," was sent to press at the end of the year, and will shortly be issued. At the end of December he attended the meetings of the Anthropological Section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Cambridge, Mass., and read a paper on "The Origin of the Copper Eskimos." During the latter part of the fiscal year Mr. Jenness was occupied with the revision and editing



of a lengthy report on "The Social Life of the Micmac and Malecite Indians," prepared for the department several years ago by W. H. Mechling.

F. W. Waugh spent the period from April 1 to nearly the end of July, 1922, among the Labrador Eskimo who live in and around Nain. From an old woman found at this point who came from Hebron, over 200 miles farther north, and from other informants, a considerable amount of material was obtained on Eskimo foods, handicrafts, folk-lore, ancient religious beliefs, amusements, and a number of other ethnological subjects. Photographs were taken from time to time, illustrating such pursuits as fishing, hunting, house-building, travelling by dog-team, and komatik-making. In the office Mr. Waugh continued work on his collection of over one hundred and seventy-five "Myths and Tales of the Iroquois."

T. F. McIlwraith spent five months investigating the social and religious life of the Bella Coola Indians. He collected information concerning their fluid, but complicated, system of rank and government, which depends largely on the transmission of ancient names. Marriage practices and death rites are closely bound up with this system. Religious beliefs and rituals were investigated, accounts obtained of some thirty ceremonies and a large number of myths collected. Many of these were of especial value as records of what the Indians believed to be the early history of their people. From August to February Mr. McIlwraith was employed in reducing this material to manuscript form. Field notes were typed out and the whole placed under headings. A cross-index was prepared, so that the material is now available as a basis for further investigations and for publication.

In the course of the year there were published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (vol. XXXIV, 1921, pp. 223-253, 335-356) the third and fourth instalments of the late J. A. Teit's "Tahltan and Kaska Tales," material originally obtained for the division; these issues complete the mythological part of Mr. Teit's Tahltan and Kaska field data. Two reports on the physical anthropology of the Eskimos are now in press: "The Physical Characteristics of the Western and Copper Eskimos," by D. Jenness; and "The Osteology of the Western and Central Eskimos," by Prof. J. Cameron; both of these are to appear in the reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition.

Ethnological manuscripts secured during the year embrace two Nootka manuscripts, mostly in text and translation, on puberty and



mourning potlatches, inherited privileges, death and burial, religious beliefs, and social organization: from Alex. Thomas, Alberni, B.C.

[30] Specimens collected in course of field work [by E. Sapir] include: 215 Sarcee specimens from Sarcee Reserve, Alta.; 7 Western Cree specimens from Sarcee Reserve; 9 Stoney specimens from Sarcee Reserve; 3 Blackfoot specimens from Sarcee Reserve; and 4 Chipewyan specimens from Sarcee Reserve.

Ethnological photographs taken or collected for the Museum [by E. Sapir include] 64 Sarcee photographs from Sarcee Reserve, Alberta.

### Editorial Note

Originally published in *Report of the Department of Mines for the Fiscal Year Ending March 31, 1923*. Victoria Memorial Museum, 28–31 (Ottawa, 1923).

# Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Victoria Memorial Museum, Canada, 1923—24

## Ethnology and Linguistics

### Exhibits and Research

E. Sapir, Chief of the Division, reports:

The anthropological exhibits in the Victoria Memorial Museum have been added to, and the Eskimo and Eastern Woodland sections rearranged and relabelled. The West Coast collections are also being worked over and rearranged in the exhibition cases. Dr. Henry M. Ami's loan collection of French prehistoric archaeology is now exhibited in the first of the two Anthropological Halls of the Museum.

Six scientific field trips were undertaken in the course of the year: a trip by E. Sapir to Camp Red Cloud, Pa., for work on the Kutchin Indian language of Alaska; another by Harlan I. Smith, archaeological and ethnological, among the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia; one by C. M. Barbeau for research among the Gitksan of Skeena river, in British Columbia; one by Diamond Jenness among the Carrier Indians of Bulkley river in British Columbia; the continuation of W. J. Wintenberg's archaeological explorations in Ontario; and an ethnological trip by T. F. McIlwraith to the Bella Coola Indians, British Columbia.

Towards the end of the year, J. D. Leechman was appointed museum assistant for the division. O. E. Prud'homme, the artist of the division, continued his work of drawing Nootka masks and designs, a set of Kwakiutl coppers, and various archaeological artifacts, and other work required by the division.

E. Sapir spent about two and a half months at Camp Red Cloud, Pa., in a study of two Athabaskan languages—Anvik, spoken near the mouth of Yukon river, and Kutcha Kutchin, spoken at Fort Yukon, at the confluence of Yukon and Porcupine rivers. This work was made possible by the fact that two Alaskan Indians were employed at the camp. By far the greater part of the season was spent on Kutchin, of which dialect full grammatical data and a series of texts were obtained. In the office Mr. Sapir continued work on comparative Athabaskan

linguistics, on Sarcee grammar and the preparation of a series of "Sarcee Texts," and on the "Nootka Texts" begun some years ago. The following linguistic and ethnological papers were published in the course of the year: "An Athabaskan Type of Relative" (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 2, January, 1923, pp. 136-142); "The Phonetics of Haida" (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 2, January, 1923, pp. 143-158); "The Algonkin Affinity of Yurok and Wiyot Kinship Terms" (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, vol. XV, 1923, pp. 36-74); "A Note on Sarcee Pottery" (American Anthropologist, N.S., vol. 25, April-June 1923, pp. 247-253); "The Grammarian and His Language" (The American Mercury, vol. 1, Feb., 1924, pp. 149-155); "Text Analyses of Three Yana Dialects" (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. XX, 1923, pp. 263-294).

Harlan I. Smith spent the summer season in the Bella Coola Indian area, continuing the combined archaeological and technological work of his previous trips. Supplementary Bella Coola and Carrier specimens were obtained and numerous photographs taken. In the office Mr. Smith continued his work on reports upon the material culture, past and present, of the Bella Coola and Carrier Indians.

C. Marius Barbeau continued his investigations among the Gitksan tribes of Skeena river, in British Columbia, spending the months of July and August [37] at the Indian villages of Gitwanga and Gitsegukla. He also incidentally collected, while in Hazelton, some Sekanais and Carrier traditions, and observed the *potlatch* and secret society ceremonials that were held in July among the Carriers of Hagwelgate. A visit to the Kootenays of St. Eugene and of Fairmont Springs, and a short stay at Morley reserve, Alberta, in September, also gave him an opportunity to make a rapid survey of these tribes and collect a set of traditional accounts, particularly at Morley. In the office Mr. Barbeau completed his manuscript of "Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies," which was later issued by the Macmillan Company of Canada (207 pp., ill.). Various articles, entitled: "The Gaspé Fisher-folk" (The Quebec Daily Telegraph, Christmas, 1923); "Fort Simpson, on the West Coast" (The Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1924); "The Salmon Run on the Upper Skeena" (Forest and Outdoors, March, 1924); "An Artist among the Northwest Coast Indians" (Arts and Decoration, May, 1923); and "Les chants populaires du Canada" (Revue de l'Amérique latine, Fev. 1924) have appeared in the course of the year. Mr. Barbeau has also prepared a report accompanied with photographs for the



Dominion Parks Branch, on the Indian legendary site of "Temlaham," in northern British Columbia, which may be established into a federal park and a game preserve.

D. Jenness, in April and May, reorganized the Eskimo cases in the main Anthropological Hall of the Museum, and arranged a small exhibit for the Northwest Territories Branch of the Department of the Interior. During the summer he supervised the publication of his report on the "Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimos" and finished two other reports in the Canadian Arctic Expedition series: "Eskimo Mythology" and "Eskimo String Figures," both of which are now in the press. He examined, in August, a number of unpublished manuscripts in the Dominion Archives relating to the early history of the Indians of the Mackenzie River valley and northern British Columbia, and at the same time resumed work on another Arctic Expedition report, "Eskimo Music and Songs," which he completed in February while in the field, and sent in for publication. He left early in October for Hazelton, British Columbia, to carry out researches among the western branch of the Carrier Indians resident in that vicinity. On closing up this work at the end of February he made a trip 70 miles north, to examine the ancient Indian village at Old Kuldo, along the Yukon telegraph line. He then went to Vancouver, to gather an outfit for his field work during the coming spring and summer, and at the same time to make some researches into the language of the Kaska Indians of upper Stikine and Liard rivers, with the aid of an informant now resident in Vancouver. Mr. Jenness has also published an article entitled "Origin of the Copper Eskimos and Their Copper Culture" in *The Geographical Review* (vol. XIII, October, 1923, pp. 540—551).

F. W. Waugh spent much of his time in the arrangement of Iroquois mythological and literary materials. He also prepared a paper for the Department of the Interior on the birds and mammals of Labrador, based on notes taken in the field in 1921—22.

T. F. Mcllwraith spent six months, from September, 1923, to March, 1924, continuing his investigations of the Bella Coola Indians. Using the previous year's work as a basis, he was able to obtain a detailed account of the complicated religious and social life of these people. It was found that these two subjects were closely linked to form an exceedingly complex culture based on jealously guarded family traditions. Mr. Mcllwraith was present at the ceremonial dances held during the winter and was able to obtain a large amount of material on this subject, especially with regard to the psychological effect on



those taking part. Further information was gained on chieftainship, land [38] tenure, government, magic, and mythology, adding to, and confirming, his previous year's results. With a recording phonograph Mr. McIlwraith collected more than one hundred Bella Coola songs, complete with texts. Specimens for the Museum were also purchased.

Ethnological manuscripts secured during the year include, from Miss Helen Roberts, musical transcriptions of 100 Nootka songs collected by E. Sapir.

Phonographic records taken by [E. Sapir were] 18 records of Kutchin, from Fort Yukon, Alaska. Ethnological photographs collected for the Museum by E. Sapir [included] 2 Kutchin photographs from Alaska, and 1 Teton Sioux photograph.

### Editorial Note

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# Annual Report, Anthropological Division, Victoria Memorial Museum, Canada, 1924—25

## Ethnology and Linguistics

### Exhibits and Care of Material

E. Sapir, Chief of the Division, reports:

A number of the exhibits have been rearranged and new pedestals have been provided for the large standing exhibits. New group labels have been hung and case labels have been reduced to a standard form. The large Skidegate Haida totem-pole and a Bella Coola pole have been erected at the entrance to the Museum and several house-posts have been put up in the main anthropological hall.

Three special exhibits have been arranged during the year. One, for the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Toronto, August, 1924, showed aboriginal art, aboriginal pottery, and aboriginal uses of copper. The second, arranged for the meeting in the Victoria Memorial Museum on March 4, 5, 6, 1925, of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, was designed to show the wide variety of minerals used by the Canadian aborigines; over fifty different minerals being represented. The third, arranged for the same meeting, was a loan exhibit of W. L. Kihn's remarkable series of sixty-three Indian portraits, landscapes, and totem-pole landscapes, in oil, pastel, and pencil, all from the Upper Skeena River country, British Columbia.

A large number of specimens have been loaned during the year. These loans have been principally to teachers and students at the Normal School, but the recent interest in aboriginal art, particularly that of the Northwest Coast, has induced a number of artists and craftsmen to make use of the specimens.

J. D. Leechman, the museum assistant in anthropology, entirely re-organized the work of caring for the anthropological specimens. A laboratory was equipped and put in running order and additional space for storage was provided. Unfortunately this space is already almost exhausted. During the year over 2,000 specimens have been cleaned, repaired, preserved, and treated in various ways. Some 1,500 specimens have been catalogued.

O. E. Prud'homme, the artist of the division, continued his work of drawing Nootka specimens and designs. He also drew pictographic and cranial material for the archaeologist, a set of Eskimo specimens for work undertaken by D. Jenness, and did other related work required by the division.

### Field and Office Research

Four scientific field trips were undertaken in the course of the year: a trip by Harlan I. Smith, archaeological and ethnological, among the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia; another by C. M. Barbeau on ethnological research among the Gitksan Indians of Skeena river, British Columbia; a trip by Diamond Jenness, continued from the previous fiscal year, among the Carrier and Sikani Indians of British Columbia, and one by F. W. Waugh among the Montagnais Indians of the lower St. Lawrence. [38]

E. Sapir continued work in the office on comparative Athabaskan linguistics, on a comparative study of Kwakiutl and Nootka, on Nootka grammar, texts, and lexical material, and on other phases of Indian linguistics. The following papers were published in the course of the year: "Personal Names Among the Sarcee Indians" (*American Anthropologist*, N.S., Jan. - March, 1924, pp. 108 - 119); "The Rival Whalers, a Nitinat Story (Nootka text with Translation and Grammatical Analysis)" (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 2, 1924, pp. 76 - 102); "Racial Superiority" (*The Menorah Journal*, June - July, 1924, pp. 200 - 212); "Let Race Alone" (*The Nation*, Feb. 25, 1925, pp. 211 - 213). The following studies were prepared: "Anthropology and Sociology" (for a compendium on "The Social Sciences"); "Sound Patterns in Language" (to appear in *Language*); "The Hokan Affinity of Subtiaba in Nicaragua" (to appear in *The American Anthropologist*), and "Nootka Baby Words" and "A Chinookan Phonetic Law" (both to appear in *International Journal of American Linguistics*). A "Memorandum on the Problem of an International Auxiliary Language" was prepared at the request of the International Auxiliary Language Association.

Harlan I. Smith continued his studies and the writing of his report on the Bella Coola Indians area, giving special attention to ethnobotany, ethnozoology, ethnominalogy, general material culture, and the remedies and medical practices of these people. A note on "A Bella Coola,



Carrier and Chilcotin Route Time Recorder" was published in the *American Anthropologist*, vol. 26, No. 2, April-June, 1924; a paper on "Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft among the Bella Coola," in the *American Anthropologist*, vol. 27, No. 1, January-March, 1925; and one on "Eagle Snaring Among the Bella Coola Indians" in *The Canadian Field Naturalist*, vol. XXXVIII, No. 9, November, 1924. Mr. Smith's paper on the "Entomology Among the Bella Coola and Carrier Indians" has been accepted for publication by the *American Anthropologist*.

C. M. Barbeau continued, from the middle of June to the end of November, the ethnographic research undertaken several years ago among the Tsimshian and Gitksan Indians of northern British Columbia. From June to the middle of October, investigations were carried on at Gitsalas, Gitsemgalem, Gitwinkool, Kitwanga, and Gitsegyukla. The social organization and mythology of these tribes were studied extensively. A collection of sixty Gitksan songs was taken down in text and on the phonograph. Part of the linguistic notes taken were studied and sorted out, and now form a fairly extensive lexicon of separate elements. Over four hundred photographs were added to our collections. In the latter part of October and in November, investigations were extended to Kispayaks, Hazelton, and Hagwelget, in view of the preparation of a detailed report for the conservation of totem poles and graves, and the contemplated establishment of an Indian national park in Upper Skeena district. This report has since been prepared and presented to a Board composed of representatives of the Departments of the Interior, Mines, and Indian Affairs. The manuscript of "Indian Literature," which is to begin the series of books entitled "The Makers of Canadian Literature" (The Ryerson Press, Toronto), was completed in June and submitted to the editors.

D. Jenness was carrying on field work in British Columbia at the opening of the fiscal year 1924-1925. In April and May, 1924, he continued his researches among the Carrier Indians, visiting the reserves at Fort Fraser and Stony Creek, near the Canadian National railway. At the end of May he crossed from Prince George, on the Canadian National railways, to the headwaters of Peace river and spent three weeks with the Sikani Indians at Macleod, on McLeod lake. Thence he travelled down Parsnip river and up Findlay river to Fort Grahame, where he visited another band of Sikani Indians. He returned from Fort Grahame by way of [the] Peace river, paying a short visit to the Beaver Indians at [38] Hudson Hope en route, and reaching Ottawa early in



July. Altogether his field trip lasted nine months, from October, 1923, to July, 1924; during that period he investigated five separate bands of Indians concerning whom very little was known previously. Since his return to Ottawa Mr. Jenness has resumed his work on the series of Eskimo reports that embody the ethnological results of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1916. Both parts of volume XIII (Eskimo Folk-Lore) of the Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition were issued in the course of the year; they consist of "Myths and Traditions from Northern Alaska, the Mackenzie Delta, and Coronation Gulf" and "Eskimo String Figures," both by D. Jenness. Volume XIV, "Songs of the Copper Eskimos," by Helen H. Roberts and D. Jenness, was seen through the press; and considerable progress was made on the preparation of the linguistic and technological reports which are to be published as volume XV.

F. W. Waugh spent the summer season on ethnological research among the Montagnais Indians at Seven Islands, Quebec. A great deal of material was obtained on the technological aspects of their culture. On his way back to Ottawa from the field Mr. Waugh disappeared and no trace has been discovered of him since the latter part of September, 1924. The ethnological notes, photographs, and specimens obtained by him, however, had been forwarded to Ottawa shortly before and are now in the hands of the Museum.

T. F. Mellwraith's report on "The Bella Coola Indians" has been received. It is a detailed and systematic study of an important West Coast tribe and it is hoped that arrangements can be made for its early publication. Some data collected for the department by P. Radin among the Ojibwa of Ontario were published under the title of "Ojibwa Ethnological Chit-Chat" in the *American Anthropologist*, N.S., October-December, 1924, pp. 491-530.

### Editorial Note

Originally published in *Report of the Department of Mines, Dominion of Canada, for the Fiscal Year Ending March 31, 1925*. Victoria Memorial Museum, 37-41 (Ottawa, 1925).



# Phonetic Key to Publications of Edward Sapir

Compiled by William Bright

The following list of symbols is revised from that given in *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir*, volumes 5-6. It does not attempt to include symbols of unambiguous value (such as *a* or *k*); or symbols used only in material quoted from other authors; or symbols used in standard orthographies or Roman transliterations of familiar Old World languages. Phonetic symbols proposed in the Report of the Committee on Phonetic Transcription (1916), but not found in Sapir's publications, are also omitted here.

Part 1 consists of diacritic modifications which are used with the entire class of consonants (indicated by *C*) or of vowels (indicated by *v*). Part 2 consists of letters or digraphs of the Roman alphabet which are used with special values, with or without diacritics. Part 3 consists of Greek alphabetic symbols. Part 4 consists of miscellaneous segmental symbols. Boldface type is used to highlight phonetic or phonemic symbols; italic type is used for standard orthographic symbols.

## *Part 1.*

- Cʔ** Glottalized or ejective stop or affricate; glottalized spirant or sonorant. Also printed as **Cʔ** and **ʔC**. In some earlier work, this notation indicated a weaker degree of glottalization in stops than **C!**
- C!** Glottalized or ejective stop or affricate (in earlier work). Note that **ts!** **tc!** are glottalized affricates.
- C<sup>h</sup>** Stop or affricate with strong aspiration.
- C̃** In Takelma, rising pitch on a combination of vowel plus resonant, as in **aĩ**.
- C̣** Syllabic consonant.

- <sup>n</sup>C Nasalized consonant.
- C<sup>u</sup>, C<sup>w</sup> Labialized consonant.
- C<sup>y</sup> Palatalized consonant.
- C· Long or geminated consonant.
- C.C Non-affricate consonantal sequence, e.g. **t.s** when it represents a sequence of two independent consonants.
- <sup>h</sup> (Superscript) Weakly articulated consonant, echoed consonant, or consonantal glide. In early work, whispered or voiceless sonorant (later written with a small capital).
- ˆ Primary stress; in Athabaskan, high pitch. In Takelma, a falling pitch accent. In Takelma forms of Sapir & Swadesh 1946, stress with high or rising tone.
- ˆ Secondary stress; in Athabaskan, low pitch. In Takelma, a high pitch accent. In Takelma forms of Sapir & Swadesh 1946, "stress with falling pitch". In the traditional orthography of Nahuatl, vowel with following glottal stop.
- ˆ Falling pitch in Athabaskan.
- ˆ Rising pitch in Athabaskan.
- ˆ Intermediate pitch in Sarcee. (For intermediate falling and rising pitches, see 'Pitch accent in Sarcee'.)
- ˆ In 'Personal names among the Sarcee Indians', pitch falling from high to mid.
- ˆ In 'Personal names among the Sarcee Indians', pitch rising from mid to high.
- ˆ Rising pitch in Takelma and Pawnee.
- ˆ Vowel length; in some early work, close vowel quality, not necessarily with length. (See specific symbols in Part 2, below.)
- ˆ Nasalization of vowel.
- ˆ Glottalization of vowel.
- ˆ Primary stress or high pitch. In Takelma, a falling pitch accent.



v̇	Secondary stress or low pitch. In Takelma, a high pitch accent.
vː	Length of vowel.
vːː	Length of vowel; when contrasted with vː, indicates more than ordinary length.
ṿ	Unusual shortness of vowel.
(v)	Glide value of vowel.
v.v	Non-diphthongal sequence of vowels, e.g. <b>a.i</b> divided between two syllables.
v'v or v˘v	Glottal interruption of vowel; the latter alternative is recommended when the post-glottal portion is weakly articulated.
v̄ or v˘	"Over-long" vowel with glide-like rearticulation, as in Takelma and Sarcee.
X <sup>˘</sup>	(Superscript vowel) Reduced prominence of vowel; e.g. murmured or echoed quality, or vocalic resonance of a preceding consonant. Also indicates whispered or voiceless vowels, later written with small capitals.
X <sub>˘</sub>	(Subscript vowel) In Indo-European, a reduced vowel.

## Part 2.

a	In 'Personal names among the Sarcee Indians', italic <b>a</b> represents [a], but roman <b>a</b> represents a velarized counterpart, elsewhere transcribed <b>ḁ</b> .
ä	Open mid back unrounded vowel, as in Eng. <i>but</i> ; usually replaced by small capital A or Greek alpha.
â	Long low back rounded vowel, as in Eng. <i>law</i> .
ä	Low front unrounded vowel, as in Eng. <i>hat</i> .
â	Open low back rounded vowel.
ḁ	In Sarcee, "a velarized, dark-timbred <i>a</i> ". However, in 'Personal names among the Sarcee Indians', a dot under any vowel represents pitch falling from mid to low.

- ʌ** (small capital) Voiceless **a** in Southern Paiute; elsewhere, a mid back unrounded vowel, as in Eng. *but*.
- ʌ** (large capital) Voiceless **a**; in Takelma and Chasta Costa, a mid back unrounded vowel, as in Eng. *but*; in Indo-European, cover symbol for a reconstructed 'laryngeal'.
- ʌ** In Indo-European, cover symbol for an **a**-coloring laryngeal, i.e. one which induces **a**-timbre in an adjacent vowel.
- b** Voiced or "intermediate" labial stop; "intermediate" refers to sounds heard sometimes voiced, sometimes voiceless — probably voiceless lenis in most cases (esp. in Hittite.)
- ḅ** (barred **b**) In Hebrew, spirant **b**.
- B, B** (Capital or small capital) "Intermediate" labial stop; see **b** above.
- c** In Nahuatl traditional orthography, used as in Spanish: **s** before *i* or *e*, but **k** elsewhere. In Sapir's earlier works, a voiceless alveopalatal sibilant like Eng. *sh* — subsequently replaced by **š**; in later works, a voiceless alveolar affricate, equivalent to earlier **ts**.
- ç** In Nahuatl traditional orthography, equivalent to Mexican Spanish *z*, i.e. Eng. *s*.
- ĉ** Voiceless alveo-palatal affricate, English *ch* as in *church*, equivalent to earlier **tc** or **tš**.
- ĉ** In Esperanto, equivalent to **ĉ**.
- ch** In Nahuatl traditional orthography, equivalent to **ĉ**.
- d** Voiced or "intermediate" apical stop; see **b** above.
- ḍ** Voiced "cerebral" or retroflex apical stop.
- ḏ** In Hebrew, spirant **d**.
- ð** Voiced interdental spirant, as in English *this*.
- D, D** (capital or small capital) Voiced or "intermediate" apical stop; see **b** above. In early work, a voiced alveolar affricate; later replaced by **ḑ**.
- dj, dž** Voiced or "intermediate" alveo-palatal affricate (see **b**, above); replaced in later work by **ḑ**.

- è Long open mid front unrounded vowel, as in French *fête*.
- ê In earlier work, an open mid front unrounded vowel, as in Eng. *met*; in Yana, Chasta Costat, and Nootka, the long vowel of this quality, as in French *fête*.
- ē Close mid front vowel, as in French *été*.
- ē̄ Close mid front vowel, as in French *été*.
- ĕ In Athabaskan reconstructions, a formula for "the reduced or 'pepet' vowel", i.e. **ə**.
- ɛ (Small capital) In early work, "short obscure vowel of undefined quality", as in unaccented English *the* (replaced in later works by **ə**); occasionally also indicates voiceless **e**.
- g Voiced or "intermediate" velar stop; see **b** above.
- ḡ, ḡ̄, ḡ̇, ḡ̈, ḡ̉ Voiced or "intermediate" front-velar stop.
- ḡ In Semitic, a voiced velar spirant (= **ɣ**).
- ḡ̄ (barred **g**) in Haida, an "intermediate" velar stop.
- ḡ̇ Voiced or "intermediate" back-velar stop.
- G, G "Intermediate" velar stop; see **b**, above.
- h In earlier work, represents "strong aspiration" as opposed to the backward apostrophe; later, **h** is preferred whenever an independent consonant is indicated, as opposed to aspiration of a stop.
- ḥ In Sanskrit (and stated to be in Semitic), a voiceless laryngeal spirant; in Nootka (and perhaps properly in Semitic), a pharyngealized **h**. [Some of Sapir's publications seem to use "laryngeal" improperly for "pharyngeal": Lg. 10.276 (1934), fn. 4, is bewildering.]
- ḥ̄ (with semicircle below) In Hittite, a velar spirant.
- hu In traditional Nahuatl orthography, equivalent to **w**.
- ḥ (small capital) In Nootka, pharyngealized **h**, later replaced by **ḥ**.
- î In some early work, *i* as in English *it*, also a long vowel of that quality.

- i High back unrounded vowel.  
 i Close high front vowel.  
 i (small capital) In Nootka, a "short open i-vowel of rather unclear quality", in early work on Southern Paiute, an "obscure" i; later, in Southern Paiute, voiceless i.  
 I (capital) In early work on Southern Paiute, an "obscure" i.  
 j In earlier work, an alveo-palatal sibilant, like French *j* in *jour*; later replaced by *ž*.  
 j Voiced or "intermediate" alveo-palatal affricate.  
 k̰, k̰̣, k̰̣̣, k̰̣̣̣ Voiceless front-velar stop.  
 k Voiceless back-velar stop, =q.  
 k̰ (with underbar) In Tutelo, an "intermediate" velar stop.  
 ky, kʸ Voiceless front-velar stop.  
 l (Italic l) In Yana, a voiceless lateral.  
 l Voiceless lateral spirant of American Indian languages; in Takelma and Wishram, described as "voiceless palatal lateral".  
 l, l Voiceless lateral spirant as in Welsh *ll*.  
 l (Small capital) In early work, a voiceless lateral spirant, replaced later by l̰. Also sometimes used for the corresponding affricate. In *Takelma texts*, a voiceless palatal lateral.  
 l̰ In Kwakiutl, a voiced lateral affricate.  
 L (Capital) In early work, sometimes a voiceless lateral spirant (l̰), sometimes the corresponding affricate (equivalent to tL, t̰l, or ʎ).  
 m (italic) In Yana, an unvoiced bilabial nasal.  
 M (small capital) Unvoiced labial nasal.  
 n (italic) In Yana, an unvoiced apical nasal.  
 ñ In earlier work, a velar nasal; later replaced by ŋ.  
 ñ In earlier work, a back-velar nasal.



- v<sup>n</sup> (superscript) Nasalization of preceding vowel.
- ŋ Velar nasal; varies typographically with Greek eta (η).
- N (small capital) Voiceless apical nasal.
- ɳ (small capital) Voiceless velar nasal.
- ō In earlier work, an open mid back rounded vowel, as in German *voll*; in Southern Paiute and Nootka, a long low back rounded vowel, as in Eng. *saw*. Later replaced in both values by ɔ.
- ö Mid front rounded vowel, as in German *schön* or *Götter*.
- õ In Nootka, a close mid back rounded vowel, as in French *chaud*.
- ɔ In American Indian languages, a close mid back rounded vowel; in Indo-European, low back rounded [a], produced by the 'laryngeal' ʔ next to the e-type full-grade vowel.
- Co (Subscript o) In Indo-European, cover symbol for shwa (murmur vowel) or syllabic resonance.
- ou In Takelma, "like o but with final u-vanish".
- ɔ Open mid or low back rounded vowel.
- ö Low mid back rounded vowel, as in German *Götter*.
- p̱ (with underbar) In Tutelo, an "intermediate" labial stop.
- q Voiceless uvular (back-velar) stop.
- qu In traditional Nahuatl orthography, a voiceless labiovelar stop (**kw, k'**).
- r (italic) In Yana, voiceless **r**; in Tsimshian, a voiced uvular **r**.
- ɾ Voiced uvular **r**.
- t<sup>h</sup> (superscript) In Yana, the combination 't indicates a "peculiar voiceless-**r** quality" of **t**.
- R, R Voiceless vibrant.
- ɾ (small capital) Voiceless uvular **r**.
- š Voiceless alveo-palatal sibilant, replacing earlier c.

- ŝ In Esperanto, equivalent to š.
- š In Chasta Costa and Nootka, a "palatalized" **c** (i.e. š), "acoustically midway between **s** and **c**".
- s· A sibilant intermediate between **s** and š.
- ʈ Voiceless "cerebral" or retroflex stop.
- ʈ̱ (with underbar) in Tutelo, an "intermediate" apical stop.
- ʈc In earlier work, a voiceless alveo-palatal affricate; later replaced by **tš**, **č**.
- ʈl In traditional Nahuatl orthography, a voiceless lateral affricate, equivalent to **ʈl** or **ʈ̱**.
- ʈl, ʈḻ, ʈḻ In earlier work, a voiceless lateral affricate, equivalent to **ʈ̱**.
- ʈḻ, ʈḻ Equivalent to **ʈ̱**.
- ʈs In earlier work, a voiceless alveolar affricate; later replaced by **c**.
- ʈs· An affricate corresponding to s·.
- tš In earlier work, a voiceless alveo-palatal affricate, like English *ch* in *church*; later replaced by **č**.
- tθ In Chasta Costa and other Athabaskan, a voiceless interdental affricate.
- tz In traditional Nahuatl orthography, a voiceless alveolar affricate, equivalent to phonetic **ts**.
- û In Takelma, the vowel of English *sun*. In other early work, a long open high back rounded vowel.
- ü High front rounded vowel, as in German *kühl* or *Mütze*. In Takelma, "intermediate" between German *u* and *ü*; in early work on Southern Paiute, used for a high back unrounded vowel (later written as **ï**).
- uh In traditional Nahuatl orthography, a voiceless labiovelar semivowel, equivalent to phonetic **W**.
- U (capital) In Southern Paiute, "a duller variety of **ï**".
- U (small capital) Open high back rounded vowel; in Southern Paiute, same as **U**; elsewhere, voiceless **u**.

- v In early work on Southern Paiute, a voiced bilabial or labiodental spirant; later written with Greek beta.
- v (italic) In early work on Southern Paiute, a voiceless bilabial spirant; later written with Greek phi.
- v<sup>w</sup> In early work on Southern Paiute, a voiced bilabial spirant "with inner rounding".
- V (capital) In early work on Southern Paiute, a voiceless bilabial spirant; later replaced by Greek phi.
- w, w In Indo-European, systematic equivalent for **u**.
- W (capital) Voiceless bilabial semivowel.
- w Labialized resonance of a preceding consonant, as in labio-velar **k<sup>w</sup>**.
- x In Nahuatl traditional orthography, a voiceless alveo-palatal sibilant, equivalent to **š**; in phonetic transcription, a voiceless velar spirant, like German *ch* in *ach*; but in Wishram, further back than the German sound.
- ḡ, ḡ, ḡ' Voiceless front-velar fricative, like *ch* in German *ich*.
- ḡ Voiceless uvular (back-velar) fricative; in Wishram, a fricative "between *ch* of German *ach* and *ch* of German *ich*"; in Hittite, velar.
- x' In Yana, "as in German *ich*".
- x<sup>y</sup> Voiceless front-velar fricative, as in German *ich*.
- <sup>y</sup>C (superscript x) In earlier work on Southern Paiute, "weak **x** developed from [aspiration] before ... velar **q**".
- y, y In Indo-European, systematic equivalent for **i**.
- Y (small capital) Voiceless palatal semivowel.
- ž Voiceless alveo-palatal sibilant, replacing earlier **j**.
- ʒ Voiced or lenis alveolar affricate, replacing earlier **dz**.
- ž Voiced or lenis alveo-palatal affricate, replacing earlier **dj** or **dž**.

## Part 3 (Greek letters)

- α (alpha) Lower mid back unrounded vowel, as in Eng. *but*.
- β (beta) Voiced bilabial spirant.
- γ (gamma) Voiced velar or back-velar spirant ("North German *g* in *Tage*", Arabic 'ghain').
- γ Voiced front-velar spirant.
- γ (With underdot) Voiced back-velar spirant.
- δ (delta) Voiced interdental spirant, as in Eng. *this*.
- ε (epsilon) Open mid front unrounded vowel, as in Eng. *met*.
- ι (superscript) In earlier works, indicates a glottal stop; varies typographically with an inverted superscript "3". Replaced in later work by ʔ.
- η (eta) A typographical variant of **ŋ**, the velar nasal.
- η In Eskimo, the uvular (back-velar) nasal.
- θ (theta) Voiceless interdental spirant, as in Eng. *think*.
- ι (iota) Open front unrounded vowel, as in Eng. *pit*.
- ι (iota with dot) In Southern Paiute, a high central unrounded vowel.
- ï (iota with dieresis) Open back unrounded vowel.
- λ (lambda) Voiced or lenis lateral affricate, equivalent of **dl**.
- λ̄ (barred lambda) Voiceless lateral affricate, equivalent to **tL** or **tl**.
- ρ (rho) Uvular **r**.
- υ (upsilon) Open high back rounded vowel, as in Eng. *put*.
- ÿ (upsilon with dieresis) Open high front rounded vowel, as in German *Mütze*.
- φ (phi) Voiceless bilabial spirant.
- χ (chi) Voiceless velar fricative, equivalent to **x**; in 'Personal names among the Sarcee Indians', a palatal fricative as in German *ich*.



ʒ	Voiceless front velar fricative, equivalent to <i>x</i> .
ʒ̤	Voiceless back-velar fricative, equivalent to <i>x</i> .
ω	(omega) Low back rounded vowel, as in Eng. <i>low</i> .

#### Part 4. Other symbols

ˆ	(inverted superscript "3": varies typographically with superscript Greek epsilon). In earliest work, indicates glottal stop. Later replaced by the apostrophe, then by ʔ.
˙	("smooth breathing") In earlier American Indian work (and as late as 1938 for Indo-European), the glottal stop, sometimes indicates a weak articulation, as opposed to a "true" ʔ. In later work, the apostrophe is retained only to mark glottalization of consonants; elsewhere, ʔ is used. When used for glottalization, the apostrophe is placed before resonants ( <b>m' n' w' y</b> ), after stops ( <b>p' t' k'</b> ), and internally for affricates ( <b>t's t'ṣ</b> ). — In Wishram, denotes elision of final vowel. In Ugaritic, <b>'1 '2 '3</b> indicate glottal stop with one of three vowels.
˘	(prime) A feature of "hardening" which imparts glottalization in Nootka.
ʔ	Glottal stop.
˗	("rough breathing") In earlier work, the voiceless laryngeal spirant; sometimes indicates a weak aspiration, as opposed to <b>h</b> . In later work, the rough breathing is retained only to mark aspiration of stops; elsewhere, <b>h</b> is used. In Semitic, indicates the Arabic <i>ʿain</i> , inexactly stated to be a "voiced laryngeal spirant".
˘˘	"Palatalized aspiration", equivalent to the voiceless front-palatal spirant of German <i>ich</i> .
˙˙	In Nootka, a pharyngealized glottal stop; in Indo-European, a glottal (stop) phoneme inducing velar or a-timbre.
ə	("shwa") A weak mid central unrounded vowel, like the <i>a</i> in Eng. <i>idea</i> .
+	Extra length of a preceding symbol.
=	Between vowels in Wishram, denotes that they "are to be pronounced separately".



## References

Note: Works that appear in *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir* are indicated by the appropriate volume number following the entry

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